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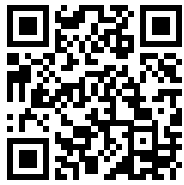

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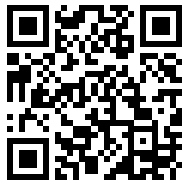

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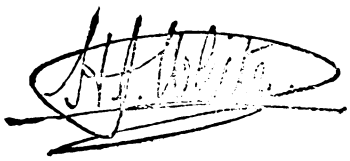

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OCTOBER, 1910

THE ODES OF SOLOMON.

THE Odes of Solomon are mentioned among the Antilegomena of the Old Testament in the sixth-century *Synopsis Sanctae Scripturae* of the pseudo-Athanasius, and also in the ninth-century *Stichometry* of Nicephorus. Five of them are quoted and mystically explained in the Gnostic treatise known as *Pistis Sophia*, extant in Coptic (said to be of the third century); and a sentence about the Virgin Birth of Christ is quoted from another of the Odes by Lactantius,[a] the fourth-century Apologist. Nothing more was known about them until last year, when Dr Rendel Harris printed from a late manuscript in his possession the text of a Syriac translation of the Odes themselves, forty-two in number, and enriched his edition[b] with an elegant English version, and many learned and suggestive annotations. This year Dr Harnack has edited the Odes afresh[c] from a translation by J. Flemming; and Dr W. E. Barnes has printed[d] a new version of Odes 3, 6, 12, 23, 33.

That the Odes must have had a considerable vogue before the third century is clear from the way in which they are treated in *Pistis Sophia*, where five of them are expounded in the same fashion as is adopted for the Psalms. Dr Harris regards them (or most of them) as the work of a Jewish Christian, writing at the end of the first century; while Dr Harnack considers them in their original form to be purely Jewish, explaining the Christian allusions that they contain as due to a Christian editor. The original work was composed (he holds) while the Temple at Jerusalem was still standing, a conclusion which is derived from his

[a] *Div. Inst.* iv 12. [b] *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon*, Cambridge 1909.
[c] *Texte und Untersuchungen* xxxv 4.
[d] *Expositor* July 1910; cp. also *J. T. S.* for July.

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interpretation of the opening sentences of Ode 4; and he fixes the date of the Christian interpolator and of the Odes in their present form at *circ.* A.D. 100.

The New Testament is not quoted *totidem verbis*; but the Messiahship of our Lord, His Virgin Birth, and His Baptism are among the topics introduced. The doctrine of the Word which the Odes express is remarkable, offering many affinities with the Johannine teaching; and if Dr Harnack's view of their provenance and date be accepted, the Odes provide a highly significant link between the Jewish Wisdom literature and the Christian doctrine of the Logos. From beginning to end there is no mention of sin, repentance, or forgiveness; the leading thought is the joy of the soul which has found its rest in God. There is no trace of Gnosticism, nor (as it would seem) of any other form of heretical teaching; but the cryptic and allusive language which is employed makes the task of interpretation a difficult one.

'Of Sacraments,' says Dr Harris, 'the Odes do not seem to know much,'[a] and Dr Harnack takes the same view. This suggests a line of investigation which has not, perhaps, been pursued far enough by the learned editors, and I have collected in this essay a number of the allusions, which the Odes seem to me to contain, to Christian beliefs about baptism and to the ceremonies with which the rite was accompanied as far back as we can trace its details. Whether the Odes were originally composed for use in public worship, or were, at the first, private meditations on the spiritual life, the idea at the heart of them seems to be the joy and the privilege of the new-made Christian; and this appears in so many forms that it is possible that they are nothing more or less than *Hymns of the Baptized.* At any rate, the thought of baptism gives the clue to the interpretation of many passages, some of which have as yet received no explanation from the editors.

That it was a custom in the early Church to receive the newly baptized with Psalmody and singing is stated by Gregory Nazianzen;[b] and we possess, among the works of Ephraim Syrus, a collection of hymns sung on the Feast of Epiphany,[c] which are

[a] l. c. p. 77.

[b] *Oratio* xl 46: cp. Cyr. Hier. *Procat.* 15.

[c] An English translation by Rev. A. E. Johnston is printed in Dr Gwynn's edition of Ephraim (*Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* vol. xiii p. 265).

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placed in the mouths of those just admitted to baptism, and express the joy of the Christian soul. They present many striking resemblances to the Odes which we are studying,[a] at once in their spiritual exaltation and in their mystical allusiveness. I shall quote here the most remarkable of them, No. 13 of the series, from Dr Gwynn's edition.

ST EPHRAIM:

HYMN OF THE BAPTIZED.

(*Resp.*—Brethren, sing praises, to the Son of the Lord of all; Who has bound for you crowns, such as kings long for!)

1. Your garments glisten, my brethren, as snow;—and fair is your shining in the likeness of Angels!

2. In the likeness of Angels, ye have come up, beloved,—from Jordan's river, in the armour of the Holy Ghost.

3. The bridal chamber that fails not, my brethren, ye have received; —and the glory of Adam's house to-day ye have put on.

4. The judgement that *came* of the fruit, was Adam's condemnation: —but for you victory, has arisen this day.

5. Your vesture is shining, and goodly your crowns:—which the Firstborn has bound for you, by the priest's hand this day.

6. Woe in Paradise, did Adam receive:—but you have received, glory this day.

7. The armour of victory, ye put on, my beloved:—in the hour when the priest, invoked the Holy Ghost.

8. The Angels rejoice, men here below exult:—in your feast, my brethren, wherein is no foulness.

9. The good things of Heaven, my brethren, ye have received:— beware of the Evil One, lest he despoil you.

10. The day when He dawned, the Heavenly King:—opens for you His door, and bids you enter Eden.

11. Crowns that fade not away, are set on your heads:—hymns of praise hourly, let your mouths sing.

12. Adam, by means of the fruit, *God* cast forth in sorrow:—but you He makes glad, in the bridechamber of joy.

13. Who would not rejoice, in your bridechamber, my brethren?— for the Father with His Son, and the Spirit rejoice in you.

14. Unto you shall the Father, be a wall of strength:—and the Son a Redeemer, and the Spirit a Guard.

15. Martyrs by their blood, glorify their crowns:—but you our Redeemer, by His Blood glorifies.

[a] The hymns of Cosmas of Jerusalem (Migne *Patr. Gr.* xcviii 462 ff) also present certain similarities in tone to our Odes.

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16. Watchers and Angels, joy over the repentant:—they shall joy over you, my brethren, that unto them ye are made like.

17. The fruit which Adam, tasted not in Paradise:—this day in your mouths, has been placed with joy.

18. Our Redeemer figured, His Body by the tree:—whereof Adam tasted not, because he had sinned.

19. The Evil One made war, and subdued Adam's house:—through your baptism, my brethren, lo! he is subdued this day.

20. Great is the victory, but to-day you have won:—if so be ye neglect not, you shall not perish, my brethren.

21. Glory to them that are robed, glory to Adam's house!—in the birth that *is* from the water, let them rejoice and be blessed.

22. Praise to Him Who has robed, His Churches in glory!—glory to Him Who has magnified, the race of Adam's house.

This hymn takes up thoughts which have already been expressed in the baptismal rite, and puts them into verse. It is worth while to compare it with a rubric and prayer in a Latin translation of a rite ascribed to Severus the Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch (512–519 A.D.).[a] After the Eucharist is given to the neophytes, there follows the rubric '*et sertis coronat eos . . . et dicunt hymnum hunc:* Fratres, canite gloriam Filio Domini universorum qui coronam vobis nexuit, quam reges desiderarunt. Illustrate vestimenta vestra, et *candidi estote ut nix*: et splendores vestri instar angelorum luceant. *Instar angelorum ascendistis, charissimi, e Iordane fluvio per virtutem Spiritus Sancti. Coronas haud marcescentes, fratres, accepistis:* et *gloriam Adae hodie induistis. Fructus, quem Adam in paradiso non gustavit, hodie in oribus vestris positus est . . .*'

It will be seen that verses 1, 2, 3, 11, 17 of Ephraim's hymn reproduce the language of the hymn which has been cited from the baptismal rite. Certainly this rite, as quoted, is of a much later date than Ephraim, and it may even be that the language of the hymn has been borrowed from Ephraim, rather than *vice versa*; but it is not to be doubted that the imagery of the hymn was originally derived from the details of the baptismal ritual, and the beliefs about the joys of the baptized, prevalent in Ephraim's day. The white robes of the neophytes, the crowning of them with garlands, the idea that the fruit of the tree of life, forbidden to Adam, is offered to the baptized Christian—these are the thoughts which

[a] Denzinger *Ritus Orient.* i p. 315; cp. Assemani *Cod. Liturg.* iii 166, 182.

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lie behind the hymn of Ephraim. We shall find that these and similar thoughts lie behind the phrases of our Odes, which I now proceed to examine. The quotation from Ephraim has served to shew that hymns of the Syrian Church were sometimes composed in this way, and that it is worth while, when we meet with a new hymn, to examine it for traces of baptismal ideas.

In our Odes two or three phrases challenge attention at once, when the possibility that they are baptismal hymns has been suggested. Take the word *illuminated*. That baptism is an illumination of the soul is an idea that goes back to Heb. vi 4, and is a commonplace in early Christian literature. Baptism is φωτισμός[a] and the baptized are φωτισθέντες, *illuminati*. Thus the language of Ode 36[3] 'Although I was a son of man, I was named *the illuminate*, the son of God',[b] receives a simple explanation. Dr Harris rightly observes that the words which follow shew that this sentence is not to be understood of Christ; but he has not caught the baptismal reference.[c] Compare also Ode 34[3] 'there is no storm in the depth of the illuminated thought'; Ode 32[1] 'to the blessed there is light from Him that dwells in them'; Ode 41[6] 'Let our faces shine in His light'; and Ode 10[7].

The newly baptized were clad in white robes, or 'robes of light' as they are called by Cyril of Jerusalem in his Catechetical Lectures[d] and by Gregory Nazianzen.[e] So in Ode 21[2] the singer exclaims 'I put off darkness and clothed myself with light'; 'in me there shall be nothing that is not bright' (Ode 25[7]). We saw above that this ceremony was also alluded to in Ephraim's hymn.

The last quotation from Ode 25 is followed by a phrase to which Dr Harris devotes much attention[f]: 'I was clothed with the covering of Thy Spirit, and Thou didst remove from me my *raiment of skin*.'[g] He connects the phrase with a various reading in Gen. iii 21: 'coats of light' for 'coats of skin'. But the true explanation is much simpler[h]: the reference of the Odist is

[a] Cp. Justin Mart. *Apol.* i 61; Clem. Alex. *Paed.* i 6. 25; Greg. Naz. *Oratio* xl 4.

[b] Here, and throughout, the version given is that of Dr Harris, save that in a few instances Dr Barnes's rendering has been preferred.

[c] See below p. 28.

[d] *Procat.* 16 ἔνδυμα φωτεινόν.

[e] *Oratio* 7 ἐμφώτειος ἐσθής.

[f] l. c. p. 66.

[g] Schwartze translates the Coptic version of this (in *Pistis Sophia*) 'fui super vestes pelliceas'; of which Drs Ryle and James have given a free translation (*Psalms of Solomon* p. 159) ἐπενδύθην στολὴν τιμίαν. This conceals the allusion.

[h] Cp. Origen *in Gen.* iii 21, who says that the 'coats of skin' represent the

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to the white robe of baptism, as will be seen from the following extract from Jerome[a]: 'Praeceptis Dei lavandi sumus, et cum parati ad indumentum Christi, *tunicas pelliceas deposuerimus, tunc induemur veste linea*, nihil in se mortis habente, sed tota candida, ut de baptismo consurgentes, cingamus lumbos in veritate'. We shall find a hint of the same idea in a phrase of Cyril,[b] 'the rough garment of their sins,' *τὸ τραχὺ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν*. So Ephraim, in one of his Hymns on the Nativity, says of Christ, 'He was wrapped in swaddling clothes as Adam with leaves, and clad in garments instead of skins,'[c] viz. at His Baptism in the Jordan. These parallels, I believe, are sufficient to establish the baptismal reference in the phrase 'raiment of skin' in our Ode 25.

More generally, the thought that in baptism Christ is 'put on' as a robe, which is based on Gal. iii 27,[d] and is frequent in Christian writers, appears again and again in our Odes. 'The Lord renewed me in His raiment, and possessed me by His light' (Ode 11^{10}); 'Love His holiness, and clothe yourselves therewith' (Ode 13^{2}); 'He was reckoned like myself in order that I might put Him on' (Ode 7^{6}).

This spiritual garment was often called 'the garment of incorruption'. A prayer for the Catechumens in the Apostolical Constitutions[e] asks that they may be worthy of *τὸ ἔνδυμα τῆς ἀφθαρσίας*. A similar phrase is found in Cyril of Jerusalem,[f] and in Gregory Nazianzen, the words of the latter being 'If you see any one naked, clothe him, in honour of your own garment of incorruption, which is Christ, for as many as were baptized into Christ have put on Christ'.[g] So, too, Basil writes that in baptism *κατεπόθη τὸ θνητὸν ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀφθαρσίας ἐνδύματι*. With these the words of Ode 15^{8} may be brought into comparison: 'I have put on incorruption through His Name, and have put off corruption by His grace.' And again: 'Increasingly helpful to me was the thought

human body, or rather the *νέκρωσις* or liability to death which it incurred at the Fall. So Gregory of Nyssa (*Or. Cat.* viii). A Greek ode quoted by Mone (*Hymni Latini* ii 367; cp. i 18) has: *νεκρώσεως δερματίνους χιτῶνας ἐκδέδυται ὁ προπάτωρ.*

[a] *Epist. ad Fabiolam* lxiv 20.

[b] *Cat.* i 2; cp. xv 25.

[c] *Hymns on the Nativity* xvi 13.

[d] Cp. the recital of this verse in the Mass of the Catechumens in the Liturgy of St Chrysostom (Brightman *Eastern Liturgies* 369).

[e] viii 6. See also Brightman l. c. 315, 471.

[f] *Cat.* xv 26.

[g] *Oratio* xl 31.

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of the Lord and His fellowship in incorruption'[a] (Ode 21^4), and 'They who put Me on shall suffer no harm, but they shall gain the whole world that is incorruptible' (Ode 33^{10}). These expressions are very like those in a baptismal hymn of Ephraim: 'Ye too in the water, receive from Him the vesture that wastes not.'[b]

It is apposite to cite at this point the phrases of a hymn prescribed to be sung by the Deacons at the close of two baptismal *ordines* of the Syrian Church, printed by Assemani,[c] as it brings out well the prominence given in these rites to the idea that the baptized are clad with the Lord's vesture:—

'Descendite, fratres obsignati, induite Dominum nostrum et commiscemini inclyto ipsius generi, ut ait in sua parabola. De summo natura eius est; vestimentum vero ex imis. Mistum est vestimentum vestrum cum vestimento Domini nostri.'

We may take up next the frequent references in the Odes to the garlands or crowns with which the newly baptized (*coronati*) were decked. A passage[d] has already been cited from the baptismal *Ordo* which bears the name of Severus of Antioch, in which the crowning of the neophyte is definitely prescribed. The same ceremony is found in the Armenian Rite,[e] as it is in the present Egyptian and Abyssinian rituals[f]; but early evidence for it is scanty, perhaps the earliest being that of the hymn already quoted from Ephraim Syrus: 'Crowns that fade not away are set on your heads; hymns of praise hourly let your mouths sing.'[g] Compare Ode 5^{10} 'He is as a garland on my head, and I shall not be moved'; Ode 9^{8f} 'An everlasting crown for ever is Truth. Blessed are they who set it on their heads . . . put on the crown in the true covenant of the Lord'; Ode 17^1 'I was crowned by my God; my crown is living'; Ode 20^7 'Come into His Paradise, and make thee a garland from its tree, and put it on thy head and be glad'; and (most remarkable) Ode 11^{1f} 'The Lord is on my head like a crown, and I shall not be without Him. They wove for me a crown of truth, and it caused Thy branches to bud in me. For it is not like a withered crown which buddeth not: but thou

[a] Compare also Ode 3^{10} 'He that cleaveth to Him that dieth not shall himself be free from death', and Iren. *Haer.* III xvii 2.

[b] *Epiphany Hymns* iv 3.

[c] *Cod. Liturg.* ii 299.

[d] p. 4 above.

[e] Conybeare *Rituale Armenorum* p. 103.

[f] Denzinger *Rit. Orient.* i pp. 210, 231.

[g] *Epiphany Hymns* xiii 11.

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livest upon my head, and thou hast blossomed upon my head.' If we had not the clue provided by the baptismal chaplet, the number of these references to 'crowns' would be difficult to explain.

The allusions in our Odes to 'living water' and to 'the seal' must next be considered. Of these Dr Harris writes: 'The only directions in which one could look for reference to Baptism would be (i) the Living Water, and (ii) the allusion to the Seal. Of the former it is unnecessary to speak. It is frankly impossible that the living water which the thirsty are invited in the Scriptures to come and take freely can be any outward affusion.'[a] He proceeds to examine and to dismiss the idea that the 'seal' in the Odes is the baptismal *σφραγίς*. I shall take these separately.

1. As to the Living Water mentioned in the Odes (6, 11, 28, 30) it must be observed at the outset that the interpretation which a modern commentator would place upon the 'Living Water' of Scripture is not in question. What we have to ask is not 'What does the Living Water of the Bible signify?', but 'What did our Odist mean by the phrase?' And to answer this question, we must look into the context in which he uses it, as well as into the phraseology of early Christian writers.

Let us, then, take Ode 6[7f] in Dr Barnes's translation:—

'For there went forth a stream and it became a river great and broad: [8] for it overwhelmed everything, and it[b] . . . [9] And those of the sons of men who would have restrained it, could not restrain it, nor could the contrivances of those who restrain waters. [10] For it came over the face of the whole earth, and filled everything and all the thirsty upon earth drank thereof. [11] And their thirst was quenched and was extinguished, for drink was given from the Most High. [12] Blessed therefore are His ministers, who are entrusted with His waters. [13] They have given drink [lit. *rest*] to dry lips, and the enfeebled will they have confirmed. [14] And the souls that were nigh to departing they have held back from death. [15] And the limbs that stumbled they have set upright and established. [16] They gave life to their dead, and light to their eyes. [17] For each man acknowledged them in the Lord, and they lived by the living waters which are for ever.'

[a] l. c. p. 77.

[b] This verse is translated by Dr Harris 'It flooded and broke up everything, and it brought [water] to the Temple'; a rendering confirmed by the Coptic version in *Pistis Sophia*, in which this Ode is found.

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The primary reference is doubtless, as Drs Ryle and James suggested,[a] and as Dr Harris recognized,[b] to Ezek. xlvii 1 ff, which describes the river flowing out from under the Temple and gathering volume as it goes, bearing the waters of healing and fruitfulness. But the water of this river appears in the LXX of Ezek. xlvii 3 as *ὕδωρ ἀφέσεως*, 'the water of remission,' and many of the Fathers interpret it of the water of baptism. Thus Melito of Sardis writes:[c] *οὕτω καὶ Ἰεζεκιὴλ ἐν τῷ τέλει ὕδωρ ἀφέσεως ἐκάλεσε τὸ ἐκτυποῦν τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα.* Earlier than Melito, Barnabas[d] quotes Ezek. xlvii 1, 7, 12, to typify the baptismal stream (the passage is one to which we shall return), and of later writers Theodoret[e] and Jerome[f] take the same line. Another pertinent reference is that of Ephraim Syrus in one of his Rhythms. Of Christ he says: 'Out of the stream whence the fishers came up [an obvious allusion to Ezek. xlvii 10] He was baptized, and came up, Who incloseth all things in His net.'[g] It is, then, reasonable to think that our Odist means his allusion to Ezek. xlvii to be understood in the same sense, and that we have here a reference to baptism, as Dr Harnack acutely suggested,[h] when only that part of the Ode which is contained in *Pistis Sophia* was before him, although now he writes: 'An die Taufe ist nicht zu denken.'[i]

Dr Harris, indeed, and Dr Harnack find in the language of the obscure verse 8 an indication of the Judaism of the writer which might be thought to exclude such an interpretation. As rendered in their editions (Dr Barnes, as we have seen, marks the passage as corrupt) it runs 'It flooded and broke up everything and it brought to the Temple', thus suggesting that the goal of the

[a] *Psalms of Solomon* p. 160. [b] l. c. p. 96. [c] Routh *Rel. Sacr.* i 124.

[d] § 11. Barnabas is here collecting O. T. *testimonia* to baptism, and he quotes Jer. ii 12 f and Isa. xvi 1 and proceeds: *καὶ πάλιν λέγει ὁ προφήτης· ἐγὼ πορεύσομαι ἔμπροσθεν σοῦ; καὶ ὄρη ὁμαλιῶ καὶ πύλας χαλκᾶς συντρίψω καὶ μοχλοὺς σιδηροῦς συνκλάσω, καὶ δώσω σοι θησαυροὺς σκοτεινοὺς ἀποκρύφους, αὐράτους . . .* (Isa. xlv 2, 3). Next Isa. xxxiii 16–18 and Ps. i 3–6 are quoted, and finally he adds: *εἶτα τί λέγει; καὶ ἦν ποταμὸς ἔλκων ἐκ δεξιῶν, καὶ ἀνέβαινεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ δένδρα ὡραῖα· καὶ ὃς ἂν φάγῃ ἐξ αὐτῶν ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα* [Ezek. xlvii 1, 7, 12; cp. John vi 51]. *τοῦτο λέγει ὅτι ἡμεῖς μὲν καταβαίνομεν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ γέμοντες ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ ῥύπου, καὶ ἀναβαίνομεν καρποφοροῦντες ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ κτλ.*

[e] *Comm. in Ezech.*

[f] *Comm. in Ezech.*; cp. also Ep. lxix *ad Oceanum.*

[g] Rhythm III (Morris *Select Works of Ephraim* p. 16).

[h] *Hist. o Dogma* i 207 (Engl. Tr.). [i] *Texte u. Untersuch.* xxxv 4 p. 32.

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life-giving stream is the Temple at Jerusalem. But this is only a reminiscence (even if the translation be correct) of the concluding words of the LXX of Ezek. xlvii 1, the passage on which the Odist is working, ἀπὸ νότου ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον: and so it cannot be held as setting aside the interpretation, which this *locus classicus* of the early Christian Fathers received from all who touched it.

Verse 12 confirms the interpretation. 'Blessed are the διάκονοι of that draught of His'—διάκονοι being the original word, as we see from its preservation in the commentary of *Pistis Sophia*—naturally refers to the Christian clergy [a] who ministered the rite.

It might be urged as a further objection to the view here taken of Ode 6, that the waters of Ezek. xlvii, interpreted by the Fathers of the waters of baptism, are waters of *healing* and *fruitfulness*, while the Living Water of the Odist is for *drinking*, a draught for the thirsty. And all through our Odes this is the purpose of the Water which the singer has in his thought. 'Fill ye waters for yourselves from the living fountain of the Lord, for it is opened to you; and come all ye thirsty and take the draught and rest by the fountain of the Lord. For fair it is and pure and gives rest to the soul. Much more pleasant are its waters than honey' are the opening words of Ode 30.

So again in Ode 28[7] we have 'Immortal life will come forth and give me to drink, and from that life is the spirit within me'. And more particularly in Ode 11[6 f]: 'Speaking waters touched my lips from the fountain of the Lord without grudging, and I drank and was inebriated with the living water that doth not die.'[b]

[a] Dr Barnes sees in these διάκονοι an allusion to the Montanist prophets. He finds Montanism in Ode 6, mainly on the ground of verse 1, which Dr Harris translates 'As the hand moves over the harp, and the strings speak, so speaks in my members the Spirit of the Lord', but Dr Barnes emends so that it runs 'As the wind goeth in the harp, &c.'. Thus, in his view, the Ode begins with a statement of the Montanist view of inspiration: 'the prophet is as passive as the harp, while the Spirit speaks through him' (l. c. p. 57). But such language may be found in other Syrian writers who were not Montanists. Thus Narsai, the Syriac homilist, was called by his friends 'the Harp of the Holy Spirit'; and in one of Ephraim's *Rhythms*, he prays: 'Do thou, Lord, play on my harp with all Thy edifying strains' (Rhythm XXI, Morris *Select Works of Ephrem* p. 175). Our Odist frequently uses this image, but without any heretical suggestion. Thus he says 'Open to me the harp of Thy Holy Spirit, that with all its notes I may praise Thee, O Lord' (Ode 14[8]), a sentence very like that just quoted from Ephraim. Cp. also Ode 7[20] and Ode 26[3].

[b] I do not cite here Ode 39, for it is doubtful if the turbulent waters of that Ode have any reference to baptism, although the language is not unlike that of Jerome,

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The Living Water of our Odes is represented as a life-giving *draught.* But however strange it may seem to us to think thus of the baptismal waters, the early interpreters of the Gospel were not so precise in their metaphors. We need not go beyond Ephraim, who presents at every point parallels to the thought of our Odes. In one of the baptismal hymns, to which allusion has frequently been made, he has a reference to the story of Num. xx 14–21, which tells how the Edomites refused Israel a passage through their territory, with the privilege of drinking at the wells: 'To the sons of Lot Moses said, "Give us water for money, let us only pass by through your border." They refused the way and the temporal water. Lo! the Living Water freely given and the path that leads to Eden.'[a] And in the same hymn (at ver. 21) Ephraim interprets the words of Christ to the Samaritan woman, 'Whoso drinketh of this water that I shall give him shall never thirst again' (John iv 14), as signifying mystically that baptism cannot be repeated—a fantastic comment, but apposite here to shew that the baptismal waters were conceived of by the early commentators as a draught for the thirsty, just as they are in our Odes.[b]

Moreover, the curious phrase '*inebriated* with the living water' (Ode 11[7]) is one which is actually applied to the effects of the baptismal waters by Hilary. He expounds Ps. lxiv (lxv) 11, which runs in the Vulgate *Riuos eius inebria, multiplica genimina eius*, 'We ourselves are thus inebriated when we receive the Holy Spirit Who is called the River,' and he proceeds to speak of the joy of the newly baptized.

The passage about Living Water in Ode 11, then, may bear a baptismal reference. But it is by no means the only allusion in this Ode to the sacrament of initiation. Another phrase from it has been quoted already: 'The Lord renewed me in His

when interpreting Ezek. xlvii 5 of the baptismal waters. The idea in Ode 39 is, perhaps, the same as that expounded by Cyril of Jerusalem (*Cat. Myst.* v 17) 'Temptation is like a winter torrent, difficult to cross'. Origen uses the same image *in Ps.* xxxv (xxxvi) 8.

[a] *Epiphany Hymns* vii 7.

[b] Cp. St Cyprian *Ep.* lxiii 8 'quotienscumque autem aqua sola in scripturis sanctis nominatur, baptisma praedicatur, ut apud Esaiam significari videmus': and he proceeds to quote and expound in this sense Isa. xliii 18–21, xlviii 21, St John vii 37–39.

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raiment and possessed me by His light'[a] (ver. 10). Let us now take its opening sentences: '*My heart was circumcised*, and its flower appeared; and grace sprang up in it; and it brought forth fruit to the Lord, for the Most High *circumcised me by His Holy Spirit*.' It is not necessary to quote a host of passages from the Fathers which liken baptism to spiritual circumcision; the idea is quite familiar to students of patristic literature. One parallel is enough, and it shall be from Cyril of Jerusalem: ἁγίῳ πνεύματι διὰ τοῦ λουτροῦ περιτεμνόμενοι.[b] These are the actual words of our Odist, save that he suppresses, after his cryptic fashion, the technical term λουτρόν.

Probably another reference to spiritual circumcision may be discerned at the beginning of Ode 10, which Dr Harris translates, 'He hath *opened my heart* by His light.'

We continue our examination of Ode 11. The continual exhortation of Christian teachers to the newly baptized was that they should 'bring forth fruit', as it was the exhortation of the Baptist in the beginning[c]; and thus prayers for the neophytes that they may be fruitful in good works are to be found in the baptismal *ordines*. In the Epistle of Barnabas there is a typical passage.[d] The writer is recalling Old Testament foreshadowings of baptism, and he quotes Ps. i 1 ff (of the tree planted by the waterside which brings forth its fruit in due season), and Ezek. xlvii 1, 7, 12 (the passage that has already been before us when discussing Ode 6). His conclusion is τοῦτο λέγει ὅτι ἡμεῖς μὲν καταβαίνομεν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ γέμοντες ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ ῥυπού, καὶ ἀναβαίνομεν καρποφοροῦντες ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ, i. e. 'we rise up from the waters of baptism bearing fruit in the heart'. Or, as Cyril puts it, καρποφορήσωμεν τοίνυν ἀξίως.[e] Let us place beside these passages the opening words of Ode 11: 'My heart was circumcised and its fruit appeared; and grace sprang up in it; and *it brought forth fruit to the Lord*.' The idea appears in several other Odes; e. g. Ode 8[2] 'Let your love be multiplied from the heart and even to the lips, to bring forth fruit to the Lord, living, holy'; Ode 14[7] 'Teach

[a] The striking phrase of Optatus, who calls Christ 'tunica natans in aquis', may be recalled here (*De schism. Donatist.* 5).

[b] *Cat.* v 6; cp. Justin *Tryph.* 43; Basil *Orat. exhort. ad baptismum*; Aphrahat *Dem.* xii 3; and Chrysostom, who expounds Col. ii 11 as relating to baptism.

[c] Matt. iii 18.

[d] § 11; see above p. 9 n.

[e] *Cat.* i 4.

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me the Psalms of Thy truth, that I may bring forth fruit in Thee'; Ode 38[18] 'He set the root and watered it and fixed it and blessed it; and its fruits are for ever'. When the patristic parallels are considered, they give good reason for concluding that the 'fruit-bearing' in the Odist's thought is the 'fruitbearing' which the baptized Christian is expected to exhibit.

Lower down in the same Ode (11[14]) we have another veiled allusion: 'He carried me to His Paradise,' with which we may associate 'Come into His Paradise' of Ode 20[7]. That the baptized had been, in a sense, restored to Paradise and its privileges is a frequent thought with the Eastern Fathers. Thus in his Sermon on Christ's Baptism, Gregory of Nyssa exclaims: 'The Jordan is glorified by regenerating men, and planting them in the Paradise of God; and of them, as the words of the Psalmist say, ever blooming and bearing the foliage of virtues "the leaf shall not wither" and God shall be glad receiving their fruit in due season.'[a] In like manner, Paradise is described as the place of habitation of the baptized by Basil,[b] who asks: *σὺ δὲ πῶς ἐπανέλθῃς εἰς τὸν παράδεισον, μὴ σφραγισθεὶς τῷ βαπτίσματι*; Once again, in the Hymn of the Baptized already[c] quoted from Ephraim we have: 'He opens for you His door, and bids you enter Eden (ver. 10) . . . the fruit which Adam tasted not in Paradise, this day in your mouths has been placed' (ver. 17). It is in the same spirit, and surely with the same thoughts, that our Odist goes on with his song of joy: 'He carried me to His Paradise, where is the abundance of the pleasure of the Lord; and I worshipped the Lord on account of His glory; and I said, Blessed, O Lord, are they who are planted in Thy land! and those who have a place in Thy Paradise, and they grow by the fruits of Thy trees . . . there is abundant room in Thy Paradise . . . I am altogether filled with fruit.'

We may take up next the cognate idea of *rest*[d] which appears very often in the Odes. 'He gave me rest in incorruption' (Ode 11[10]); 'Recline on His rest' (Ode 20[8]); 'I believed, there-

[a] Cp. St Cyr. Hier. *Cat.* i 4 *καταφυτεύῃ λοιπὸν εἰς τὸν νοητὸν παράδεισον.*

[b] *Hom.* xiii 2; it is a frequent topic with Cyril Alex.

[c] See above, pp. 3, 4, with the phrases of the hymn from the baptismal *Ordo* of Severus.

[d] Cp. the *ὕδωρ ἀναπαύσεως* of Ps. xxii (xxiii) 2, which Theodoret interprets of baptism.

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fore I was at rest, for faithful is He in whom I have believed' (Ode 28^4); 'Rest by the fountain of the Lord' (Ode 30^2); 'The truth . . . made me rest' (Ode 38^4), are phrases which we interpret best when we place them beside the more instructive sentences, 'It suffices to know and to rest' (Ode 26^{13}), and 'Where His rest is, there also am I' (Ode 3^6). I call these instructive, because they remind us at once of what Clement of Alexandria has to say of baptism. The *locus classicus* is *Paedagogus* i 6: 'As soon as we are regenerated, we are honoured by receiving the good news of the hope of rest.' More close to the language of Ode 26 is this: 'Where faith is, there is the promise; and the consummation of the promise is rest. So that in illumination (sc. baptism) what we receive is knowledge, and the end of knowledge is rest.'[a] The 'rest' of the Odes is, as with Clement, the baptismal consummation.

It should not be overlooked that this 'rest' is also conceived as the rest promised to those who take up the yoke of Christ,[b] to which clear allusion is made in Ode 42^8: 'I lifted up over them the yoke of My love: like the arm of the bridegroom over the bride, so was My yoke over those that know Me.' At the beginning of the baptismal *Ordo* of Severus, already quoted more than once, the words 'Take My yoke upon you . . . and ye shall find rest' are prescribed for recitation; and among the prayers for the Catechumens in the Liturgy of St Basil[c] is this: δὸς αὐτοῖς τὸν ἐλαφρὸν ζυγόν. The references to 'rest' in the Odes receive a new significance when this is borne in mind.

One other phrase in Ode 11 may be noted: 'My face received the dew' (ver. 13), with which may be compared 'Distil Thy dews upon us, and open Thy rich fountains that pour forth to us milk and honey' (Ode 4^{10}). 'The dew of the Lord in quietness He distilled over me' (Ode 35^1). This, again, is a baptismal expression. Basil speaks of baptism as δρόσος ψυχῆς[d]; and Lactantius[e] says that as Christ saved the Jews by being circumcised, so He saves the Gentiles by baptism, i.e. 'by the perfusion of the purifying dew'.

[a] This is quoted by Dr Harris, but he does not note the significance of ἐν φωτίσματι, or that Clement is speaking of baptism.

[b] Matt. xi 29 (so Basil *Hom.* xiii 1).

[c] See Brightman l.c. 315.

[d] *Hom.* xiii 2.

[e] *Div. Inst.* iv 15.

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When all these allusions are gathered together, I submit that it has been established that Ode 11 is a baptismal Ode, and therefore that the 'living water that doth not die' is meant to describe the baptismal waters.

2. We go on next to examine the references in the Odes to a Seal, of which also Dr Harris deprecates the sacramental significance.[a]

These are few in number, and their meaning is not as clear as is that of the Living Water. I shall only cite two at this point, one from Ode 4 and the other from Ode 8, neither of which would be conclusive, unless the context were carefully examined; although the description of baptism as a σφραγίς is so early and so frequently met with,[b] that the sacramental interpretation always suggests itself.

Ode 4[7f] is as follows:—

[7] 'For who is there that shall put on Thy grace and be hurt? [8] For Thy seal is known and Thy creatures know it; and Thy hosts possess it, and the elect archangels are clad with it. [9] Thou hast given us Thy fellowship: it was not that thou wast in need of us, but that we are in need of thee; [10] distil Thy dews upon us; and open Thy rich fountains that pour forth to us milk and honey.'

Ode 8[15f] runs:—

'I do not turn away my face from them that are mine; [16] for I know them, and before they came into being I took knowledge of them, and on their faces I set my seal: [17] I fashioned their members: my own breasts I prepared for them that they might drink my holy milk and live thereby.'

If the words of Ode 4[8] 'the elect archangels are clad with it' represent exactly the original text (and this is always doubtful in the case of a collection of poems preserved only in one late manuscript, and that a manuscript containing a translation only), it is difficult to interpret the seal of Ode 4 of baptism, for that archangels are baptized is not, I believe, anywhere alleged.[c] But there is a passage in the Catechetical Lectures of Cyril of Jerusalem, which is so like the phrasing of Ode 4[8], that it suggests a slightly different significance for the words 'are clad'. Cyril is speaking[d]

[a] l. c. p. 78.

[b] See, e. g. Hermas *Sim.* ix 16 (a section from which the *word* βαπτισμός is absent, just as it is from our Odes); 2 Clem. 8; and Ephraim *Epiphany Hymns* ix 6 and *passim.*

[c] Unless the Valentinian doctrine quoted by Clem. Al. (*Exc. Theodot.* 22) be admitted.

[d] *Cat.* i 3.

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of the gift of baptism : *τὴν σωτηριώδη δίδωσι σφραγῖδα τὴν θαυμασίαν, ἣν τρέμουσι δαίμονες καὶ γινώσκουσιν ἄγγελοι.* That the hosts of heaven and hell recognize the power of the baptismal seal is Cyril's thought, and it is not certain that our Odist intended more than this. In one of the baptismal *ordines* printed by Assemani,[a] as used in the Church of Jerusalem, the words occur: 'exercitus caelestium circumadstant baptisterio, ut ex aquis suscipiant filios Deo similes,' which would express the similar idea of the interest of the angels in the sacrament of initiation.[b]

This conclusion is much strengthened if a passage from Basil's Homily on Baptism (§ 4) be compared with the words quoted above from Ode 4. There is no need, Basil says, to despair because of sin, for grace abounds. If demons draw men to evil, angels draw them to good. And as to soldiers a *tessera* is given that their friends may recognize them in the battle, so is it in the Christian conflict. Baptism is the seal, without which hardly will heavenly guardians be able to recognize the Christian soldier. *πῶς ἀντιποιηθῇ σοῦ ὁ ἄγγελος; πῶς δὲ ἀφέληται τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ἐὰν μὴ ἐπιγνῷ τὴν σφραγῖδα; πῶς δὲ σὺ ἐρεῖς, τοῦ θεοῦ εἰμὶ, μὴ ἐπιφερόμενος τὰ γνωρίσματα;* This is exactly the thought set forth in Ode 4^{7-9}; the 'seal' which is 'known' by the hosts of heaven is the seal of baptism, with its protecting grace.

Again, the words which follow the mention of the seal in Ode 4, 'Thou hast given us Thy fellowship; it was not that Thou wast in need of us, but that we are in need of Thee; distil Thy dews upon us,' are entirely appropriate to the thought of the baptism of Christ, by which His fellowship with man was specially asserted. 'I have need to be baptized of Thee, and comest Thou to me?' was the question of the Baptist (Matt. iii 14). But Christ was baptized, nevertheless, says Epiphanius,[c] *ἵνα δείξῃ, ὅτι ἀληθινὴν σάρκα ἐνεδύσατο, ἀληθινὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν. κατερχόμενος εἰς τὰ ὕδατα, διδοὺς ἥπερ λαμβάνων, παρεχόμενος ἥπερ ἐπιδεόμενος κτλ.* This is very close to the thought of Ode 4^{9}.

We have, next, mention of breasts of milk in Ode 8 and of fountains of milk and honey in Ode 4, which will go far to confirm

[a] *Cod. Liturg.* ii 226; cp. Cosmas l. c. 470.

[b] Cp. Cyr. Hier. *Procat.* 15 *ἤδη μοι χοροὺς ἀγγελικοὺς ἐννοήσατε ... θρόνους δὲ καὶ κυριότητας λειτουργοῦντας*: see also Tert. *de Baptismo* 4, 6.

[c] *Adv. Haer.* III ii 15.

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our conclusion, when the references in other Odes to *milk* are scrutinized.

Ode 19 (which speaks later on of the Virgin Birth of Christ and is therefore certainly Christian) begins thus: 'A cup of milk was offered me: and I drank it in the sweetness of the delight of the Lord. The Son is the Cup, and He who was milked is the Father: and the Holy Spirit milked Him; because His breasts were full, and it was necessary for Him that His milk should be sufficiently released; and the Holy Spirit opened her bosom and mingled the milk from the two breasts of the Father.' This is harsh and crude language, as Dr Harris observes, while he provides us with an interesting parallel from Clement of Alexandria,[a] 'the milk of the Father by which only the babes are fed'. But it should be added that Clement proceeds on the same page to speak of *baptism*: 'With milk, the Lord's nutriment, we are nursed directly we are born; and as soon as we are regenerated, we are honoured by receiving the good news of the hope of rest, even the Jerusalem above, in which it is written that milk and honey fall in showers.' And, again, a little lower down: 'The Holy Spirit in the Apostle, using the voice of the Lord, says mystically, "I have given you milk to drink".[b] For if we have been regenerated unto Christ, He who has regenerated us nourishes us with His own milk, the Word.' A parallel that is even more apposite for our present enquiry, as it comes from Syria and not from Alexandria, is a sentence from the Homily of Narsai on the Mysteries of the Church and of Baptism:[c] 'As milk he sucks the Divine mysteries, and by degrees they lead him, as a child, to the things to come. A spiritual Mother [*sc.* the Church] prepares spiritual milk for his life; and instead of the breasts she puts into his mouth the Body and the Blood.' And again, a Poem on Easter, ascribed to Fortunatus (saec. vi), speaks of the newly baptized as 'fed with abundant milk at the Church's bosom'. This is the same thought as we have in Ode 8: 'My own breasts I prepared for them that they might drink my holy milk and live thereby'; and the key to that Ode is to recollect that the Church is the speaker, and that she is addressing the neophytes whom she has received.

[a] *Paed.* i. 6. [b] 1 Cor. iii 2; cp. Iren. *Haer.* IV xxxviii 1.
[c] *Hom.* xxi (c) p. 52 (Cambridge *Texts and Studies*).

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The words of Ode 4[10], 'Open thy rich fountains that pour forth to us milk and honey,' seem to carry an even more specific allusion. There are many traces in early Christian literature from the second century onward of a rite of administering milk and honey to the newly baptized, to symbolize their entrance into the 'land flowing with milk and honey', the land of promise which the chosen people reached after passing through the waters of Jordan. So Tertullian writes: 'inde suscepti lactis et mellis concordiam praegustamus,'[a] and the passage of Clement of Alexandria just quoted should be compared.

The argument, then, which I have been elaborating in regard to Odes 4 and 8 is that their language about 'milk', 'milk and honey', fellowship with God, &c., most naturally relates to baptism, which therefore may be taken to be represented by the 'seal' of which they speak.

There is, however, an objection taken by Dr Harnack to the view that Ode 4 is in any sense a Christian Ode which requires notice. It begins thus: 'No man, O my God, changeth thy holy place; [2] and it is not [possible] that he should change it, and put it in another place: because he hath no power over it: [3] for Thy sanctuary Thou hast designed before Thou didst make places: [4] that which is the elder shall not be altered by those that are younger than itself.' This has reference, in the view both of Dr Harris and of Dr Harnack, to the Temple at Jerusalem, and its unique claims as the Sanctuary; and the passage shews, in Dr. Harnack's opinion, that the author was a Jew and that the Temple was still standing, which would give us a date before A.D. 70 for the Ode. If this conclusion can be substantiated, it is of the highest importance for the criticism of our Odes; and there is no doubt that the language of the first four verses lends itself to such an interpretation. Yet if this be the meaning, we have here a phenomenon which does not present itself again throughout the whole collection of Odes, viz. a reference to definite times and localities. The singer praises God in all the other Odes *sub specie aeternitatis*; his songs are timeless; his thought is not bounded by the conditions of the country in which

[a] *De Cor.* 3; cp. *adv. Marc.* i 14. See also *Egypt. Ch. Ord.* can. 46; *Can. Hippol.* xix; *Concil. Carthag.* iii can. 24; Jerome *ad Lucifer.* Opp. ii 180, and *in Esai.* lv. The rite is still retained in Abyssinia (Denzinger *Rit. Or.* i p. 232).

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his lot is cast. And, moreover, such a view of vv. 1–4 accords very ill with what follows;[a] there is, apparently, no connexion at all with: 'One hour of thy Faith is more precious than all days and years. For who is there that shall put on Thy grace and be hurt?' That the singer should set such store by the situation of the Temple is hardly consistent with Dr Harnack's view that he everywhere appears as one for whom 'alle Vermittelungen, Ceremonien und die religiösen Apparate sind unter seinem Fusse; er ist was man heute einen *liberalen* Frommen nennen würde; ... er ist ein mystischer Prophet'.[b] I should doubt if the Odist is really quite independent of religious 'apparatus', for the heart of his thought seems to me, as I have said, to be the grace of baptism; but I find a difficulty in reconciling this view of his position with his supposed veneration for the material Temple. And hence it is natural to look about for some other explanation of words, admittedly obscure, which point that way.

May not the key to the opening verses of Ode 4 be that the Odist is thinking of the unique dignity of the *Church*, the company of the baptized, rather than of the buildings of the Jewish temple?[c] A prayer for the candidates for baptism near the beginning of the *Ordo* of Severus[d] proceeds: 'Planta eos in ovilibus haereditatis tuae, in domo illius habitationis tuae perornatae, quam erexisti in sanctuario illo quod appararunt manus tuae.' Certainly in this prayer, the sanctuary which God's hands have prepared is the Church, foreshadowed and typified in the hymn of Exod. xv 17; the sanctuary which is reached when the people, like Israel of old, have passed through the waters. That the unchangeable sanctuary of Ode 4 may be just this, and no other, is, I believe, a tenable view, and more consistent with the context than the interpretation which Dr Harnack assumes as inevitable.

Let us proceed to handle Ode 22, an Ode that is very obscure, and of which the interpretation given in *Pistis Sophia* does not help us. The subject of the singer's praise is '[4] He who gave me

[a] Since this article was written, Dr Barnes has printed a similar criticism on Ode 4 (*J. T. S.*, July 1910, p. 617).

[b] l. c. p. 105.

[c] With Ode 4[3] cp. 2 Clem. 14; and also Basil *in Ps.* xxix 3.

[d] See above p. 4.

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authority over bonds that I might loose them ; [5] He that overthrew by my hands the dragon with seven heads ; and thou hast set me over his roots that I might destroy his seed'.

First let us find out who the dragon is. Dr Harris makes various suggestions as to the historical allusion involved, although as he truly says: 'dragons are difficult to identify.'[a] But the explanation is ready to hand for any one who remembers the phrases of the baptismal service books. 'Collidatur caput draconis illius homicidae subter signaculum crucis' is a petition just before the *insufflatio* upon the baptismal waters in the *Ordo* already cited of Severus of Antioch. The dragon appears in like manner in the two Syrian *ordines* printed by Assemani[b]; and also in the Armenian rite.[c] And Cyril of Jerusalem explains to the catechumens in his Catechetical Lectures[d] that the dragon with seven headsof Job xl 23 is the devil whom Christ overcame in His baptism: ἐπεὶ οὖν ἔδει συντρίψαι τὰς κεφαλὰς τοῦ δράκοντος [Ps. lxxiii (lxxiv) 13], καταβὰς ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι ἔδησε τὸν ἰσχυρόν [Matt. xii 29], ἵνα ἐξουσίαν λάβωμεν πατεῖν ἐπάνω ὄφεων [Lk. x 19]. Nor does Cyril stand alone. Methodius[e] says that the dragon with seven heads of Apoc. xii is the devil who lies in wait to destroy the baptized. The point need hardly be laboured further. There is no need to search for the dragon in Greek or Roman or Egyptian history; to the Odist, as to the compilers of the baptismal offices, to Cyril and to Methodius, he is always a danger, for he is the spiritual enemy of the baptized, overcome in the Baptism of Christ Himself.

The dragon of Ode 22 being then the 'old serpent' who is vanquished in baptism, we have no difficulty in realizing that the 'bonds' which are 'loosed' at the same time that the dragon is overthrown are the bonds with which the devil binds us. Baptism says Cyril is αἰχμαλώτοις λύτρον,[f] a phrase that is repeated often by the Fathers, e.g. by Gregory Nazianzen[g]; it is a Ransom for captives, for those that are bound. So in other Odes, as well as in Ode 22, the singer speaks of this release. 'He had cast off my bonds from me' (Ode 21[1]); 'I was rescued from my bonds' (Ode 25[1]); 'He gave me . . . to lead captive a good captivity'

[a] l. c. p. 119.
[b] *Cod. Liturg.* ii 214, 226.
[c] Conybeare *Rituale Armenorum* p. 101.
[d] *Cat.* iii 11.
[e] *Banquet* viii 10.
[f] *Procat.* 16.
[g] *Oratio* xl 3.

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(Ode 10[3]); 'I went over all my bondmen to loose them: that I might not leave any man bound' (Ode 17[11]).

A study of the baptismal service books will also help us with Ode 24, which begins, 'The Dove fluttered over the Messiah'. This refers, of course, to the Baptism of Christ, as Dr Harris points out.[a] But the rest of the ode is obscure, and of the later part no full explanation has been offered. This is Dr Harris's translation:—

'[1] The Dove fluttered over the Messiah, because He was her head; and she sang over Him and her voice was heard: [2] and the inhabitants were afraid and the sojourners were moved: [3] the birds dropped their wings, and all creeping things died in their holes: and the abysses were opened which had been hidden; and they cried to the Lord like women in travail: [4] and no food was given to them, because it did not belong to them; [5] and they sealed up the abysses with the seal of the Lord. And they perished in the thought, those that had existed from ancient times; [6] for they were corrupt from the beginning; and the end of their corruption was life: [7] and every one of them that was imperfect perished: for it was not possible to give them a word that they might remain: [8] and the Lord destroyed the imaginations of all of them that had not the truth with them. [9] For they who in their hearts were lifted up were deficient in wisdom and so they were rejected, because the truth was not with them. [10] For the Lord disclosed His way, and spread abroad His grace; and those who understood it, know His holiness. Hallelujah.'

We notice, first, the reference to the Dove descending, and Dr Harris calls special attention to the verb 'to flutter' which is used, comparing the expression of Justin,[b] ἐπιπτῆναι ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὡς περιστερὰν τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα. The *Ordo* of Severus, to which allusion has so often been made,[c] introduces the same idea. 'Spiritus sanctitatis in similitudinem columbae *volans* descendit mansitque super caput Filii et super aquas *incubavit*.'[d]

Next, it is to be observed that all the Eastern Baptismal rites bring in the idea that the waters were terrified at the coming of Christ for baptism. They quote[e] Ps. lxxvi (lxxvii) 17, 18 εἶδόσάν

[a] Dr Harnack prefers to emend the text, which he thinks may have run 'The Dove fluttered over the earth'. But this emendation is quite unnecessary, as shall see.

[b] *Dial. c. Tryph.* 88. [c] Above p. 4.

[d] This passage is quoted by Dr Harris (l. c. p. 86).

[e] It is hardly necessary to give references. The *Ordo* of Severus quotes all three passages. The first is quoted in Assemani's *Ordo Alexandr. Copt. et Aethiop.*;

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σε ὕδατα καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν καὶ ἐταράχθησαν ἄβυσσοι, or Ps. cxiii (cxiv) 3 ἡ θάλασσα εἶδεν καὶ ἔφυγεν, ὁ Ἰορδάνης ἐστράφη εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω, or Ps. xxviii (xxix) 3 φωνὴ Κυρίου ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων, as forecasting the terrors inspired by the Coming of the Christ to the Jordan. In the Armenian baptismal rite printed by Mr Conybeare[a] there is a prayer to Christ which takes up this thought: 'By Thy dread command *Thou didst close up the abysses* and make them fast . . . thou didst bruise the head of the dragon upon the waters.' It will be noticed how close the words which I have italicized are to ver. 5 of our Ode, as also to Ode 31[1] 'The abysses were dissolved before the Lord: and darkness was destroyed by His appearance'. Nor is this idea peculiar to the Rituals, ancient or modern; it appears in Hippolytus,[b] and in Origen, who paraphrases Ps. lxxvi 17 αἱ ἄβυσσοι τὰς καταχθονίους δύναμεις δηλοῦσιν, αἵτινες ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ Χριστοῦ ἐταράχθησαν.

This last quotation introduces us to a new point, viz. that not only were the waters afraid, but the demons and evil spirits were scared away, which is the thought of the singer towards the end of Ode 24. Thus there is a special prayer in the baptismal *Ordo* of the Church of Jerusalem[c] . . . 'fugiant itaque umbrae invisibiles et aereae, quaeso te, Domine, neque delitescat in aquis istis tenebrosus daemon'.

Is it then, having regard to these parallels, doubtful that by 'the seal of the Lord' with which the abysses were sealed up (ver. 5) the Odist means to indicate Christian baptism?

A 'seal' is also mentioned in Ode 23, but here the reference does not seem to be to the baptismal σφραγίς, although I confess that I am unable to offer any interpretation, with confidence, of this very obscure piece. Dr Harris and Dr Harnack both give it up as unintelligible, nor does Dr Barnes explain its difficulties.

This Ode tells of a sealed letter, representing the Divine thought, which was shot down from heaven. It was 'a great tablet, wholly written by the finger of God', a phrase which suggests that it was a New Commandment; it 'embraced all districts', and upon it was the Name of the Trinity. So far, these

the second in the Mass of the Catechumens in the Liturgy of Chrysostom; the third in the modern form of Blessing the Waters, and in the modern Nestorian rite.

[a] *Rituale Armenorum* p. 101.

[b] *De Theoph.* 2.

[c] Printed by Assemani l. c. ii 228.

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indications would agree with the conclusion that this Letter was the Commission to the Church of Matt. xxviii 19 'Make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them into the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost'; and I am inclined to think that we are here on the right track.

Many tried to seize the letter, but failed; they were afraid and could not loose the seal. '[9] But those who saw it went after the letter that they might know where it would be loosed, and who should read it, and who should hear it. [10] But a wheel[a] received it and came over it: [11] and there was with it a sign of the Kingdom and of the Government: [12] and everything which tried to move the wheel it mowed and cut down: [13] and it gathered the multitude of adversaries, and covered the rivers and crossed over and rooted up many forests and made a broad path.' That is to say, the Wheel which received the Letter moved on to victory and triumph. This would fall in with the idea that the Wheel is the Church. The Church alone could break the seal, and read the Divine message.

Even yet, however, we have not exhausted the difficulties, for ver. 14 proceeds: 'The head went down to the feet, for down to the feet ran the wheel, and that which was a sign upon it.' If the Wheel is the Church, are we to interpret the Head of Christ, and the Feet of His members—a distinction which possibly is suggested in Ode 42[18]? Or should we rather look for a clue in a fancy of Cyril of Jerusalem who in one place[b] represents the Deity of Christ as the Head, and His Manhood as the Feet? Either interpretation seems farfetched, although we must remember that in Christian exegesis of the early period 'anything may be the cause of anything', a maxim which I shall proceed to illustrate by a passage from Basil that provides yet another possible explanation of the Wheel.

The Greek expositors interpreted Ps. xxviii (xxix) 3 *φωνὴ Κυρίου ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων* of the Voice which was heard at the Baptism of Christ.[c] Basil (l. c.) proceeds to connect this with the *φωνὴ*

[a] Dr Barnes suggests that this word may mean 'sickle', and that there is some allusion to Apoc. xiv 14 f; but this does not solve our difficulties.

[b] *Cat.* xii 1.

[c] Hippol. *Theoph.* 7; Greg. Nyss. *De Baptismo Christi*; and Basil *Hom. in Ps. xxviii.* Cp. the use of the words at the Consecration of the water of Baptism, in the Coptic rite (Denzinger *R. O.* i p. 207), and in the Greek 'Great Consecration'.

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Κυρίου which gave the Baptismal commission in the Name of the Trinity, i.e. Matt. xxviii 19. The Voice of the Lord in nature, he goes on, is thunder; and the delivery of the Gospel after baptism may also be called 'thunder': *δυνατὸν δέ σοι καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν λόγον τὴν μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα γινομένην ἐκ τῆς μεγαλοφωνίας τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν ἤδη τελειουμένων παράδοσιν βροντὴν ὀνομάζειν.* Basil says, parenthetically, that the title 'Sons of Thunder' justifies this comparison of the voice of thunder to the voice of the Gospel.[a] But it is not every one who can claim that his voice is this thunder of the Gospel. It is only a man such as is alluded to in Ps. lxxvi (lxxvii) 19 *φωνὴ τῆς βροντῆς σου ἐν τῷ τροχῷ*,[b] 'The Voice of Thy thunder is in the *wheel*.' The voice of the thunder of the Gospel is only in him who is worthy to be called a 'wheel', who 'presses on to the things that are before' as a wheel does, only touching earth with a little part of him. And so, for Basil, the 'wheel' of Ps. lxxvi (lxxvii) 19 is the soul inspired by the spirit of the Gospel—a curiosity of exegesis which is also found as one of Origen's alternative explanations of the *τροχός* of this verse, viz. *τὴν καθαρὰν καὶ αἰώνιον ψυχήν*.[c]

If we accept this clue from Basil, the Wheel is the devout Christian, and the reception of the Letter by the Wheel would be an allusion to the delivery of the Gospel to the catechumens. The seal upon the Letter would not be the baptismal *σφραγίς*, which is rather the interpretation of the 'sign of the Kingdom' that is 'with' the Wheel, the newly baptized being signed with the sign of the Cross. The difficulty in this interpretation lies in vv. 12, 13; for while the Church as a whole moves irresistibly to its final triumph, and the gates of hell cannot prevail against it, such language is not so applicable to the individual Christian, however devout and bold. If a patristic interpretation of the *τροχός* of Ps. lxxvi (lxxvii) 19 as representing the *Church* were forthcoming, comparable to that just now derived from Basil, the explanation of the Wheel as the Church would probably be the best available. As things are, the Ode remains obscure; but

[a] All this is also in Theodoret's Commentary *in loc.*

[b] This is the LXX.

[c] It should be observed that this interpretation was current in the West as well as in the East. Thus Jerome (*Tract. de Ps.* lxxvi, ed. Morin *Anecdota Maredsolana* III ii 55) has: 'Rota modico quodam vestigio stat in terra, et non solum stat, sed quasi percurrit: non stat, sed tangit et praeterit; denique cum volvitur, semper ad altiora conscendit. Ita et sanctus vir,' &c.

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perhaps enough has been said to shew that, whatever be its precise meaning, it deals with baptismal thoughts.

We now go back to the seal on the Letter. I suggest that this refers to the jealousy with which the deeper Christian truths were concealed from the unbaptized. 'It was not permitted to them to loose the seal,' for the *disciplina arcani* was strictly observed. To this *disciplina arcani* there is an apparent reference in Ode 8^{11}, 'Keep my secret, ye who are kept by it.' Dr Harris quotes a good parallel from Lactantius,[a] but he has not explained its significance: 'nos defendere hanc (doctrinam) publice atque asserere non solemus, Deo iubente, ut quieti ac silentes arcanum eius in abdito atque intra nostram conscientiam teneamus ... abscondi enim tegique mysterium quam fidelissime oportet, maxime a nobis, qui nomen fidei gerimus.' Of this there can be only one interpretation, viz. of the *disciplina arcani* before baptism.[b] And in Cyril of Jerusalem we have an even closer parallel; it is his exhortation to the Catechumens τήρησον τὸ μυστήριον (the exact words of our Odist) τῷ μισθαποδότῃ.[c] This 'secret' which is to be kept has the same reference as the 'seal' on the letter of Ode 23, viz. to the *disciplina arcani.*

Ode 17, as Dr Harris observes, is Messianic, but he has not noticed (nor has Dr Harnack) the Old Testament quotation which it contains. Vv. 8–10 are as follows: 'I opened the doors that were closed, and brake in pieces the bars of iron, but my iron melted and dissolved before me: nothing appeared closed to me: because I was the door of everything.' Now in Isa. xlv 1–3 we have: 'I will loose the loins of kings to open the doors before him and the gates shall not be shut ... I will break in pieces the doors of brass and cut in sunder the bars of iron: and I will give thee the treasures of darkness and hidden riches of secret places,'[d] which is obviously behind our Odist's language. These words were originally spoken of Cyrus 'the anointed', but they are applied by Lactantius explicitly to Christ, and in the section of his work in which he quotes Ode 19.[e] We may, indeed,

[a] *Div. Inst.* vii 26.

[b] Dr Harris appositely cites a saying ascribed to Christ in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v 10 μυστήριον ἐμὸν ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς μου, which goes back to a Hexaplar reading in Isa. xxiv 16.

[c] *Procat.* 12.

[d] The LXX representing the last six words is ἀοράτους ἀνοίξω σοι.

[e] *Div. Inst.* iv 12; see p. 1 above.

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go two centuries behind Lactantius. The verse from Isaiah is quoted by Barnabas in a passage already cited,[a] where he is collecting Old Testament *testimonia* to baptism. Thus here, again, we are in the region of baptismal thoughts. Verses 1, 4, 11, 14 from this Ode have elsewhere been cited,[b] as containing baptismal allusions, so that it is not surprising to find the Odist quoting the same passage from the Old Testament Scriptures as that which Barnabas adduces as foreshadowing the life of the baptized.

Some further allusions in our Odes to the baptismal ritual, and to early beliefs about the Sacrament, may next be marshalled, *valeant quantum.*

The first act of the baptismal ritual was the renunciation of the devil; and then the catechumens with outstretched and uplifted hands faced eastward and professed their covenant with Christ.[c] To this we have repeated allusions in the Odes. 'My arms I lifted up to the Most High, even to the grace of the Lord, because He had cast off my bonds from me' (Ode 21^1); 'I stretched out my hands and approached my Lord; for the stretching of my hands is His sign' (Ode 42^1; cp. Ode 27^1); 'I spread out my hands in the lifting up of my soul' (Ode 35^8; cp. Ode 37^1).

The time of baptism was before daybreak on Easter Day, to which Cyril alludes: 'May God at length shew you that night, that darkness which shines like the day.'[d] This may be the allusion in Ode 15^1: 'As the sun is the joy to them that seek for its daybreak, so is my joy the Lord; because He is my Sun, and His rays have lifted me up, and His light hath dispelled all darkness from my face.' Cp. Ode 18^6: 'Let not the luminary be conquered by the darkness.'

Unction was a feature of the baptismal rite.[e] It is possible that this is alluded to in Ode 36^5: 'Like His own newness He renewed me, and He anointed me from His own perfection'; but the reference is not certain.

The ceremony of the *traditio* or the delivery of the Gospel to the catechumens was called in the West 'the Opening of the Ears'[f];

[a] § 11; see p. 9 n. [b] pp. 7, 21, 29.

[c] Cyril *Cat. Mystag.* i 2; Jerome *in Amos* vi 14.

[d] *Procat.* 15. [e] Tert. *de Bapt.* 7; Cyril *Mystag.* iii 1.

[f] See Duchesne *Christian Worship* (Engl. Tr.) p. 301 for a description of this ceremony. Cp. Chrys. *Hom.* 2 *in* 2 *Cor.* 5 ἵνα διανοίξῃ τὰ ὦτα τῶν καρδιῶν αὐτῶν (in the litany for the catechumens; see Brightman *Litt. E. and W.* pp. 4, 471).

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and perhaps there is an allusion to some rudimentary form of this at the beginning of Ode 9: 'Open your ears, and I will speak to you.' The expression is, of course, too vague to build upon, if it stood alone. But there are other phrases in Ode 9 which may be significant. It speaks of *Truth* as a crown: 'blessed are they who set it on their heads; [9] *a stone of great price* is it,' and it goes on to promise that 'all those who have conquered shall be *written in His book*'. Now we find in the *Testamentum Domini* that one of the first things the neophyte is taught is the Resurrection, which is described as the '*white stone* upon which is a new name' of Apoc. ii 17; and there is a prayer in the baptismal *Ordo* of Severus for those who have been called from the darkness of error to the knowledge of *the truth*, that their names may be written in *the book of life*. We are certainly, again, in the region of thoughts very appropriate to the newly baptized, as I think will be acknowledged by any one who reads through Ode 9, with its appeals and its encouragements.

Torches or tapers were placed in the hands of the newly baptized, as they moved in joyful procession. This is explicitly stated by Gregory Nazianzen,[a] and Cyril of Jerusalem calls the torches λαμπάδες νυμφαγωγίας.[b] There is, apparently, an allusion to this in Ode 25[7]: 'Thou didst set me a lamp at my right hand and at my left,' a sentence of which neither of the editors of the Odes has offered any explanation, for it explains nothing to refer to Ps. cxxxii 17. This Ode, be it remembered, is the one in which the Odist rejoices that his 'raiment of skin' has been removed, a phrase which, I believe, has been shewn to carry a quite certain baptismal reference.

There are some expressions in the Odes which seem to have reference to the supposed beneficial effect of baptism on the health of the *body*. 'Sicknesses removed from my body,' says the Odist (Ode 18[3]); 'my soul acquired a body free from sorrow or affliction or pains' (Ode 21[3]); 'thy right hand lifted me up and removed sickness from me' (Ode 25[9]); 'limbs that had fallen they (sc. the ministers of baptism) straightened and set up: they gave strength for their feebleness' (Ode 6[15]). That such consequences not infrequently followed baptism was believed (*inter alios*) by Augustine[c]; and even in the modern Nestorian office

[a] *Oratio* xl 46. [b] *Procat.* 1. [c] *De Civ. Dei* XXII viii 4, 5.

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for the administration of baptism we find such a thanksgiving as this: 'Praise be unto Thee Who hast healed the diseases of our bodies with the oil and water which Thou hast poured into our wounds, and by Thy Spirit as with a sponge hast wiped off the filth of sin from our souls.' [a]

Ode 36 is treated by Dr Harnack as one of the many in the collection which contains Christian interpolations. But it is here submitted that the Ode is quite coherent and presents no difficulty, if we regard the singer as speaking throughout, not in the name of God or of Christ, but of the baptized Christian. We have already seen [b] that the title 'the illuminate' (ver. 3) is one which was commonly used of the baptized; and the words which precede, though strange to modern ears, do but express the same thing: '[The Spirit] brought me forth before the face of the Lord.' In Syriac literature, it was customary to speak of the Spirit as feminine,[c] as is well known. But the Spirit was also, at times, spoken of as the Mother of the baptized. Thus Ephraim sings in his crude verse [d]: 'The Holy Spirit has brooded in baptism and in mystery has given birth to eagles (virgins and prelates), and to fishes (celibates and intercessors),' i. e. to the more notable of the Christian host. This is an idea similar to that which we find in the *Ordo* of Severus, where prayer is made that the baptismal waters 'sint *spiritalis uterus* nativitatis filiorum corruptionis expertium'.[e] The singer of Ode 36 [f] is exulting in this new birth.

Allusions to baptism as a new birth may probably be found in two other places: 'I was not their brother, nor was my birth like theirs' (Ode 28^{14}); and 'All those will be astonished that see me, for of another race am I' (Ode 41^{8}).

Less recondite, but perhaps not less convincing, are, finally, the passages which speak of union with Christ (cp. Rom. vi 5): 'His members are with Him . . . I have been united to Him'

[a] Badger *The Nestorians and their Rituals* ii 200.

[b] p. 5 above.

[c] See Burkitt *Early Eastern Christianity* p. 89.

[d] *Epiphany Hymns* viii 16.

[e] Cp. Cyr. *Cat. Mystag.* ii 4 τὸ σωτήριον ἐκεῖνο ὕδωρ καὶ τάφος ὑμῖν ἐγένετο καὶ μήτηρ.

[f] With Ode 36^{7} 'my heart poured forth as it were a gushing stream of righteousness' we may compare Narsai (l. c. p. 40) who speaks of the 'mortal in whose mouth is set a mighty spring'.

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(Ode 3^8); 'They were to me as my own members, and I was their Head' (Ode 17^{14}); 'they shall not be deprived of my Name for it is with them' (Ode 8^{22}); and we may also compare Ode 17^4: 'I received the face and the fashion of a new person.'

My thesis, then, is that the 'Odes of Solomon' are a collection of hymns, packed with allusions to baptism, and comparable to Ephraim's Hymns on the Epiphany. The use of the word *baptism* is avoided (Ephraim does not scruple to employ it), perhaps because of the *disciplina arcani* which guarded the Christian mysteries.[a] But I believe that there may be found in *every* Ode some allusion to the privileges, the joys, the hopes, of the baptized, to the ceremonies of the baptismal ritual, or to the passages of the Old Testament which were believed to typify Christian baptism. I would specially direct attention to the circumstance that several of the most enigmatical phrases in the Odes are patient of explanation by this clue; e.g. the 'raiment of skin' in Ode 25, the Dragon in Ode 22, the 'circumcision', 'Paradise', and 'fruit-bearing' of Ode 11, with the quotations from Isaiah in Ode 17 and from Ezekiel in Ode 6.

Perhaps we ought to ask why these pieces are called 'Odes' in the catalogues and in *Pistis Sophia*, in contradistinction to the 'Psalms' of Solomon with which they are associated. 'Psalms' and 'Hymns' and 'Spiritual Odes' are enumerated in Eph. v 19 and Col. iii 16[b]; 'Psalms' being apparently the canonical songs of the Hebrews, as contrasted with other sacred songs. But 'Odes' are not necessarily uncanonical. The 'Song of Moses' in Apoc. xv 3 and the 'Song of the Lamb' are ᾠδαί, and this term is regularly applied to the nine great 'Odes' or 'Canticles' of the Eastern Church. There is an interesting reference to Psalms and Odes in Eusebius,[c] in an extract which is probably from Hippolytus: 'How many Psalms and Odes written by the faithful brethren from the beginning hymn Christ as the Word of God, speaking of Him as Divine.' This would serve well as a description of our collection; Odes 7, 12, 15, 16 being specially emphatic in their commemoration of the doctrine of the Word. But, although the Church naturally called these beautiful poems

[a] The word 'baptism', however, is rare in Syriac theological literature, the expression 'the sign' being generally used in its stead.

[b] See Lightfoot *in loc.*

[c] *H. E.* v. 28.

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'Odes' (the same title which she gave to *Magnificat* and *Nunc Dimittis*), the original author would have made no distinction between 'Psalms' and 'Odes'. For him these 'Psalms of the Lord' (Ode 26) which are 'Psalms of Thy Truth' (Ode 14) may equally be called 'Odes of His Rest' (Ode 26).

The Syriac MS from which Dr Harris has given us these hymns is defective at the beginning, and we cannot tell what title it prefixed to the collection. But it is clear from the quotations in *Pistis Sophia* and in Lactantius that they were called 'Odes of *Solomon*', although why they should have been given his name is not apparent. Certainly, they have no affinity with the Judaic 'Psalms of Solomon', with which they were associated in the Stichometries, and in Dr Harris's manuscript, probably for no other reason than supposed identity of authorship.

That Solomon composed 1005 'Odes' is the statement of 1 Kings iv 32, and it was perhaps not unnatural that the Odes of the Baptized, newly admitted to the Church, of which he was believed to have sung in mystic phrases in the Song of Songs (ᾆσμα ᾀσμάτων), should be called after him. His authority over the demoniacal powers of evil was a Jewish belief that lingered long in Christendom, and it may even be that the virtue of 'Solomon's seal' was associated by Christian simplicity with that of the seal of baptism. But this is mere speculation. The difficulty as to the ascription of these Odes to Solomon remains, whether we regard them, with Dr Harris, as private hymns of the spirit,[a] or the view of their composition which is here adopted, be accepted.

There is a rubrical direction in the *Testamentum Domini*, in the Morning Office there given,[b] which not improbably contains a reference to one of our Odes. It runs: 'Let them sing Psalms and four Hymns of praise, one by Moses, *and of Solomon*, and of the other prophets. Thus: little singing-boys, two virgins, three deacons, three presbyters. And so let the hymn of praise be said by the bishop or by one of the presbyters.' The editor (Bishop Maclean) in his note upon this, points out that the Hymns of Moses are the well-known Songs of Exod. xv 1–21 and Deut. xxxii 1–43, while the Hymns of the prophets are pre-

[a] l. c. p. 8.

[b] p. 81 of the English edition by Cooper and Maclean.

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sumably the Song of Isaiah (xii), the Song of Habakkuk (iii), the Song of Hannah (1 Sam. ii 1–10), and *Benedicite* or the Song of the Three Children. But his identification of the Hymn of Solomon to which the rubric refers, with the Canticles or Song of Songs, is very improbable. The Song of Songs is quite different in character from the other ᾠδαί which are mentioned; these are strictly Hymns, suitable for public worship, while the Song of Songs is not so. I suggest that it is much more likely that one of the 'Odes of Solomon' in the collection before us is indicated by the rubric in the *Testamentum Domini*. They resemble, in regard both to length and to their general tone, the other Hymns of Praise which are recommended, the ᾠδαί of the Eastern Churches. If this suggestion be accepted, we have here not only a hitherto unobserved reference to our Odes, but a hint of the manner in which they were used. From being chanted in this way, they became very familiar, and began to be associated with the canonical Odes of Moses and Habakkuk and the rest. This would help to explain the authoritative position which they seem to occupy in *Pistis Sophia*, as well as their inclusion in the Stichometries of the Scriptures.

Dr Harris dates these hymns (or most of them) at the end of the first, or the beginning of the second century. Ode 19 (which enters into details as to the Virgin Birth) he would be willing to put a little later. I do not think that the evidence here gathered as to their allusions to baptism helps us much in attempting to determine the date, but it is hardly consistent with the earliest age; as it is inconsistent with Dr Harnack's view of their Jewish character. How soon the *disciplina arcani* became established, and the details of the baptismal ritual fixed, it would not be easy to say, but probably by the middle of the second century at latest. And we may not be far wrong if we reckon the Odes as of the time of Justin Martyr. However, into this question I do not propose to enter now. I would only ask that the meaning and occasion of the Odes be examined in the light of the patristic parallels which are here collected.

J. H. BERNARD.

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DOCUMENTS

ANOTHER NEW FRAGMENT OF PELAGIUS.

In a paper entitled 'The Commentary of Pelagius on the Epistles of Paul: the Problem of its Restoration',[1] which appeared in January 1907, I printed two fragments of Pelagius in controversy with Jerome, which I had found in MS lat. 653 of the Bibliothèque Nationale. In this JOURNAL (July 1907 pp. 526 ff) Dr Mercati explained the genesis of these fragments, and offered some corrections of the text. My discovery, such as it was, was the result of a hasty examination of the MS, and in 1909 my plans did not permit me to examine it any further. This year, however, I have made a fairly minute study of it, with the satisfactory result that yet a third fragment has turned up, also of controversy with Jerome, and in vigorous eloquence decidedly superior to the other two. I also had the satisfaction of learning from the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique* t. iii p. 78 (Paris 1757) that my new fragment and the first of my older ones had been observed by the Benedictine authors of that work, who do not appear however to have realized or cared to realize their significance.[2] In consequence they had remained unprinted.

This manuscript 653, which on the strength of some 'Anglo-Hibernian' initials I ventured to attribute to an insular scribe, must have had quite a different origin. The Benedictines say, 'il paroît venir d'Italie', and Dümmler, apparently without himself seeing the MS, has endorsed this opinion. A study of the contractions used in it and of the palaeography generally has led me to agree, and I should go farther and suggest that it was written at Verona, and the high authority of Dr E. A. Loew is emphatic against any South or Central Italian scriptorium. Certainly it does not come from Bobbio, as it is in no way related to the Bobbio MSS of the same age, which have been closely studied by Prof. W. M. Lindsay.[3]

Our book contains at the beginning a dedicatory poem, addressed

[1] *Proceedings of the British Academy* vol. ii pp. 409–439.

[2] I was put on the track of the *Nouveau Traité* by Dümmler, *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini* tom. i (Berol. 1881) p. 89, which reference I owe to the kindness of Prof. W. M. Lindsay.

[3] *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* xxvi (1909) p. 295, &c.

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probably to Charlemagne, and the Benedictines conjectured that the book was presented to him. Somehow, perhaps through his wife, Catherine de Médicis, the book eventually passed into the possession of Henri II of France (1547–1559), whose arms it bears, and since then it has been one of the treasures of what is now the Bibliothèque Nationale. It is marked at once as a royal book by the gilt edges of the vellum: I fancy vellum was seldom gilded in this way.

The MS, written about the end of the eighth century or the beginning of the ninth, is of extreme accuracy, in orthography as in everything else, and there can be little doubt that it was copied from an original not later than the sixth century. We may conjecture that this original was a book something like the well-known Ambrosiaster at Monte Cassino. The anonymous compiler of this form of the Pelagian commentary would appear to be later than the Pseudo-Jerome, because he embodies all or nearly all the additions made by the Pseudo-Jerome. He was perhaps not earlier than Cassiodorus, as Cassiodorus knows nothing of him: it is improbable that he was later. He obviously had access to earlier literature which has now perished: the three fragments of Pelagius are sufficient proof of this. Roughly, his method appears to have been to copy into a codex of the Epistles the entire commentary of Pelagius, with the supplements of Pseudo-Jerome, which amount to about a twelfth of the matter in the original Pelagius. To this he added further explanations, introduced, not like those of Pseudo-Jerome by *Item*, but by *Aliter*. The question as to the sources of these must be deferred. He would appear to have regarded the commentary as in a sense Jerome's: otherwise he would not have introduced him in controversy with Pelagius. He does not seem to have connected Pelagius in any way with it, in spite of the fact that he alone has preserved the three fragments! It will be observed that in each case Jerome comes first. We may be thankful that the compiler's aim was so exclusively exegetical. This compilation is, next to the MS of the original form of Pelagius himself, Augiensis cxix at Karlsruhe, the purest and most valuable for the restoration of Pelagius's text, as the Pseudo-Jerome, at least in its oldest extant MSS, is considerably tainted with corruption.

I have thought it best to have this fragment printed as nearly as possible as it appears in the MS, so that the reader may have a better idea of the quality of the MS.[1] The extract of Jerome comes from

[1] I may be permitted to point out that in a fragment from the same MS, which seems to have some connexion with Nestorius (cf. Bethune-Baker *Nestorius and his Teaching* p. 95), published *Proc. Brit. Acad.* ii 435 (= 27), the word *homo* has been accidentally omitted after *appellatione* in the second last line; also in the first line of the fragment on p. 438 (= 30) *op. cit.* read *ais* for *ait*.

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Epist. cxxxiii § 2, addressed to Ctesiphon (Vallarsi pp. 1026 f, Migne *P. L.* xxii 1148 f).

After Migne *P. L.* xxx 677 D old issue (=703 D new issue) (Rom. vii 14–15) following the words *quod inuitus admitto* (cod. *committo*):

Hieronimus; Ecce quod non uult apostolus
operatur · quomodo stare potest hoc quod dicitur · posse ho
minem sine peccato esse si uelit qua ratione potest esse q̃od
uelit, cum apostolus asserat se quod cupiat implere non
hic contra pelagium disputat posse;] Pelagius; O uocem temerariā immo sacrilegā:
quid non audeant dicere homines cum semel ueritatē inpug
nare coeperunt. Quā inpudenter falsa · quā inperitae ab
surda · quam impie sacrilega defendunt: Cū eos nec a menda
ciis reuerentia · nec ab stultitia pudor nec ab impietate reli
gio abducit: Ergo ne apostolus paulus uas electionis &
peculiare quoddā xp̄i templū · qui etiā in mandatis ueteris
testamenti sine querella conuersatū esse se dicit sub xp̄o ha
bitaculū peccati fuit: Quodq; docuit implere non potuit:
Qui dicebat aliis · non ergo regn& peccatū in uestro mortali
corpore · & peccatū in uob̃ non dominabitur · ipse uitiorū̃ seruus
effectus · & captiuus in peccati uincla deductus est · atq; in se
regnantib; uitiis · non faciebat bonū quod diligebat · sed malū
quod oderat · nec cogitatione aut sermone tantū · sed ipso etiā

fol. 42 *r*

opere peccabat: Si enim secundū̃ te apostolus quod n̄ uult
facit · quod n̄ uult operatur · manifesta criminū actione
non caruit: & ut singulas denumeremus species · Oderat
apostolus libidinem · castus esse cupiebat · sed faciebat
quod oderat, dominari uolebat auaritiae · sed seruiebat;
Inuidiā conabatur uincere · sed ab inuidia uincebatur:
odiū habere nolebat · sed cogebatur odisse: atq; ita ge
neraliter quā omne bonū uell& · & omne e diuerso odiss&
malū: si non bonū̃ quod uolebat · sed malū quod ode
rat operabatur · nullū omnino bonū · & e contrario
omne malū iuxta tū̃ sensū apostolus uidetur egisse;
Quod si ipse uas electionis & ecclesiarū magister qui
secundum sp̄m̄ bonū facere desiderabat · necessitate
carnis ad malū̃ se dicit inpelli · dū̃ dicit non habitare
in carne sua bonū · apta ipsius apostoli auctoritate ma
nicheo dextrā porregimus · qui carnem malā esse con
tendit: & hinc iā imus in creatoris iniuriā · qui aliq̃id
malū̃ condiderit; sicq; illud coniunxerit bono id est

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carne spūi · ut bonorū sub mali rediger& potestatem ;
nec fier& quid desiderar& & sp̄s · sed quod caro conpelle
r& : Deinde ut quasi oblitus quā contrarias quamque
inpugnantes se in unū substantias copulass& manda
ta homini dederit · Quae quā uis sp̄s implere p̧ se

fol. 42 *v*

cuper& . carne tamen cogente contempn& ; Quis ergo
ita temerarius quisue tam demens sit, qui cum tantas
in apostolo legat fuisse uirtutes . eum nihilo minus uitiis
seruisse contendat : nec eum bonum quod uoluit · sed
malū quod noluit dicat operatū ; Hoc enim quod tu
de apostolo intellegi cupis › omnes aecclesiastici uiri
in peccatoris & sub lege adhuc positi asserunt eū dixisse
p̧sonā : Quo nimia uitiorum consuetudine uelut
quadā teneretur necessitate peccandi ; Et quā uis bo
num appeter& uoluntate · usu tamen praecipitaretur
in malū ; In p̧sona aū unius hominis designat popu
lū sub uetere adhuc lege peccantem · quem ab hoc con
suetudinis malo dicit liberatū esse p̧ xp̄m › qui creden
tib; sibi primo omnia p̧ baptismum peccata dimittit ·
deinde imitatione sui ad p̧fectā incitat sc̄itatem :
& uitiorum consuetudinē uirtutū uincit exemplo ;

then follows :—

· Si aū quod nolo illud facio · consentio legi qm̄ bona ;
si ipsum malū nolo facere quod committo ubique cum *etc*

(*four lines from foot of* p. 677 (old style) p. 703 D (new style)).

NOTES :—*line* 10 : for *ne* read *nec.*
line 21 : read *dinumeremus.*
line 37 : read *carnem* and *bonum.*
line 38 : read *quod* (for *quid*) and omit *&ª.*
line 49 : read *Qua.*

ALEX. SOUTER.

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NOTES AND STUDIES

A NEW TEXT OF THE APOCALYPSE OF PETER.

SINCE 1907 M. Sylvain Grébaut has been publishing at intervals in the *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* the text of certain Ethiopic books attributed to Clement of Rome, and purporting to contain teachings and revelations transmitted to Clement by Peter.

The existence of such books both in Arabic and in Ethiopic has long been known. The imperfect *capitula* of an Arabic Revelation were published in 1821 by Nicoll in his catalogue of the Bodleian Oriental manuscripts (reprinted by Tischendorf, *Apocalypses Apocryphae* p. xx). An account of an Ethiopic text (apparently not identical with that which we are to study) was given by Dillmann in 1858 (*Nachrichten d. kgl. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*). The most recent and comprehensive study of the literature that is known to me is that by E. Bratke (*Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.* 1893, 454–493). None of the copies to which he had access seems to have contained M. Grébaut's text.

An important constituent in most of the recensions is a chronicle of Biblical history from the Arabic which has much in common with the 'Cave of Treasures' edited by Bezold, and the 'Conflict of Adam and Eve' edited by Trumpp, and translated by Malan. A text of this from a Sinai MS was published in 1901 by Mrs Gibson (*Studia Sinaitica* viii, *Apocrypha Arabica*) under the title of 'the Book of the Rolls'.

This *Corpus Clementinum*, as we may call it, is of late date: Bratke assigns it to the eighth century, and believes it to have been reissued in an altered form at the time of the First Crusade. Jacques de Vitry saw it in 1219.

It had always been my hope that in one or other of the numerous members of this *corpus*, the ancient Apocalypse of Peter would be found imbedded—indeed I expressed the hope in so many words in 1892 (*Revelation of Peter* p. 57 note). It was a fairly obvious forecast, and it has now been verified. A recent number of the *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* (second series, vol. v (xv) no. 2 pp. 198–214) contains M. Grébaut's last instalment of his edition of the 'Littérature éthiopienne Pseudo-Clémentine', and in it is a large portion of the ancient Apocalypse of Peter. M. Grébaut's text rests on a single authority, MS 51 of the D'Abbadie collection, and is, as we might expect, obscure and

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corrupt in many places. The great interest attaching to it will I hope stimulate scholars to examine all the available manuscripts of the Ethiopic Clementine *corpus* in the hope of clearing up difficulties. Those in the British Museum described in Wright's Catalogue under Nos. 320, 321, 322 will merit investigation, and also the Tübingen manuscript which Dillmann analysed; for it appears that this also contains descriptions of the torments of Hell and of the bliss of Heaven (Bratke p. 478), though not in the connexion in which they appear in M. Grébaut's text.

M. Grébaut's edition is not yet completed: but in an earlier number of the *Revue* (1907, pp. 139 sqq.) he has given a short analysis of the whole document. It is a revelation made by our Lord to Peter and transmitted by him to Clement, and it treats of the following topics:—

1. The Second Coming, the End of the World, and the Last Judgement.
2. The torments of the lost.
3. The abode of the blessed.
4. The final purpose of creation.
5. The compassion of God to mankind.
6. Ordinances for the observance of the principal Christian feasts.

So far only the text of the first two sections has appeared. I propose to give a very full *résumé* of the contents, quoting copiously from M. Grébaut's French version, and giving the corresponding portions of the Greek text and such other parallels as I have been able to bring together at short notice.[1]

Second Coming of Christ and Resurrection of the Dead—(a mystery) which (Christ) revealed to Peter—who died because of their sins, because they kept not the commandments of the Lord their Creator.

(Peter) pondered upon this, that he might learn the mystery of the Son of God, the Merciful and the Friend of mercy.

When *the Lord* was seated on the Mount of Olives, His *disciples* drew near to Him. As for us, we worshipped Him, we besought Him, each of us separately, and asked Him saying: 'Let us learn what shall be the signs of thy coming, and of the end of the world, that we may know and

Cf. First Book of Clement (Gk. retranslation by Lagarde *Rel. Iur. Eccl. Antiq.* p. 80) καὶ ὑπέλαβον Πέτρος καὶ Ἰωάννης καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ· κύριε ἡμῶν εἰπὲ ἡμῖν τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ τέλους . . . ἵνα καὶ ἡμεῖς γνωρίσωμεν τοῖς πιστεύουσιν εἰς τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν . . . (=Testamentum Domini § 2).

[1] I have M. Grébaut's kind sanction for this; and he has also generously allowed me to see the proofs of a further instalment of his translation.

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understand the time of thy coming, and may instruct those who shall come after us' (both converts and Church officers).

Our Lord answered us saying: 'Beware that *men* deceive you not, that ye become not subject to doubt nor worship other gods. Many will come in my name saying "I am the Christ". Trust them not nor draw near to them. Verily, the coming of the Son of God is not known: but, as the lightning that shines from East to West, so shall I come on the clouds of heaven with a great host, in my glory, with my cross going before me. I shall come in my glory, seven times brighter than the sun, with all my saints and angels. My Father will set a crown on my head, that I may judge the quick and the dead, and reward every man according to his works.

Cf. *Apoc. Petri* 2 James 5 Preuschen ὅπως . . . παραθαρσύνωμεν καὶ τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἡμῶν ἀνθρώπους.

As for you, understand this by the parable of the fig-tree. When its shoots are come forth, and its branches grow green, then the end of the world will come.' Peter asks how this is to be understood, seeing that the fig-tree burgeons every year. Christ explains that the tree is the house of Israel, and quotes the parable of the barren fig-tree. When the branches are green, there will come false Messiahs. Men will follow them and deny the true Christ. 'This deceiver', He continues, 'is not the Christ. He will slay his opponents with the sword. [This is the meaning of the fig-tree's branches

Cf. a passage printed by Bratke (l. c. p. 483) from a Tübingen MS of the Ethiopic Clementine book.

'They will be beheaded by him and will become martyrs. In that day will be fulfilled that which is said in the Gospel: when the twigs of the fig-tree become full of sap, know ye that the time of gathering is at hand. Twigs of the fig-tree are the righteous called, who become martyrs at his hand.'

Cf. *Apoc. Petri* 1 πολλοὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔσονται ψευδοπροφῆται.

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growing green, that is, the house of Israel.] There will be many martyrs. Enoch and Elias will be sent to undeceive men.

The Lord shewed me at His right hand the souls of all creatures and at His left hand the 'tableau' which shall be accomplished at the last day. He shewed me how the righteous and the sinners shall be separated . . . We beheld how the sinners wept: so deplorably that the righteous, the angels, and Christ Himself could not refrain from tears. I asked the Lord it it would not have been better that they should not have been created. He replied: 'Thou resistest God who created them and thee. I will shew thee their works.'

[It is after this point that I conceive the Apocalypse of Peter to have been employed to the exclusion of other sources. Later elements may well be present in the Introduction. Probably, however, the scene and the general lines are those of the Apocalypse.]

Behold now what shall overtake them in the last days, when the day of the Lord shall come, the day of condemnation, the judgement of the Lord.

From the east to the west all the sons of men shall be gathered before my Father the eternal, the living one.

He will command Gehenna to open its bars of steel and bring all the creatures that are in it.

He will command the beasts and birds to give up all the flesh

Sib. Orac. ii 214 sqq. (the angels Barakiel, Ramiel, Uriel, Samiel, and Azael).

ἀνθρώπων ψυχὰς ἀπὸ ζόφου ἠερόεντος
εἰς κρίσιν ἄξουσιν πάσας ἐπὶ βῆμα θεοῖο
ἀθανάτου μεγάλου· εἷς γὰρ μόνος ἄφθιτός ἐστιν.
καὶ τότ' ἀμειλίκτοιο καὶ ἀρρήκτου ἀδάμαντος
κλεῖθρα πέλωρα πυλῶν τε ἀχαλκεύτου Ἀΐδαο
ῥηξάμενος Οὐριὴλ μέγας ἄγγελος εὐθὺ βαλεῖται.
καί θ' ὅς ἐν πελάγεσσιν ἀπώλεσε κῦμα θαλάσσης

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they have eaten, that man may appear.

Verily nothing is lost with the Lord. Nothing is impossible to Him. Everything will appear at the day of condemnation and of judgement. Indeed (this agrees) with the word of the Lord. All things will become as (they were when He) created the world; He will command all that is therein. All therefore will be so at the last day. Verily all things are possible with God. It is thus that he saith in the Scripture: 'Son of man, prophesy on these bones. Thou shalt say to them: Bone, go to the other bones. Arrange yourselves in limbs, with muscles, sinews, flesh, skin, hair set in the skin, soul, and spirit.'

The great 'Ourâ'êl will accomplish this at the word of the Lord. It is he whom the Lord hath set over the resurrection of the dead at the judgement. Behold and consider the seeds which are sown in the earth. They are sown dry

ἠδ' ὁπόσας θῆρες καὶ ἑρπετὰ καὶ πετεηνὰ
θοινήσαντο, ὅλας ταύτας ἐπὶ βῆμα καλέσσει.

Ephr. Syr. ed. Rom. ii 213 (et fere passim) δώσει ἡ γῆ τοὺς νεκροὺς αὐτῆς, ἡ θάλασσα τοὺς ἑαυτῆς νεκρούς, καὶ ὁ ᾅδης τοὺς ἰδίους νεκρούς, καὶ εἴτε θηρίον ἥρπασεν, ἢ ἰχθὺς ἐμέλισεν, εἴτε ὄρνεον διήρπασεν, πάντες ἐν ῥιπῇ ὀρθαλμοῦ παραστήσονται, καὶ θρὶξ μία οὐκ ἀπολειφθήσεται. He also has a passage on the bones rejoining each other (l. c. 192 &c.) and on the river of fire (ibid.).

Celsus ap. Orig. v 14, of the resurrection of the body, καταφεύγουσιν εἰς ἀτοπωτάτην ἀναχώρησιν ὅτι πᾶν δυνατὸν τῷ θεῷ. Also *Origen ap. Method. de Resurr.* xxi Bonwetsch ἐπὶ τὸ πάντα εἶναι δυνατὰ τῷ θεῷ καταφεύγουσιν (then quoting Ezekiel).[1]

Sib. Orac. ii 222
καί τ' ὀστέα ἁρμοσθέντα
ἁρμοῖς παντοίοις σάρκες καὶ νεῦρα
...
καὶ φλέβες ἠδέ τε δέρμα περὶ χροὶ καὶ πρὶν ἔθειραι
ἀμβροσίως πηχθέντα κτλ.

Sib. Orac. ii 229 above: Οὐριὴλ.

[1] See also Hippol. περὶ τοῦ παντός, Lagarde, p. 70, and the objectors in Macar. Magn. iv 24 and Minuc. Felix *Octav.* ii; also Cyr. Hier. *Cat.* xviii.

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and lifeless. They live and are fruitful, and the earth restores them as a deposit committed to it. That which dies is the seed sown in the earth. Man will live and be restored to life. How much more those who believe in the Lord, and His elect, for whom the Lord hath made all things.

Cf. the Third Ep. to the Corinthians (from *Acta Pauli*) v 31, ed. Harnack 'quanto magis uos, pusilli fide, et eos qui crediderunt in Christum Ihesum excitabit sicut ipse resurrexit?'

Compare the *Carmen de Iudicio Domini* ll. 103–136, e. g.

105 Aut aliquid Dominus rerum non posse uidetur?
112 reddit magis omnia tellus:
iussa retexet enim quidquid contexerat olim.
si quem forte rogis aboleuit flamma sepultum
aut aliquem caecis disiecerit aequor in undis
si cuiusque fame satiarunt uiscera pisces
aut fixere ferae crudelia funera membris
alitibus iacuit raptato corpore sanguis;
ultima non domino rapient sua munera magno.
122 arida sic uacuis redduntur semina terris
et penitus fixis putrescunt mortua sulcis;
nonne animatur et hinc reparatis culmus aristis
atque iterum uiuis flauescunt fortia granis etc.

The earth will bring all creatures at the day of judgement, for it must be judged together with them. The heaven also will be judged with it.

There will be at the day of judgement those who have forsaken the faith of the Lord and those who have committed sin.

The cataracts of fire shall be let loose.

There will come up obscurity and darkness which will cover the whole world.

Apocalypse of Peter quoted in Macarius Magnes *Apocritica* iv 6 Ἡ γῆ παραστήσει πάντας τῷ θεῷ (κρινουμένους) ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως, καὶ αὐτὴ μέλλουσα κρίνεσθαι σὺν καὶ τῷ περιέχοντι οὐρανῷ.

Sib. Orac. ii 194
ἀχλὺς γὰρ ζοφερὴ σκεπάσει τὸν ἀπείρονα κόσμον
195 ἀντολίης δύσεώς τε μεσημβρίης τε καὶ ἄρκτου.
καὶ τότε δὴ ποταμός τε μέγας πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο
ῥεύσει ἀπ' οὐρανόθεν καὶ πάντα τόπον δαπανήσει
γαῖάν τ' ὠκεανόν τε μέγαν γλαυκὴν τε θάλασσαν

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λίμνας καὶ ποταμοὺς πηγὰς καὶ
ἀμείλιχον Ἅιδην
καὶ πόλον οὐράνιον

The waters will be changed and transformed into coals of fire. All that is in them will burn. The sea also will become fire.

Under the heaven there will be a fierce fire that shall not be put out. It will pour down for the judgement of wrath. The stars also will be melted by the flames of fire (and become) as though they had not been created. The firmaments of heaven for want of water will depart and become as though they had not been created.

ἀτὰρ οὐράνιοι φωστῆρες
εἰς ἓν συρρήξουσι καὶ εἰς μορφὴν
πανέρημον.
ἄστρα γὰρ οὐρανόθεν τε θαλάσσῃ
πάντα πεσεῖται.

The lightnings of heaven will exist no longer. 'Par des incantations on épouvantera le monde' (doubtless corrupt). The spirits of the dead bodies will resemble fire and will become fire at the command of the Lord. Then all creatures will be melted.

ψυχαὶ δ' ἀνθρώπων πᾶσαι βρύ-
ξουσιν ὀδοῦσιν
καιόμεναι ποταμῷ καὶ θείῳ καὶ
πυρὸς ὁρμῇ
ἐν δαπέδῳ μαλερῷ, τέφρα δέ τε
πάντα καλύψει
καὶ τότε χηρεύσει στοιχεῖα πρό-
παντα τὰ κόσμου
ἀὴρ γαῖα θάλασσα φάος πόλος
ἤματα νύκτες·
. . . ἀλλ' ἅμα πάντα
εἰς ἓν χωνεύσει καὶ εἰς καθαρὸν
διαλέξει.

(Cf. also *Sib. Orac.* iii 80–90.)

τότε δὴ στοιχεῖα πρόπαντα
χηρεύσει κόσμου, ὁπόταν θεὸς
αἰθέρι ναίων
οὐρανὸν εἰλίξῃ καθ' ἅπερ βιβλίον
εἰλεῖται·
καὶ πέσεται πολύμορφος ὅλος
πόλος ἐν χθονὶ δίῃ
καὶ πελάγει· ῥεύσει δὲ πυρὸς
μαλεροῦ καταράκτης

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ἀκάματος, φλέξει γαῖαν, φλέξει δὲ θάλασσαν.
καὶ πόλον οὐράνιον καὶ ἤματα καὶ κτίσιν αὐτὴν
εἰς ἓν χωνεύσει καὶ εἰς καθαρὸν διαλέξει.

The sons of men who are in the parts of the east (will flee) towards the west, (those who are in the west) will flee to the east; those who are in the south will flee to the north, and those who are in the north (will flee to the south). Everywhere the wrath of the fearful fire will overtake them. Pursuing them, the flames which shall not be put out will make them come to the judgement of wrath, in a river of fire, inextinguishable, and which shall flow, burning. When the waves thereof part themselves one from another, boiling, there will be a great gnashing of teeth of the sons of men (above, *Sib. Orac.* ii 203).

See also Ephraem, quoted in Bousset *Der Antichrist* pp. 159, 160; and Commodian *Carm. Apol.* 999–1041, *Instr.* ii 2, 4, Dombart.

[In the earlier part of this section we may place the other fragment of the Apocalypse quoted in Macarius Magnes iv 7, which is practically identical with Isa. xxxiv 4, viz. καὶ τακήσεται πᾶσα δύναμις οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἑλιχθήσεται ὁ οὐρανὸς ὡς βιβλίον, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἄστρα πεσεῖται ὡς φύλλα ἐξ ἀμπέλου, καὶ ὡς πίπτει φύλλα ἀπὸ συκῆς.]

Sib. Orac. ii 252
καὶ τότε δὴ πάντες διὰ αἰθομένου ποταμοῖο
καὶ φλόγος ἀσβέστου διελεύσονθ'. οἵ τε δίκαιοι
πάντες σωθήσοντ'· ἀσεβεῖς δ' ἐπὶ τοῖσιν ὀλοῦνται
εἰς αἰῶνας ὅλους, ὁπόσοι κακὰ πρόσθεν ἔρεξαν κτλ.

They will all behold me coming on a shining (and) eternal cloud. The angels of the Lord who will be with me will be seated on the throne of my glory at the right hand of my heavenly Father. (My Father) will set a crown on my head. Then, beholding (that), the peoples will weep, every one apart (Zech. xii 10–14: and cf. Cyril. Hieros. *Catech.* xv 9 τότε ὄψονται τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ

Cyril. Hier. *Cat.* xv 9 ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν πατέρα κατὰ τὴν γραφὴν τὴν ἀρτίως ἀναγνωσθεῖσαν (sc. Dan.

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τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ κόψονται φυλαὶ κατὰ φυλάς). (My Father) will command them to pass through the river of fire. The works of every one will be set before them. Each (shall be rewarded) according to his works. The elect who have done good shall come to me; none of them shall see death nor the devouring fire. But the unrighteous, the sinners and hypocrites, shall be set in the midst of abysses of darkness which shall not pass away. The fire will be their torment. The angels will bring forward their sins and will prepare for (the sinners) a place where they will be punished for ever according to their sins.

vii) ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν ποταμοῦ πυρὸς ἕλκοντος δοκιμαστικοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

The Angel of the Lord 'Ourâ'êl will bring the souls of the sinners who were destroyed by the Flood, and all the souls of the beings that have existed in all manner of idols, in all manner of molten images, in all manner of unclean emblems, in (all manner of) paintings, in all manner of (sanctuaries built on the) hills, and of stones. The beings that were set by the wayssides, who were called gods, shall be burnt with them in eternal fire. When all these beings are destroyed (*perdus*) they will be cast into the place where they are to abide, and will be punished eternally.

Sib. Orac. ii 227

καὶ τότ' ἀμειλίκτοιο καὶ ἀρρήκτου ἀδάμαντος
κλεῖθρα πέλωρα πυλῶν τε ἀχαλκεύτου 'Αίδαο
ῥηξάμενος Οὐριὴλ μέγας ἄγγελος εὐθὺ βαλεῖται
καὶ πάσας μορφὰς πολυπενθέας εἰς κρίσιν ἄξει
εἰδώλων τὰ μάλιστα παλαιγενέων Τιτήνων
ἠδέ τε Γιγάντων καὶ ὅσας εἶλεν κατακλυσμός,

[Here begins the equivalent of the description of Hell which we possess in Greek. The opening words are corrupt in the Ethiopic, but the correspondence is unmistakeable.]

Alors des hommes et des femmes viendront dans l'endroit qui leur

Apoc. Petri 7 ed. James 21 ed. Preuschen, &c.

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conviendra, suivant la langue dans laquelle ils ont maudit le chemin de la justice. On les pendra. On les surveillera, afin qu'ils n'échappent jamais (au feu) qui ne s'éteindra pas.
[The words rendered '(suivant) la langue'—'on les pendra' correspond to *ἐκ τῆς γλώσσης κρεμάμενοι.*]

Voici encore un endroit: là se trouvera une fosse grande et pleine. En elle se trouveront ceux qui auront renié la justice. Les anges du supplice feront des rondes. Ils seront là dans cette fosse et ils feront brûler le feu du supplice.

Voici en outre deux femmes: on les pendra par le cou et par les cheveux. On les jettera dans la fosse. Ce sont celles qui ont arrangé leurs tresses. Elles ne l'ont pas (fait) pour l'accomplissement du bien, mais elles se sont tournées vers la fornication, afin de prendre au piège les âmes des hommes pour leur perte. Quant aux hommes qui ont couché avec elles, en forniquant, on les pendra par la cuisse dans cet endroit qui brûle. Ils se diront entre eux: 'Nous ne savions pas que nous devions venir au supplice éternel.'

Les homicides et ceux qui se sont associés à eux, on les jettera dans le feu, à l'endroit rempli de bêtes furieuses. Ils seront punis sans trêve, alors que des souffrances (atroces) seront ressenties par eux. Les vers (qui les rongeront) seront aussi nombreux que les nuées des ténèbres. L'ange Ezrâ'êl fera venir

(Εἶδον δὲ καὶ ἕτερον τόπον καταντικρὺς ἐκείνου αὐχμηρὸν πάνυ (or -ότατον) καὶ ἦν τόπος κολάσεως· καὶ οἱ κολαζόμενοι ἐκεῖ καὶ οἱ κολάζοντες ἄγγελοι σκοτινὸν εἶχον αὐτῶν τὸ ἔνδυμα) κατὰ τὸν ἀέρα τοῦ τόπου.

Καί τινες ἦσαν ἐκεῖ ἐκ τῆς γλώσσης κρεμάμενοι· οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν οἱ βλασφημοῦντες τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς δικαιοσύνης· καὶ ὑπέκειτο αὐτοῖς πῦρ φλεγόμενον καὶ κολάζον αὐτούς.

Καὶ λίμνη τις ἦν μεγάλη πεπληρωμένη βορβόρου φλεγομένου, ἐν ᾧ ἦσαν ἄνθρωποί τινες ἀποστρέφοντες τὴν δικαιοσύνην, καὶ ἐπέκειντο αὐτοῖς ἄγγελοι βασανισταί.

Ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι γυναῖκες τῶν πλοκάμων ἐξηρτημέναι ἀνωτέρω τοῦ βορβόρου ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀναπαφλάζοντος· αὗται δὲ ἦσαν αἱ πρὸς μοιχείας κοσμηθεῖσαι· οἱ δὲ συμμιγέντες αὐταῖς τῷ μιάσματι τῆς μοιχείας ἐκ τῶν ποδῶν ἦσαν κρεμάμενοι καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς εἶχον ἐν τῷ βορβόρῳ κρυφθείσας, καὶ ἔλεγον· (or καὶ πάντες ἔλεγον·) Οὐκ ἐπιστεύομεν ἐλεύσεσθαι εἰς τοῦτον τὸν τόπον. Cf. Clem. Alex. *Ecl. Proph.* 39, 40.

Καὶ τοὺς φονεῖς ἔβλεπον καὶ τοὺς συνειδότας αὐτοῖς βεβλημένους ἔν τινι τόπῳ τεθλιμμένῳ καὶ πεπληρωμένῳ ἑρπετῶν πονηρῶν, καὶ πλησσομένους ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων ἐκείνων καὶ οὕτω στρεφομένους ἐκεῖ ἐν τῇ κολάσει ἐκείνῃ. ἐπέκειντο δὲ αὐτοῖς σκώληκες ὥσπερ νεφέλαι σκότους· αἱ δὲ ψυχαὶ τῶν πεφονευμένων ἑστῶσαι καὶ ἐφορῶ-

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les âmes de ceux qui ont été tués. Ils verront les supplices (de ceux qui) les ont tués. (Les hommes) se diront entre eux : 'Le jugement du Seigneur est justice et droiture, car nous avions appris, mais nous n'avons pas cru que nous devions venir à ce lieu de supplice éternel.'

σαι τὴν κόλασιν ἐκείνων τῶν φονέων ἔλεγον· ὁ θεός, δικαία σου ἡ κρίσις.

Auprès de ces flammes se trouvera une fosse très grande et très profonde. En celle couleront toutes sortes (d'éléments) provenant de partout. Il y aura des supplices, des lamentations, des tourments (?). Des femmes seront dévorées jusqu'au cou et seront punies par de grands tourments. Ce sont celles qui ont fait avorter leurs enfants et ont corrompu l'œuvre du Seigneur, qui les avait formés. En face de leur visage se trouvera un autre endroit où demeureront leurs enfants. Deux seront vivants et crieront au Seigneur. Un éclair viendra de (l'endroit où demeurent) les enfants. Il y aura une vrille dans les yeux de celles qui par la fornication ont accompli leur corruption.

Πλησίον δὲ τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου εἶδον ἕτερον τόπον τεθλιμμένον, ἐν ᾧ ὁ ἰχὼρ καὶ ἡ δυσωδία τῶν κολαζομένων κατέρρεε καὶ ὥσπερ λίμνη ἐγίνετο ἐκεῖ. κἀκεῖ ἐκάθηντο γυναῖκες ἔχουσαι τὸν ἰχῶρα μέχρι τῶν τραχήλων καὶ ἀντικρὺς αὐτῶν πολλοὶ παῖδες, οἵτινες ἄωροι ἐτίκτοντο, καθήμενοι ἔκλαιον· καὶ προήρχοντο ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀκτῖνες πυρὸς καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἔπλησσον κατὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν· αὗται δὲ ἦσαν αἱ (ἄγαμοι συλλαβοῦ)σαι (or αἱ τὰ βρέφη φθείρασαι) καὶ ἐκτρώσασαι.

D'autres hommes et d'autres femmes se tiendront nus au-dessus de cet endroit-là. Leurs enfants se tiendront là en face de leur visage, dans un lieu de lamentations (?)[1] et de cris. Ils gémiront et crieront au Seigneur au sujet de leurs parents. Ce sont ceux qui ont négligé, ont maudit, ont transgressé tes ordres. Ils sont morts. Ils ont maudit l'ange qui les avait formés. Ils nous ont pendus. Ils ont envié la lumière à tout être.

Frag. ap. Clem. Alex. *Καὶ ἀστραπὴ πυρὸς πηδῶσα ἀπὸ τῶν βρεφῶν ἐκείνων καὶ πλήσσουσα τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῶν γυναικῶν.*

Frag. ap. Method. *πῶς δὲ καὶ κατηγορήσοντα σφῶν αὐτῶν τοὺς γονεῖς εὐπαρρησιάστως εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον ἐκίκλησκον τοῦ Χριστοῦ· 'Σὺ οὐκ ἐφθόνησας ἡμῖν, ὦ κύριε, τὸ κοινὸν' λέγοντα, 'τοῦτο φῶς· οὗτοι δὲ ἡμᾶς εἰς θάνατον ἐξέθεντο, καταφρονήσαντες τῆς σῆς ἐντολῆς.*

[1] The rendering 'pleasantness' appears to me possible.

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Tu avais donné[1] le lait à leurs mères. Il coulait de leurs mamelles. Il se coagulera et il puera. (Il surgira) des bêtes carnivores. Elles s'en iront et reviendront. Elles les puniront pour toujours avec leurs maris pour avoir abandonné les commandements du Seigneur et avoir tué leurs enfants. Les enfants, on les donnera à l'ange Temlâkos. Quant à ceux qui les ont tués, on les punira éternellement, car le Seigneur l'exige.

Ap. Clem. Alex. τὸ δὲ γάλα τῶν γυναικῶν ῥέον ἀπὸ τῶν μαστῶν καὶ πηγνύμενον γεννήσει θηρία λεπτὰ σαρκοφάγα, καὶ ἀνατρέχοντα εἰς αὐτὰς κατεσθίει.

[The Ethiopic omits the matter quoted by Clement and Methodius as to the destiny of the infants. See the editions.]

Ap. Clem. Alex. τὰ βρέφη τὰ ἐξαμβλωθέντα τῆς ἀμείνονος ἐσόμενα μοίρας. ταῦτα ἀγγέλῳ τημελούχῳ παραδίδοσθαι.

Method. Ὅθεν καὶ τημελούχοις ἀγγέλοις κἂν ἐκ μοιχείας ὦσιν τὰ ἀποτικτόμενα παραδίδοσθαι παρειλήφαμεν.

'Ezrâ'êl, l'ange de la colère, fera venir des hommes et des femmes dont la moitié sera consumée. On les jettera dans l'endroit des ténèbres de la géhenne, (dans l'endroit) des hommes. L'esprit de colère les châtiera par toutes sortes de châtiments. Le ver qui ne dort pas mangera leurs intestins (?). Ce sont les persécuteurs et les bourreaux (?) de mes justes.

Καὶ ἕτεροι ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες φλεγόμενοι ἦσαν μέχρι τοῦ ἡμίσους αὐτῶν καὶ βεβλημένοι ἐν τόπῳ σκοτεινῷ καὶ μαστιζόμενοι ὑπὸ πνευμάτων πονηρῶν καὶ ἐσθιόμενοι τὰ σπλάγχνα ὑπὸ σκωλήκων ἀκοιμήτων. οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν οἱ διώξαντες τοὺς δικαίους καὶ παραδόντες αὐτούς.

τοὺς πιστούς μου (1 James 3 Preuschen).

Près de ceux qui seront là se trouveront d'autres hommes et d'autres femmes. Ils rongeront leur langue. On les torturera avec un fer rouge et on brûlera leurs yeux. Ce sont les médisants et les infidèles à ma justice.

Καὶ πλησίον ἐκείνων πάλιν γυναῖκες καὶ ἄνδρες μασώμενοι αὐτῶν τὰ χείλη καὶ κολαζόμενοι καὶ πεπυρωμένον σίδηρον κατὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν λαμβάνοντες. οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν οἱ βλασφημήσαντες καὶ κακῶς εἰπόντες τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς δικαιοσύνης.

D'autres hommes et d'autres femmes (ont trompé). Leurs œuvres (ont été faites) avec fourberie. On

Καὶ καταντικρὺ τούτων ἄλλοι πάλιν ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες τὰς γλώσσας αὐτῶν μασώμενοι καὶ πῦρ φλεγό-

[1] It is fairly evident that whether the Ethiopic is corrupt or not the sense required is: 'Ils (nous) ont envié la lumière que tu avais donnée à tout être. Le lait de leurs mères coulera de leurs mamelles, &c.'

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coupera leurs lèvres. Du feu entrera dans leur bouche et (dans) leurs entrailles. Ce sont ceux qui ont fait mourir les martyrs par leurs mensonges.

μενον ἔχοντες ἐν τῷ στόματι. οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν οἱ ψευδομάρτυρες.

Chez ceux qui sont proches de cet endroit il y aura, sur une pierre, une colonne de feu. Cette colonne sera plus tranchante qu'une épée. (Là seront) des hommes et des femmes qu'on revêtira de guenilles et de haillons sordides. On les jettera dans cet endroit, afin qu'ils soient châtiés sévèrement par des tourments qui ne finiront pas. Ce sont ceux qui ont mis confiance dans leurs richesses, ont méprisé la veuve, la femme et l'orphelin et (ont péché) envers le Seigneur.

Καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ τινὶ τόπῳ χάλικες ἦσαν ὀξύτεροι ξιφῶν καὶ παντὸς ὀβελίσκου πεπυρωμένοι, καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ ἄνδρες ῥάκη ῥυπαρὰ ἐνδεδυμένοι ἐκυλίοντο ἐπ' αὐτῶν κολαζόμενοι. οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν οἱ πλουτοῦντες καὶ τῷ πλούτῳ αὐτῶν πεποιθότες καὶ μὴ ἐλεήσαντες ὀρφανοὺς καὶ χήρας, ἀλλ' ἀμελήσαντες τῆς ἐντολῆς τοῦ θεοῦ.

Un autre endroit se trouvera près de celui-ci. (Là seront) les êtres rassasiés de vexations (?). On les jettera dans cet endroit. Des hommes et des femmes (seront torturés) jusqu'aux genoux. Ce sont ceux qui ont prêté et ont tiré usure.

Ἐν δὲ ἑτέρᾳ λίμνῃ μεγάλῃ καὶ πεπληρωμένῃ πύου καὶ αἵματος καὶ βορβόρου ἀναζέοντος εἱστήκεισαν ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες μέχρι γονάτων. οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν οἱ δανείζοντες καὶ ἀπαιτοῦντες τόκους τόκων.

D'autres hommes et d'autres femmes se précipiteront de haut. Ils reviendront encore. Ils courront. Les démons les harcèleront. [Ce sont les idolâtres.][1] On les mettra à bout. Ils se précipiteront. Ils feront ainsi toujours. Ils seront punis éternellement. Ce sont ceux qui ont coupé le corps de nos apôtres, des hommes et des femmes qui étaient avec eux. Dans cet endroit se trouveront les hommes qui contre nature se sont souillés entre eux.

Ἄλλοι ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες ἀπὸ κρημνοῦ μεγάλου καταστρεφόμενοι ἤρχοντο κάτω καὶ πάλιν ἠλαύνοντο ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπικειμένων ἀναβῆναι ἄνω ἐπὶ τοῦ κρημνοῦ καὶ κατεστρέφοντο ἐκεῖθεν κάτω καὶ ἡσυχίαν οὐκ εἶχον ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς κολάσεως. οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν οἱ μιάναντες τὰ σώματα ἑαυτῶν ὡς γυναῖκες ἀναστρεφόμενοι· αἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτῶν γυναῖκες αὗται ἦσαν αἱ συγκοιμηθεῖσαι ἀλλήλαις ὡς ἂν ἀνὴρ πρὸς γυναῖκα.

[1] I bracket this clause as clearly intrusive. The end of the paragraph is also corrupt.

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Près de ceux-ci il y aura un brasier (?) Au-dessous d'eux l'ange 'Ezrâ'êl préparera un endroit de feu considérable. Là seront toutes les idoles en or et en argent, toutes les idoles, œuvres de la main des fils de l'homme, et les images qui leur ressemblent: (images) de chats et de lions, images de reptiles, images de bêtes. Quant aux hommes et aux femmes qui ont fabriqué ces images, ils seront chargés de chaînes de feu et seront châtiés à cause de leur égarement, en présence de ces idoles. Telle sera leur punition pour toujours.

A côté d'eux se trouveront d'autres hommes et d'autres femmes. Ils brûleront dans les flammes de supplice. Leur punition sera pour toujours. Ce sont ceux qui ont abandonné les commandements du Seigneur et ont suivi les suggestions (?) des démons.

Il y aura un autre endroit très profond. Là seront une fournaise (?) et un brasier (?) dans lesquels brûlera du feu. Le feu qui brûlera (viendra) d'une extrémité du brasier. Les hommes et les femmes qui feront un faux pas descendront en se roulant, dans (cet endroit) qui est épouvantable. En outre, pendant que le feu attisé coulera, ils monteront, descendront, et recommenceront à se rouler ainsi. Ils seront punis ainsi pour toujours. Ce sont ceux qui n'ont pas honoré leur père ni leur mère et de leur gré se sont abstenus (de les révérer). C'est pourquoi ils seront punis éternellement.

Καὶ παρὰ τῷ κρημνῷ ἐκείνῳ τόπος ἦν πυρὸς πλείστου γέμων κἀκεῖ εἱστήκεισαν ἄνδρες οἵτινες ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσὶ ξόανα ἑαυτοῖς ἐποίησαν ἀντὶ θεοῦ. καὶ παρ' ἐκείνοις ἄνδρες ἕτεροι καὶ γυναῖκες ῥάβδους πυρὸς ἔχοντες καὶ ἀλλήλους τύπτοντες καὶ μηδέποτε παυόμενοι τῆς τοιαύτης κολάσεως.[1]

The Greek text of this paragraph as compared with the Ethiopic seems to me to bear traces of abridgement. The editors mark a lacuna at the end.

Καὶ ἕτεροι πάλιν ἐγγὺς ἐκείνων γυναῖκες καὶ ἄνδρες φλεγόμενοι καὶ στρεφόμενοι καὶ τηγανιζόμενοι. οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν οἱ ἀφέντες τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ θεοῦ.

[Here the Akhmim fragment ends.]

[1] *See Additional Note, p.* 157.

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De plus, l'ange 'Ezrâ'êl fera venir des enfants et des vierges pour leur faire voir ceux qui seront punis et seront châtiés par des tortures, par la pendaison et par les plaies nombreuses que leur feront les oiseaux carnivores. Ce sont ceux qui se sont fiés à leur impiété, n'ont pas obéi à leurs parents, n'ont pas suivi les enseignements de leur père et n'ont pas honoré ceux qui étaient plus vieux qu'eux.

Avec eux se trouveront des vierges. Elles auront les ténèbres pour vêtement. Elles seront châtiées sévèrement. Leur corps sera fracassé. Ce sont celles qui n'ont pas conservé leur virginité jusqu'à ce qu'on les donnât en mariage. Elles seront châtiées pour cela, alors que le châtiment sera ressenti par elles.

De plus, il y aura d'autres hommes et d'autres femmes qui rongeront leur langue sans repos, alors qu'ils seront punis par le feu éternel. Ce sont les serviteurs qui n'ont pas obéi à leurs maîtres. Ceci donc sera leur châtiment éternel.

Près (de ce lieu) de punition se trouveront des hommes et des femmes aveugles et sourds. Leurs vêtements seront blancs. Alors ils s'entasseront réciproquement. Ils tomberont sur les charbons d'un feu qui ne s'éteindra pas. Ce sont ceux qui ont fait l'aumône et ont dit: 'Nous sommes justes à l'égard du Seigneur' mais n'ont pas cherché la justice.

'Ezrâ'êl l'ange du Seigneur les fera sortir de ces flammes. Il établira un châtiment et une punition. Ceci sera leur châtiment: un fleuve de feu coulera. Tous les êtres punis descendront au milieu du fleuve. 'Ourâ'êl les (y) placera. Il apportera des roues de feu. Des hommes et des femmes seront suspendus dans ces roues par la puissance de la rotation. Les êtres qui seront dans la fosse brûleront. Ce sont les enchanteurs et les enchanteresses. De telles roues seront dans toute punition par le feu. Elles seront innombrables.[1]

Alors les anges feront venir mes élus et mes justes (qui ont été) parfaits en toute espèce de justice, en les portant dans leurs mains et en disant: '(Revêtons-les) des habits de la vie d'en-haut.' (Les justes) verront ceux qui les auront haïs, alors que le supplice les vengera pour toujours. Chacun (sera rétribué selon) ses œuvres. D'une seule voix tous ceux qui sont dans le supplice diront: 'Aie pitié de nous, car nous connaissons maintenant le jugement du Seigneur, que (le Seigneur) nous avait fait connaître auparavant et auquel nous n'avions pas cru.' L'ange Tâtirokos (ταρταροῦχος) viendra. Il les châtiera énormément dans un

[1] I can hardly doubt that this trait of the punishment of enchanters by wheels of fire is alluded to in the tract *de Aleatoribus* 8 'Aleae tabula qui ludit et maleficia nosse debet, quod a dei seruos longe sit scientes quoniam *foris est* ('furor iste' Harnack) *maleficus et uenenarius* (Rev. xxii 15) et iterum *in iudicii dei* (*or* diem in) *igne rotante torquebitur*': where 'et iterum' must surely introduce a quotation, as it does repeatedly in this tract.

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supplice. Il leur dira: 'Maintenant vous vous repentez, alors qu'il n'y a plus de temps pour le repentir, et que la vie ne vous reste plus.'[1] Tous diront: 'Le jugement du Seigneur est droit, car nous avions appris (ces supplices). Nous savons que le jugement du Seigneur est juste, car nous sommes rétribués selon nos œuvres.'[2]

The document which furnishes the best parallel to the portion of the Inferno which is not represented in our Greek fragment is *Sib. Orac.* ii 255–310. This gives a long list of sinners, of which the greater part corresponds with the text of the Apocalypse, though the order is not preserved. The latter part must be quoted.

273 ὅσοι δὲ γονεῖς ἐνὶ γήρᾳ
κάλλιπον οὐ τίσαντες ὅλως, οὐ θρέπτρα γονεῦσιν
ἀντιπαρασχόντες, αὐτὰρ δ' ὅσοι ἠπείθησαν
ἠδὲ καὶ ἀντεῖπαν λόγον ἄγριον εἰς γενετῆρας·
ἠδ' ὁπόσοι πίστεις τε ἀπηρνήσαντο λαβόντες
καὶ θεράποντες ὅσοι κατὰ δεσποτέων ἐγένοντο,
καὶ πάλιν οἳ τὴν σάρκα ἀσελγείῃ ἐμίηναν,
ἠδ' ὁπόσοι ζώνην τὴν παρθενικὴν ἀπέλυσαν
λάθρῃ μισγόμενοι, ὅσσαι δ' ἐνὶ γαστέρι φόρτους
ἐκτρώσκουσιν, ὅσοι τε τόκους ῥίπτουσιν ἀθέσμως·
φαρμακοὺς ἢ φαρμακίδας.

The next lines summarize the torments:

283 σὺν τοῖσι καὶ αὐτοὺς
ὀργὴ ἐπουρανίοιο καὶ ἀφθάρτοιο θεοῖο
285 κίονι προσπελάσειεν, ὅπου περὶ κύκλον ἅπαντα
ἀκάματος ποταμὸς πύρινος ῥεῖ, τοὺς δ' ἅμα πάντας
ἄγγελοι ἀθανάτοιο θεοῖό τε αἰὲν ἐόντος
ἐν φλογίναις μάστιξι καὶ ἐν πυρίναις ἁλύσεσσιν
δεσμοῖς ἀρρήκτοις τε περισφίγξαντες ὕπερθεν
290 δεινοτάτως κολάσουσιν· ἔπειτα δὲ νυκτὸς ἀμολγῷ
ἐν γέννῃ θηρσὶν ὑπὸ ταρταρίοισι βαλοῦνται
πολλοῖς δειμαλέοισιν, ὅπου σκότος ἐστὶν ἄμετρον
ἀλλ' ὁπόταν πολλὰς κολάσεις ἐνιποιήσωνται
πᾶσιν, ὅσων κακὸν ἦτορ ἔην, ἀτὰρ ὕστερον αὖτε
295 ἐκ ποταμοῦ μεγάλου πύρινος τροχὸς ἀμφικατέρξει
αὐτούς, ὅττ' ἄρα τοῖσιν ἀτάσθαλα ἔργα μέμηλεν.

[1] Cf. Apoc. Pauli Lat. 40 'et uidi angelum penarum ualidissime penam superponentem eis et dicentem: Agnoscite filium dei; praedictum est enim uobis, cum legerentur uobis scripturae diuinae non attendebatis; propter quod iustum est iudicium dei; adprehenderunt enim uos actus uestri mali et adduxerunt uos in has penas.'

[2] Cf. Ephr. Syr. ed. Rom. 229 *τότε ὁμολογήσουσιν ὅτι δικαία ἡ κρίσις τοῦ θεοῦ· ἠκούομεν ταῦτα καὶ οὐκ ἠθελήσαμεν ἐπιστρέψαι ἀπὸ τῶν πονηρῶν ἡμῶν πράξεων· καὶ τότε οὐδὲν ἀνοίσουσιν ταῦτα λέγοντες.*

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Then the vain lamentations of the lost are described in ll. 296–310.

In 312–316 the matter of the Ethiopic text is continued:

τοὺς δ' ἄλλους, ὁπόσοις τε δίκη καλά τ' ἔργα μέμηλεν
ἠδὲ καὶ εὐσεβίη τε δικαιότατοί τε λογισμοί,
ἄγγελοι αἰρόμενοι δι' αἰθομένου ποταμοῖο
εἰς φῶς ἄξουσιν καὶ εἰς ζωὴν ἀμέριμνον.

The Ethiopic proceeds:

'Then will I give to mine elect and to my righteous the washing and the salvation which they have asked of me in the field of 'Akrosya ('Αχερουσία λίμνη), which is called 'Aneslaslya (? 'Ηλύσιον). Some of the righteous will be adorned with flowers. I shall go and rejoice with them. I shall bring the nations into my everlasting kingdom and give them the eternal (happiness) which I have promised them, with my heavenly Father.

'I have spoken unto thee, Peter, and have instructed thee. Go forth therefore, go unto the city of the west, (and enter) into the vineyard which I shall tell thee of. It is by the sufferings of the Son without sin that the work of conception is sanctified. As for thee, thou art chosen according to the promise I have given thee. Spread thou therefore my gospel throughout all the world in peace. Verily men shall rejoice: my words will be the source of hope and of life "et soudain le monde sera ravi".'

The *Sibylline Oracles* (ii 316 sqq.) appear to continue the parallelism: ll. 316–329 are occupied with a description of Paradise: in 330–338 we have the unusual view that God will allow the righteous to save some sinners from torment. The last lines are:

πέμψει διὰ λαὸν ἑαυτοῦ
εἰς ζωὴν ἑτέραν καὶ αἰώνιον ἀθανάτοισιν
'Ηλυσίῳ πεδίῳ, ὅθι οἱ πέλε κύματα μακρὰ
λίμνης ἀενάου 'Αχερουσιάδος βαθυκόλπου.

Compare *Akrosya* and *Aneslaslya* above. It must be noted in connexion with this that a subsequent section of the Ethiopic text as yet unpublished deals at great length with the mercy of God towards sinners, in which, to judge from the analysis, a doctrine of deliverance from hell-torments is hinted at. The section itself cannot be regarded as belonging to the Apocalypse, but may well have been suggested by it.

Thus ends the present instalment of the text.

In a previous volume of the *Revue* (1907 p. 142) M. Grébaut gives a short analysis of the next section, which evidently corresponds generally to the earlier portion (§§ 2–5 James 4–20 Preuschen) of the Akhmim

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fragment of the Apocalypse, upon which an account of the Transfiguration has been welded.

The elect and the righteous will be brought by angels into the kingdom of heaven (this portion is translated above). In order that he may more fully understand the glory of heaven, Jesus commands Peter to accompany Him to the holy mountain. Here are seen men with faces shining more than the sun and with glittering raiment. In answer to Peter's question Jesus tells him that they are Moses, Elias, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and the rest of the righteous Fathers. Paradise is then opened. Peter desires to set up three tabernacles for Christ, Moses, and Elias. A voice is heard from heaven: 'This is my beloved son', 'en qui je me plais. Il observe mes ordres.' The Apostles look up and see in the sky certain real men—'de vrais hommes'—coming to meet Christ, Moses, and Elias. They then pass into another heaven. The heaven is then closed. The Apostles come down from the mountain and give thanks to Christ for having written the names of the righteous in the Book of Life.[1]

It is not to be expected that one's views on this important text should be finally formed on two or three days' study. But a few general propositions may be put forward, with all reserve.

1. The fact that a large portion of the Apocalypse of Peter is embedded in M. Grébaut's text is not to be contested. We have in it the equivalent of one fragment quoted in Macarius Magnes, and the whole of the description of Hell contained in the Akhmim fragment.

2. This warrants us in assuming that the Ethiopic text represents portions of the Apocalypse previously unknown.

Among these I reckon

a. the matter relating to the resurrection of the body;

b. the description of the final fire;

c. the torments which follow in the Ethiopic after the end of the Akhmim fragment;

d. the matter relating to the destiny of the blessed.

3. It seems beyond doubt that the *Sibylline Oracles* Book II follows the Apocalypse very closely indeed.

4. The Ethiopic text is in some respects better than the Akhmim text. It contains matter corresponding to the passages quoted by Clement of Alexandria and Methodius which are not in the Akhmim text. It seems clear that the latter must be regarded as something like an abridgement, or a series of excerpts from the Apocalypse. I suppose this to be true of the opening paragraph as well as of the description of Hell.

[1] *See Additional Note, p. 157.*

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5. The question of the order in which the various topics were treated in the Apocalypse is a difficult one. The Akhmim text gives us

a. prophecy of false Messiahs;
b. description of Paradise;
c. description of Hell.

The Ethiopic text has

a. the Resurrection, final conflagration, and judgement;
b. the description of Hell;
c. the description of Paradise.

It will have been noticed, moreover, that whereas the Greek text gives the description of Hell in the past tense ('I saw', 'there were men and women', &c.), the Ethiopic puts the whole into the future, and does not represent the various torments as being shewn to Peter. This important difference may be due to a recasting of the whole text; and it is natural to give the preference *a priori* to the Akhmim text on account of its antiquity. But it should not be forgotten, on the other hand, that in the passages quoted by Clement of Alexandria the future tense is prominent; notably in the sentence τὸ δὲ γάλα τῶν γυναικῶν . . . γεννήσει θηρία λεπτὰ σαρκοφάγα.

A final decision does not appear possible as yet.

6. A study of the Ethiopic text and of the patristic and other parallels makes it probable to my mind that the Apocalypse laid stress upon the resurrection of the flesh, employing the argument that all things are possible with God, and using the vision of the dry bones in Ezekiel and the simile of the seed sown in the ground; and that its treatment of this topic furnished a ready handle to heathen objectors. Further, that it described in some detail the destruction of the world by fire (agreeing in this with the Second Epistle of Peter). It seems likely that the Ethiopic text has preserved these sections very much in their original form. I conjecture also that it indicated the possibility of sinners being freed from torment by the intercession of the righteous. More light may be thrown on this point by the publication of the final portion of the book. Its teaching on all these points fell into disfavour, and led to its suppression. In the time of the writer of the Muratorian Fragment objections were already felt to it 'quam quidam ex nostris in ecclesia legi nolunt'.

The best thanks of all students of early Christian literature are due to M. Grébaut. He has restored to us a large portion of a book whose influence upon the beliefs and imaginations of Christendom has been far-reaching, both directly, and still more by means of the many apocalyptic visions which were based upon it.

M. R. JAMES.

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THE 'EPISTOLA APOSTOLORUM' IN A NEW TEXT.

In the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy for 1895 (p. 705) Dr C. Schmidt gave a preliminary account of a Coptic narrative of the appearances of our Lord after the Resurrection. The document, which is assigned to the middle of the second century, and appears to be of great interest, is to be published in the *Texte und Untersuchungen*.

We have a fragment of this same book in Latin; a single leaf is preserved in a Vienna palimpsest, first published by Dr J. Bick in the Vienna *Sitzungsberichte* (Phil.-Hist. Kl. 159), and subsequently commented upon by Dr Schmidt (Berlin *Sitzungsb.*, 1908, p. 1047), and by Dr E. Hauler (*Wiener Studien* xxx, 1908, p. 308). In this Latin fragment the book has a title, *Epistula*.

Quite recently I have noticed the existence of a third authority. In the invaluable *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, 1907, pp. 1–8, M. L. Guerrier gives an analysis of an Ethiopic *Testament of Our Lord*, which he distinguishes from other similarly-named books by the addition of the words 'in Galilee', in accordance with the *data* of the text. He promises a speedy publication of the book in the *Patrologia Orientalis* of MM. Graffin and Nau, together with a Latin version.

To demonstrate as briefly as I can the fact that this Ethiopic Testament is to a large extent identical with what we have in Coptic, I will set down the following points which the published notices shew to be common to both texts:—

Appearance of Christ to the women[1] who are weeping: announcement by Mary Magdalene to the Apostles: their unbelief. Appearance of Christ to the Apostles: Peter is reproached with his denial. They prostrate themselves and ask pardon with tears.

Our Lord states that it was He who appeared to the Virgin at the Annunciation, under the form of Gabriel.

He bids the Apostles keep the Passover (or Easter) in memory of Him, and predicts that at that season one of them will be imprisoned and will be released by His power under the form of Gabriel.

He says of Himself, 'I am wholly in the Father and the Father in me'.

The Apostles ask concerning the time of His coming.

Stress is laid upon the resurrection of the flesh.

There is a polemic against false teachers. In the Coptic text they are named, but apparently not in the Ethiopic.

There is an exposition of the Parable of the Ten Virgins.

[1] The Coptic names them as Mary, Martha, Mary Magdalene: the Ethiopic gives Sara for Mary.

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Here is enough community of matter to shew the importance of the Ethiopic text. We must not, of course, assume that it is a complete, still less an unadulterated or unexpurgated, version of the original. The analysis gives no hint, for example, of the remarkable episode which describes how the great archangels failed to recognize Christ as He descended through the heavens. On the other hand, it does contain matter (about the Annunciation, &c.) which the scribe or author of the Latin version seems to have omitted intentionally.

The probability that it is a complete document must also be considered. The opening sections treat of the same topics, and in much the same terms, as the *Testament of the Lord* first published by Mgr Rahmani: signs of the end, disasters in various named countries, the coming of Antichrist and his personal appearance. But thereafter, instead of treating questions of Church order, our Lord begins to speak of Himself, and of His miracles. Then follows the narrative of the appearance to the women.

Later on there is a prediction of the conversion of St. Paul, and there is also a good deal of exhortation, and of promises vouchsafed to the righteous. The Coptic has a *lacuna* of several leaves which may have contained this matter. The book concludes very soon after the discourse on the Parable of the Ten Virgins.

Perhaps it may turn out to be the original of the whole class of *Testaments of the Lord*.

The moral of this identification, coupled with the discovery of a large portion of the *Apocalypse of Peter* in similar surroundings,[1] is obvious. We can by no means afford to neglect these late oriental texts, often preserved to us in single copies, written, it may be, in the eighteenth or even in the nineteenth century. The two examples to which I call the attention of scholars are a striking demonstration of the value of the work of research in which the *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* has taken a leading part during these last years.

M. R. JAMES.

[1] Both documents are found in one and the same manuscript (No. 51 of the fonds d'Abbadie).

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THE ESCHATOLOGY OF THE APOCRYPHAL SCRIPTURES.

I. The Messianic Hope.

§ 1. *Introductory.*

The following Notes embody the results of a fairly complete examination of the leading eschatological ideas of the apocryphal and pseudepigraphic books of the Old Testament, and are offered as the first instalment of an independent study of Christian Origins. It is now, I take it, generally recognized that the Christian synthesis had its roots deep in the past, and that the most various elements contributed to form the intellectual and spiritual *milieu* in which the Gospel arose. I hope at a future date to attack the larger problem; meantime, an attempt to survey some of the Jewish elements in the syncretism and to trace their historical evolution should prove of service to students. So far as my knowledge extends, the only recent book in English which deals historically with Judaic Eschatology is Dr Charles's *Jowett Lectures*.[1] Since the appearance of this excellent work, much has been written on the subject in Germany, where the publication of a complete translation of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha under the editorship of Prof. Kautzsch has given a fresh impulse to the study of this form of literature. In the course of my exposition I shall refer to some of the more important recent works, and thus afford the reader some idea of my indebtedness to previous workers in the same field. This and the fact that most of the works cited are comparatively little known in England will account for, if it does not wholly justify, the number of the references themselves. One of my objects will be to employ the available material for the purpose of throwing light on the genesis of the eschatological ideas of the period.

§ 2. *The Earthly Messianic Rule.*

I begin with the idea of the Messianic Kingdom, which is constantly placed at the end of Time, and thus conceived, in a way, eschatologically. It matters little whether we say with Volz[2] that the Messianic Expectations form merely a special chapter in Eschatology, or with Hühn,[3]

[1] *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life, in Israel, in Judaism and in Christianity*, London, 1899.

[2] *Jüdische Eschatologie von Daniel bis Akiba*, Tübingen 1903.

[3] *Die messianischen Weissagungen des israelitisch-jüdischen Volkes bis zu den Targumim*, Tübingen 1898–1900.

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that Eschatology forms a part of the Messianic Hope. In any case, it is tacitly presupposed that the Kingdom will not appear till the end of the present era, although, to be sure, the precise date of its manifestation is nowhere very clearly defined. With the thought of the Kingdom is closely connected that of Judgement which, as is rightly pointed out by Bousset,[1] follows logically from the notion of 'the Law', itself so characteristic of the so-called post-exilic period. For the sake of convenience, however, I will keep the treatment of these two ideas separate. The separation is the more justified in that the descriptions of the Messianic Kingdom to be met with in the apocryphal scriptures present it almost without exception as established *on earth*, and as constituting as it were a transition-stage to the final End of All Things, when the present world shall be destroyed, and the Resurrection and the Last Judgement consummated. Traces of this belief in an earthly Kingdom are found in the prophetic books of the Old Testament,[2] but it was not till after the composition of the Book of Daniel (*circ.* 160 B. C.), 'the pattern Apocalypse', as Dr Cheyne calls it,[3] that the idea rose into prominence. Thenceforward, we can trace it in an unbroken series of writings up to the time of R. Akiba.

In Judaism the henotheism of the Old Testament had developed, under Persian influence, into nominal and official monotheism, and the God of Israel had already become King and Lord of the whole Earth.[4] Thus, we find him called King (βασιλεύς) 2 Mac. i 24; 3 Mac. ii 9; Tob. xiii 10; Ecclus. li 1; Ps. Sol. xvii 1; Eth. Enoch lxxxiv 2; King and Lord (κύριος βασιλεύς) 3 Ezra iv 46; King and God (βασιλεὺς θεός) Sib. Proem. 80; King of Kings (βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλέων) 2 Mac. xiii 4; Eth. Enoch lxxxiv 2[5]; King of the Universe (παμβασιλεύς) Ecclus. l 15; Great King (μέγας βασιλεύς) Tob. xiii 15; Ps. Sol. ii 32; King of Gods and Lord of all Rule (βασιλεὺς τῶν θεῶν καὶ πάσης ἀρχῆς ἐπικρατῶν) Suppl. Esth. iii 23; King of Heaven (βασιλεὺς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ) 3 Ezra iv 46, 58, (βασιλεὺς τῶν οὐρανῶν) 3 Mac. ii 2; Tob. xiii 7, 11; King on the lofty seat (*rex in alta sede*), Ass. Mos. iv 4; Holy King (ἅγιος βασιλεύς) 3 Mac. ii 13; Immortal King (ἀθάνατος βασιλεύς) III Sib. 48, 616, 707; King of all Creation (βασιλεὺς πάσης κτίσεως) Jud. ix 12; Lord of Heaven and Earth (κύριος [δεσπότης] τοῦ [τῶν] οὐρανοῦ [-ῶν] καὶ τῆς γῆς) Tob. vii 16; Jud. ix 12; Test. Naph. (Hebr.) 9; Lord of Glory (κύριος

[1] *Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter* (2. Aufl., Berlin 1906) pp. 233 f. Referred to as *B. R. J.*

[2] See below.

[3] *Bible Problems* (1904) p. 214. So Volz.

[4] In the time of Herod the idea of a divine World-King was universally current throughout the Roman Empire. Cf. Lublinski, *Die Entstehung des Christentums aus der antiken Kultur* (Jena 1910), pp. 64–85; A. Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten* (Tübingen, 1908) pp. 264 ff.

[5] Note here the ἅπαξ λεγόμενον 'God of the Whole World'.

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τῆς δόξης) Eth. Enoch xxii 14; xxv 3, 7; xxvii 3, 5 *al.* Such passages might be multiplied almost indefinitely.[1] This conception of God's Rule over His people and the world extends to all time, including therefore the periods in which the various writings were composed. Thus, Ps. cxlv 13, 'Thy kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and thy dominion endureth throughout all generations'. Again Ps. ciii 19, 'The Lord *hath established* his throne in the heavens; and his kingdom ruleth over all'. In Sap. Sol. x 10, Jacob beholds in a dream the Rule of God established in Heaven. (So Tob. xiii 16; Jud. xii 19; Ps. Sol. ii 32; v 18f; Eth. Enoch viii 42; ciii 1 &c.) In particular, Israel's expectations for the future are summed up in the phrase מלכות יהוה, βασιλεία (τοῦ) θεοῦ[2] or מלכות שמים, βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν, in which, as is rightly pointed out by Dalman[3] and Bousset (*R. J.* p. 245), the term מַלְכוּת יהוה always means Rule (*Regiment Herrschaft*), and not Kingdom (*Reich*) of Yahwè. Ever stronger waxes the belief that this Rule of God will manifest itself in a quite special way in the future (cf. ὁ καιρὸς οὗτος, ὁ αἰὼν ὁ ἐρχόμενος Lk xviii 30); and this, i. e. its eschatological application, is the aspect of the belief which most nearly concerns us here. We find it expressed in Obad. v 21, 'And Yahwè will maintain his Royal Rule'; Is. lii 7, 'Thy God will reign' (LXX reads βασιλεύσει); more clearly Is. xxiv 23, 'Then the moon shall be confounded, and the sun ashamed; for Yahwè of Hosts shall reign in Mount Zion and in Jerusalem, and before his ancients shall be glory' (or 'gloriously'). In one group of Psalms (Ps. xciii–xcix), the phrase 'Yahwè has become king' recurs several times.[4] Turning to the 'apocryphal' books, we find a repetition of the same idea, though less frequent than might be expected. Instances are:—III Sib. 47, 767, where it is said that God will finally assert His Rule over all men; Ass. Mos. x 1, 'Then (i. e. at the beginning of the last mighty Revolution) shall his rule over all creatures appear'; further, Test. Dan. 5; I Bar. xxi 23, 25[5] (cf. Ap. Joh. xi 15; xii 10).

[1] I have used mainly Kautzsch *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, 2. Bd. (Tübingen, Mohr, 1900), but have constantly referred to the best editions of the originals, e. g. those of R. H. Charles. In the selection of passages I have found L. Couard *Die relig. u. sittl. Anschauungen d. alttestl. Apokryphen u. Pseudepigraphen* (Gütersloh 1907) helpful. For the O. T. Kittel *Biblia Hebraica*, and Kautzsch *Die heil. Schrift d. A. Ts.*[3] (1908 ff), with Swete's LXX.

[2] This use of βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ probably accounts for Rom. xiv 17, Mk. x 15. For the Christian conception, cf. Dalman *Worte Jesu* (Leipzig 1898) pp. 83–119.

[3] *Worte Jesu* p. 77.

[4] Cf. Gunkel *Ausgewählte Psalmen* p. 162 (2. Aufl., 1905); Gressmann *Ursprung d. israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie* pp. 294 ff (= *Forschungen z. Rel. u. Lit. d. Alt. u. Neu. Test.* VI, 1905). The significance of this conception will appear as we proceed.

[5] I cite the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch as I Bar., and the Greek Apoc., first published by James, as II Bar.

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It is easy to understand how all the future expectations of Judaism centred in this belief, since the ideas of the coming βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ and of Israel's rule over the world were intimately connected. It was incredible that God's 'chosen people' should always remain in subjection; eventually the Kingdom of Power and of Glory must be theirs. This leading thought of later Judaism is expressed Dan. xxiv 4, 'And in the days of those kings shall the God of Heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed, nor shall the sovereignty thereof be left to another people; but it shall shatter and consume all those kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever': Dan. vii 27, 'And the kingdom and the dominion, and the greatness of the kingdoms under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High; his kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him'. Sap. Sol. iii 8, 'the "pious" shall judge the nations, and shall rule over the nations'. Jub. xxxii 19, 'I will give to thy seed the whole earth which lies under the sky (heaven), and they shall rule over all nations as they will; and thereafter shall they possess the whole earth, and inherit it unto eternity'. Eth. Enoch xc 30, 'I saw how all the sheep that were left, and all beasts on the earth, and all birds of the sky fell down to adore those sheep, they supplicated and obeyed them in every word'. *Ibid.* xcii 4, 'God will be gracious to the just man, and will give him righteousness and grant him lordship'. See further, Jud. xxii 11; I Bar. lxxii 5; Eth. Enoch xci 5; xcv 3 ff; xcviii 12; Sap. Sol. iii 8. In Sap. Sol. v 13, 16, we see the conception of the 'Kingdom' already passing into that of 'eternal life'; and it is worth while noting here that in the New Testament the two ideas are finally identified.[1] It should also be pointed out that from the time of Daniel onwards (cf. passages above cited) the Rule of the saints or holy ones is not unfrequently emphasized. In other words, membership of God's Kingdom is viewed as ethically conditioned. Here again we may legitimately assume that Persian influences (Mazdaism) were at work.[2]

In the Old Testament the coming of the New Kingdom is assigned to the 'latter days', when the 'Day of Yahwè' (יום יהוה)[3] and His Judgement will usher in a new and perfect condition of things destined to endure thereafter for ever unchanged. Originally the 'Day of Yahwè' seems to have meant merely a catastrophic prelude to a time of unbroken material prosperity to be secured for Israel through Yahwè;

[1] Charles *Doct. of a Future Life* pp. 314 f, 368–370.

[2] Cf. Vollers *Die Weltreligionen* (1907) pp. 88 f. Schürer *Geschichte d. jüd. Volkes* II[4] (1907) p. 587. Further refs. *ibid.* p. 413.

[3] For the history of this 'Day', see Charles *Doct. of a Future Life* pp. 84 ff, and especially Gressmann *Israelitisch-jüdische Eschatologie* pp. 141–158, Volz *Jüd. Eschatologie* 188–190.

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but the popular unethical conception gave place, at any rate in the post-exilic period, to the prophetic view of a regenerate kingdom, and the notion of a preliminary Judgement stands out boldly in the later Jewish literature. See, for example, Is. ii 6–21; viii 1–4; ix 8–20; xxviii 2; Dan. ii 44; vii 14, 27. In one passage Isaiah foretells the Kingdom: 'Therefore this is the oracle of the Lord Yahwè Ṣabaoth, the Hero of Israel: Ha! I will appease me of mine adversaries and avenge me on mine enemies; and I will bring back mine hand upon thee, and will smelt out in the furnace thy dross and will take away all thy alloy; and I will bring back thy judges as at the first, and thy counsellors as at the beginning; afterwards thou shalt be called Citadel of Righteousness, Faithful City.'[1] It is important to observe that the Kingdom is to be established on *earth*, as appears plainly from the terms of the description of the 'golden age', Is. ii 6 ff,[2] so materially conceived as to be unthinkable in 'heaven'. A similar view is found in the apocryphal and pseudepigraphic scriptures (Sirach, Judith, Tobit, 1 Macc.), but, significantly enough, only in those which know nothing of the Resurrection or of life after death[3] (cp. especially Sirach vii 17; x 9–11; xiv 17–19; xvii 28; xxii 11; xxxviii 21; xli 1–4). A further developement first appears in one of the oldest portions of the Ethiopic Book of Enoch,[4] cc. xci 12–17; xciii, which describe the history of Mankind in ten world-weeks of varying duration. I will quote the first-named passage at length:—

'12. And after that there will be another week, the eighth, that of righteousness, and a sword will be given to it, that judgement and righteousness may be executed on those who commit oppression, and sinners will be delivered into the hands of the righteous. 13. And at its close they will acquire houses[5] through their righteousness, and the house of the Great King will be built in righteousness for evermore. 14. And after that, in the ninth week, the righteous judgement will be revealed to the whole world, and the world will be written down for destruction,

[1] i 24–26 (Cheyne's transl.).

[2] Here a piece of traditional myth-material is transferred to the end of the world, as is pointed out by Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos* (1895) p. 13. Cf. Gressmann *Ursprung* pp. 195–200. The point will come up for discussion later.

[3] The variety of views need cause us no surprise. As Schürer aptly remarks, '*Während die gesetzlichen Vorschriften bis in ihr kleinstes Detail hinein verbindlich waren und darum unverändert von einer Generation der anderen überliefert werden mussten, war dem Glauben wenigstens ein relativ freierer Spielraum gestattet: sofern nur gewisse Grundlagen festgehalten wurden, konnte das individuelle Bedürfnis sich hier viel freier ergehen*'. (*Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes* II[4] (1907) p. 583, cf. p. 588.)

[4] So Beer (in Kautzsch *Apokr. u. Pseud.* ii 230), who places the passage before 167 B. C. On the other hand Charles in his masterly edition puts it as late as 104–95 B. C. See further van Loon *Eschatologiën van de Hasmoneentijd volgens het boek Henoch* (Theol. Tijdschr., 1902, pp. 421–463). The point is immaterial here.

[5] Cf. Is. lxv 21.

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and all mankind will look to the path of uprightness. 15. And after this in the tenth week in the seventh part there will be the great eternal judgement in which he will execute vengeance amongst the angels. And the first heaven will depart and pass away, and a new heaven will appear, and all the powers of the heavens will shine sevenfold [1] for ever. 17. And after that there will be many weeks without number for ever in goodness and righteousness, and sin will no more be mentioned for ever.' [2]

Furthermore, III Sib. *vv.* 632–731 (Kautzsch ii 197 ff) tell of a temporary Messianic Rule, to precede the establishment of God's final and universal kingdom on earth. Here, however, there is no new creation, and no resurrection; while in Eth. Enoch xci 10 a resurrection, of the righteous only, is admitted. It is true that neither of these compositions appears to have exercised much direct influence, though their indirect influence must have extended to certain circles in Palestinian Judaism, as the growth of belief in the resurrection impelled men to seek for a final consummation of things in another world than this. The two ideas of a final heavenly abode, and a resurrection in the spirit, as in Eth. Enoch, are possibly conjoined in Ass. Mos. (written before A.D. 30), where we read in x 9, according to Charles, that God will 'exalt' Israel, and establish its habitation among the stars. The text of this verse is, however, uncertain,[3] and must not be pressed. In any case, the idea that the Rule of God meant simply His reign on earth over His chosen people was too deeply implanted in the national consciousness to be easily got rid of. It was only by slow degrees that an effort was made to bring together the notions of an earthly and a heavenly kingdom. And what was done was to synthesize the Sibylline idea of a temporary Messianic sway with that of an everlasting heavenly kingdom as set forth in the Book of Enoch, the former being made to precede the latter. The synthesis is complete in Ap. Joh. xx, a fact which, I apprehend, clearly points to the Jewish origin of the chapter. But such a temporary Messianic Kingdom is described Ps. Sol. xi 1–8. In these Psalms, it is followed by the (?) spiritual resurrection of the righteous into eternal life (iii 12). The date of these Psalms is, roughly, 50 B.C. Somewhat similarly, the Book of Jubilees—before 10 A.D. (Charles)—sketches the gradual advent of a Messianic Kingdom (xxiii 27–29), and the blessed immortality into which the righteous will enter after the final judgement (xxiii 11, 31). More important, however, in this connexion, are I Bar. and 4 Ezra. The former describes (lxiii–lxiv) a somewhat sensuously conceived Messianic Kingdom, which is

[1] Cf. Is. xxx 26.
[2] Charles's Transl.
[3] See Cremer's note, in Kautzsch ii 328.

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'the consummation of that which is incorruptible' (lxiv 2). According to this book, man is the master of his fate—each one of us is 'the Adam of his own soul' (liv 19)—and the majority will eventually be saved (li 4 f). The affinities of 4 Ezra with Christian teaching are close, and it has always enjoyed a high reputation in the Christian Church. Gunkel (in Kautzsch ii 335 ff) has shewn that it is a unitary composition (see especially p. 351 and references), and assigns as its date the last decade of the first century A. D.[1] The author grapples vigorously with the old problems of evil in the world, which he 'solves' by postulating a better world to come. Not till the end of time will the full solution appear (iv 26, 43). But he finds comfort, like so many of his contemporaries, Christian as well as Jewish, in the thought that the world is growing old and the end near at hand (iv 26, 44–50; v 50–55). The signs of the last times are vividly depicted in v 1–13, vi 11–29. 'Then will the invisible city appear, and the hidden land be revealed' (vii 26). 'The Christ' will be manifest and give joy to those that are left for the space of 400[2] years (vii 28), after which he will die, and with him all men (vii 30). Seven days of primaeval silence will follow; then 'the Age which now sleeps will awake, and all perishable things pass away' (vii 31–32). The Most High will appear on His Judgement seat (vii 33), and the general judgement, to which the dead will rise (vii 32) will last for a week of years (vii 43). It would appear from vii 75 that the day of judgement is to be a 'new creation'. So, vii 113, 'But the day of judgement is the end of this world, and the beginning of the eternal world to come; therein corruption has passed away'.

It is not perhaps possible to decide just when this synthesis of the two kingdoms was first made; in any case, the tendency becomes more marked, as might be expected, with the collapse of the Jewish polity after the fall of Jerusalem. Couard[3] thinks the outbreak of the war in A. D. 66 and the later rebellion of Bar Koḫba in 132–135 point to the continuing existence of the belief in the establishment of an earthly Messianic kingdom; but the existence of a belief that has persevered into our own day scarcely needs to be proved.

We now come to the question how far the figure of the Messiah is an integral element in the Jewish national hope. An *organic* connexion of the two is, perhaps rightly, denied by Charles,[4] who observes that two,

[1] A separate edition of Gunkel's Translation with introduction and notes has been published (*Der Prophet Esra*, Tüb. 1900). The best English edition is Bensley's, with introduction by M. R. James (Camb. Texts and Studies iii 2, 1895).

[2] Cf. Gunkel in Kautzsch ii 370, note h; Charles *Doct. of Immortality* p. 286.

[3] *Anschauungen* p. 192.

[4] *Doct. of a Future Life* p. 83. Cf. Gressmann *Ursprung* p. 7. It should be remembered that the eschatological ideas of the O. T. are in general of a fragmentary character. And since the true date of the prophetic books is by no means certain,

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and two only, features are essential to the Old Testament conception of the Messianic kingdom, viz. it must be (1) a *community* in which (2) *God's will is fulfilled*. It may be true that Isaiah alone of the earlier prophets refers to the conception of the (?) Messiah,[1] and that only in one place, i 24–26. But without deciding this point here, it is easy to shew that the Messianic kingdom was frequently regarded as a manifestation of God alone. No mention is made of the Messiah in any of the following Old Testament passages, Is. xiii 7; xxiv–xxvi; xxx 18, 26; xxxi 47; Micah iv 7; vii 8f; Zech. x 6; xiv 9; Ps. xlvii 4; nor at all in Zephaniah, Nahum, Habakkuk. Just in the same way, a considerable number of the apocryphal and pseudepigraphic books describe the blessed future kingdom though knowing nothing of the Messiah. This is the case in Jub. i 23; Eth. Enoch i 5 ff, x, xci 12–17, Slav. Enoch, I Bar., Jud., Tob., II Mac., ; Ass. Mos. *passim*. In all these, it is God Himself who in the fullness of time is to subjugate Israel's foes, and to exalt His chosen people to dominion over the nations. I do not, of course, suggest that the idea of the Messiah ever wholly disappeared from the national consciousness; but the passages just referred to are surely to be taken as proving that its presence was confined within certain, not easily definable, circles.

Turning, now, to the other side of the picture, we find the Messiah depicted alike in the Old Testament (cf. Is. ix 1 ff, 11 ff; Micah v 1) and in the 'apocrypha' as ushering in the period of bliss which is to bring the present age to a close. Nor need we wonder at the existence of the two opinions side by side. For after all it was the hope of the eventual triumph of Israel over her enemies which lay nearest the heart of the people: whether the Saviour was to be Yahwè Himself or His Messiah was a matter of minor importance. As regards the position of the Messiah in the 'apocrypha', three views may be distinguished. Thus :—

i. The Messiah does not appear at all. The chief instances of this view have been enumerated above.

ii. The Messiah becomes the central figure in the Messianic kingdom. He frees his people from the yoke of the stranger, bringing them salvation and establishing his Rule of Righteousness among them. The

we must use great caution in inferring from them the existence of such ideas in pre-exilic times, however methodologically sound such procedure may be.

[1] This is the view of Cheyne *Introd. to Isaiah* (1895), and is supported by Charles, Volz, Stade, Marti, Bruckner, and other scholars. For the opposite view, cf. G. A. Smith in Hastings *D. B.* 488–489; Gressmann *Ursprung* 272. A discussion of this topic will be found in a subsequent paragraph. In any case the idea of a Messiah is very ancient. So, too, the general scheme of Israelitish prophecy, which, as Ed. Meyer has shewn, is identical with that of the Egyptian prophets. See his remarks, *Die Israeliten u. ihre Nachbarstämme* (1906) pp. 451 ff; *Geschichte d. Altertums* i 2 § 297 (2. Aufl., 1909).

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earliest extant literary instance would seem to be III Sib. 652–759 (? 140 B. C.). Here we read how God will send His King from the East, to put an end to war and fulfil the promises of God, by whom he will be guided in all things. Here the Messiah is still a shadowy figure, but he becomes much more distinct in Ps. Sol. xvii, xviii, as likewise in 4 Ezra xiii. I will set out the contents of this important chapter at some length. It recounts a vision (the sixth) in which the prophet beholds 'as it were the likeness of a man' rising from the bosom of the sea and flying on the clouds of heaven. At his countenance all things tremble, and at the sound of his voice they melt away like wax before the fire. A mighty army of men assembles from the four winds to oppose him. He cuts out a mountain and takes his stand thereon. Though stricken with fear, the army advances to the attack, only to be reduced in a moment to 'dust of ashes and the smell of smoke' by a flood of fire and flame and sparks which issues from his mouth. Thereupon, he descends from his mountain, and summons to himself another army or multitude—a peaceable one this time—and there draw near the forms of many men, some exultant, others gloomy, some bound and being led by others by way of sacrificial offerings. We are here, plainly, dealing with an ancient myth which our author struggles—not always successfully[1]—to interpret allegorically. The sole point which concerns us at this juncture is that 'the man' is identified in terms with 'my [God's] son' (xiii 22), and is explained as 'him whom the Most High has preserved for long ages, through whom he will redeem Creation, and who will stablish the new order of things among those that are left' (xiii 26).

iii. In the third place, in some of the pseudepigrapha the Messiah or Christ does not enter upon his office of Ruler until after the foundation of the Messianic kingdom by God Himself. Thus, the Messiah[2] ('one resembling a man') in Dan. vii 13 does not make his appearance till the close of the world-drama, and the same is true of the white bullock, i. e. the Messiah,[3] in Eth. Enoch xc 35, who is here, however, a person or figure of no special importance.

Before leaving the subject of the earthly Messianic kingdom, it will be convenient to discuss the views of last or penultimate judgement, so far as they are connected therewith. We shall return to this subject later, but may as well deal with it here so far as it is represented as an

[1] Cf. Gunkel, in Kautzsch ii 347, and for the origin of the phrase 'the man', Gunkel *Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Verständnis des Neuen Testaments* (Göttingen 1903) p. 47 note 2, and especially Schrader *Die Keilinschriften u. d. Alte Testament* (3. Aufl., Berl., 1902–1903) pp. 391 f. (This important work is cited as *K. A. T.*) We shall return to the point later.

[2] Cf. for justification of this interpretation, Cheyne *Bible Problems* pp. 213–235.

[3] Cf. G. Beer, in Kautzsch ii 298 note a.

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earthly manifestation of divine justice. Since the majority of the apocryphal books recognize a quasi-universal judgement at the opening of the Messianic kingdom, it is not surprising that those which distinguish the Messianic period from the final consummation of the world should admit a twofold judgement, at the commencement and at the conclusion of the temporary Rule of the Messiah. A preliminary judgement of the sinners is found in Eth. Enoch xci 12; xcv 7; xcvi 1; xcviii 12; which, like that in Dan. ii 44, is to be executed by the saints. Couard[1] finds such a double judgement in the Sibylline Books, but I have been unable to verify this, though I must confess I have not read through the whole of these rather tedious performances. On the whole, the idea of one final judgement predominates, in which earthly and transcendental elements are often curiously compounded. So, too, a lack of unity obtains as to the personality of the Great Judge. Sometimes it is God Himself who assumes the rôle, sometimes the Messiah. But this is only one more proof that the figure of the Messiah belongs originally to a circle of ideas different from that in which the conception of a universal judgement finds place (see below).

In this connexion, there falls to be treated the overthrow of His enemies by God or His Messiah, which forms a constantly recurring prelude to the description of the last end. It has recently been maintained that what here appears in the guise of a quasi-juridical act originally formed part of a mythological narrative of a conflict between the powers of good and evil, which at an early period was viewed as taking place before the Creation, but was gradually transferred to the *Endzeit*. We owe it to the thoroughness of Gunkel that the mythical origin of much of the material worked up in Ap. Joh., as well as of a lengthy row of allied passages in the Old Testament, can no longer be disputed.[2] The same line of investigation leads, of course, to similar results elsewhere. For a conspectus of these results, the reader must be referred to Zimmern's *Étude documentée* in the second half of Schrader's *Keilinschriften* (third edition). We are here concerned only with reminiscences of ancient mythology in the apocryphal and apocalyptic books. That such passages as Dan. vii continued to be interpreted in reference to contemporary events is, of course, no argument against their mythical origin.[3] In any case, as we shall presently see, such quasi-historical interpretations explain nothing. We shall first deal with some typical passages in the Old Testament.[4] In the prophets, as

[1] *Anschauungen* p. 194.

[2] *Schöpfung u. Chaos* (1895) *passim* (especially pp. 202–210, 236–239, 255–257, 379–397); supplemented by *Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Verständnis des Neuen Testaments* (= *Forschungen* i 1903).

[3] See Meyer *Israeliten* 452 note 4.

[4] In what follows, I rely in the main on Gressmann *Ursprung* pp. 174 ff.

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is well known, the יום יהוה is frequently represented as a day of struggle, in which Yahwè calls the nations to the destruction of Israel and Judah. Instances are, Jer. i 15; vi 22; Is. v 26 ff; viii 9 ff; xvii 4 ff, &c. A second array of passages describe how the nations assemble to attack Jerusalem and are annihilated by Yahwè. Thus, for example, Is. lxvi 18 ff; Joel iv; Zech. xii 14; Micah 4 ff; Zeph. iii 9 ff; and above all the chapters in (?) Ezekiel (38 f) in which the 'enemy' whom the earlier prophets leave unnamed is called 'Gog of the land of Magog'.[1] It is not unlikely that the prophecy in Ezekiel refers to the Scythians: it fits them no worse, and no better, than the Babylonians or 'Chaldeans' or others who might occur to the reader as hinted at. But it is idle to set down such stories as mere inventions of their authors; their very frequency demands a more searching explanation, while mere literary dependence will not account for the variety in the details. Gressmann's view is as follows:—

'We are here confronted with the same problem as in general regarding the view touching the Day of Yahwè. In popular belief it embraces . . . two apparently mutually exclusive opposites, Salvation and Doom. To these correspond exactly the two forms of the narrative recognized above: Israel spared and Israel destroyed. Now since the literary prophecy of the pre-exilic period placed in the foreground the conception of Doom, it employed preferably the corresponding scheme, without indeed making use of it exclusively. After the exile, the reverse is most frequently the case.'[2]

He then proceeds to shew that not only the myth of the 'enemy from the north country', but the Eschatology of Salvation, as well as that of Doom, in general probably represents a fragmentary mythology already current in Palestine in the preprophetic period.[3] This attractive hypothesis is not indeed fully confirmed as yet, but it is unquestionably the outcome of a sound methodological procedure. It is scarcely possible to reconstruct the original form (or forms) of the myth, or to state definitely the time and place of its origin. But the main contention that we are here dealing with reminiscences of a story in which Yahwè overcomes the assault of (?) demons on the 'navel of the earth' is confirmed, to some extent, by an examination of certain passages in the

[1] One may compare the LXX version of Num. xxiv 7: ἐξελεύσεται ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτοῦ καὶ κυριεύσει ἐθνῶν πολλῶν καὶ ὑψωθήσεται ἡ Γὼγ βασιλεία, where the Hebrew text merely reads, 'and his king shall be mightier than Agag'. On the origin of the name Gog, cf. Winckler *Altorientalische Forschungen* ii 160 ff. Clemen's remarks (*Religionsgeschichtl. Erklärung des N.Ts.* (Giessen 1909) pp. 104 f) are not in point here, since we are concerned not with what the author of Ez. 39 had in his mind, but with the origin of the form of his utterance.

[2] *O. c.* p. 179. Cf. p. 241. For criticism of Gressmann see Clemen, *op. cit.*

[3] *Ursprung* pp. 180–192, 242.

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apocryphal and apocalyptic literature, which I will now go on to discuss.

In tracing the history of ancient myths, we should expect *a priori* to find considerable variations in detail: and such is in fact the case here. As regards the point immediately before us, we may register the following variations as most material.

1. Nature of the events related. Sometimes it is a regular stand-up fight; again, the occurrences are conceived forensically as a judgement executed on the enemies of Yahwè or of His people.

2. Sometimes the people of Israel are conceived as actively engaged in the strife. This is so in a passage of Eth. Enoch (xc 19; xci 12), where 'a sword' is given to 'the sheep' (i. e. Israel) or to 'the week', whatever that may mean. The 'sword' is characteristic of the Maccabean period (Bousset). More usually, the events are catastrophic and wholly supernatural.

3. In the latter case the hero is either (α) Yahwè Himself, or (β) the Messiah, or (γ) Michael. The last two are probably identical.[1] We must consider the cases separately.

And first, as to Yahwè, the 'Hero of Israel'. In Ecclus. xxxii 22–25, we read:—

'22. And he will judge justly (or will secure justice for the righteous) and will establish justice: And the Lord will not tarry, nor will he long have forbearance with them (i. e. the merciless ones), until he crushes the loins of the merciless. 23. Until he requites the proud with his vengeance (גּוֹיִם not גֵּאִים), until he uproots the multitude of the violent and shivers the sword of the unrighteous. 24. Until he requites man according to his actions, and men according to their designs. 25. Until he secures justice for his people, and rejoices them by his mercy.' Again, Eth. Enoch lxii 12: 'They (i. e. the heathen kings) will be a spectacle to the righteous, who will rejoice over them (!), because the anger of the Lord of Spirits is upon them and his sword[2] is drenched in their blood.' Further, Jud. xvi 18: 'Woe to the nations that rise up against my kindred: the Lord Almighty will take vengeance of them in the day of judgement, by putting fire and worms in their flesh (δοῦναι πῦρ καὶ σκώληκας εἰς σάρκας αὐτῶν), and they shall howl with pain for ever.'

Once more, Ps. Sol. ii 28–34:—

'28. Tarry not, O God, to requite him in kind. 29. To turn the haughtiness of the Dragon (i. e. Pompey) to shame! 30. And he tarried not: then God shewed me his haughtiness brought to shame on the mountains of Egypt, yea, scorned beyond the least of creatures on land

[1] Cheyne *Bible Problems* 213–235, and refs.

[2] For the 'sore and great and strong sword' cf. Is. xxvii 1; xxxiv 5 *al.* Gressmann *op. cit.* pp. 76–81.

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or sea. 31. The waves tossed about his corse in wanton sport, and no man buried him[1]: foully dishonoured was he. For he had not bethought him he was but man. 32. He had forgotten the end. 33. He had said: I will be Lord of Land and Sea; he had not acknowledged that God is greater than man, mightier in his great Might. 34. Who alone is King in Heaven and ruleth kings and kingdoms.'

I regard this last passage as particularly important, as supplying evidence of the mythical tradition underlying all such descriptions. The shameful usage of the dragon's body connects it with the obviously mythical allusion, Job xxvi 13, where, as Gunkel has shewn,[1] the correct reading is חִלָּל not חוֹלָל. It is thus brought into relation with a long series of passages which go back to the primordial chaos-myth.[2] To this series also belongs the Dragon-myth of Ap. Joh. xii, the *pièce de résistance* of that extraordinary mixture of mythological ingredients. It is quite true that nowhere in the literature that has come down to us is the story of Yahwè's encounter with the dragon and his friends related at length. Such tales savoured too much of paganism to be altogether acceptable to the pious Jews to whom we owe the collection of canonical scriptures (Gunkel). But we are amply warranted in concluding from the numerous allusions, both within and without the canon, that such myths enjoyed a widespread popularity throughout long ages: and the distinguished scholar just referred to has demonstrated once for all what can be done in the way of reconstructing their original form. No doubt, we ought not to limit our outlook by assuming a single source for all the current stories. Gressmann is possibly right in thinking that the mythical 'enemies from the north country' in Jer., Is., Ez., Zech., Joel, Dan., are not originally connected with the תהום-Tiâmat narrative. Still, however this may be, the originally mythical character of all these persons, events, and topographies, must be taken as wellnigh certain.[3]

I pass over the Michael-stories which have been fully dealt with in an easily accessible work (Lueken *Michael*). The chief of these are Dan. xii, Ass. Mos. x, Ap. Joh. xiv 14 ff. From the time of Daniel (160 B. C.) allusions to this class of myth become much more frequent, and the mythical colouring is intensified.[4] In this period, as we shall find later, Persian influences were probably strong.

[1] *Schöpfung* p. 31 n. 4; the nature of such shameful usage is explained, *ib.* p. 33 n. 3.

[2] Enumerated *Schöpfung* pp. 82 f, *q.v.* Cf. *K.A.T.* 506 ff.

[3] In view of the above, Couard's remark (*op. cit.* p. 195 n.), *doch darf man hier* (Ecclus. xxxii 22 ff) *die Ausdrücke sicherlich nicht pressen und in ihnen nicht den Rest des alten Mythus vom Kampf Gottes mit einem oder mehreren Ungeheuern finden*, needs no further refutation.

[4] Gunkel gives the reason: *So lange die israelitische Religion kräftig genug war,*

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We now come to the Messianic passages in the stricter sense. In general, the Messiah is conceived as the emissary or representative of Yahwè (his 'official manifestation', as some one has put it), through whom the people of Israel are to attain to material prosperity, rulership, and ethical perfection. For the moment, however, we are concerned with him merely as the initiator of the final catastrophe which marks the 'turning of the tide', קֵץ הַיָּמִין the point at which time passes over into eternity, into עוֹלָם הַבָּא in the narrower meaning of the terms. In Ps. Sol. xvii 21–25 the psalmist prays:—

'21. Behold, O Lord, and raise up for them their king, David's son, at the time which thou, O God, hast elected, that he may rule over Israel thy bondslave. 22. And gird him with strength that he may shatter the unrighteous rulers, and purge Jerusalem from the heathens that rend her pitifully: 23. Wise and righteous, may he drive the sinners forth from the earth, and shiver their pride like potsherds. 24. With rod of iron may he smite them to destruction, and bring to naught the godless heathens with the word of his mouth,[1] 25. that at his threat the heathens may flee before him, and he may reprove the sinners for the thought of their hearts.'

In III Sib. 652 ff (already referred to) the King from the East (= Messiah) is to 'slay' the kings who refuse to come to terms with him. In Jub. xxxi 18, 19 there is perhaps a reference to a militant Messiah, though on the whole David seems to be meant. It is worth nothing that Philo refers to the Messiah as militant—ἐξελεύσεται γὰρ ἄνθρωπος φησὶν ὁ χρησμὸς καταστραταρχῶν καὶ πολεμῶν ἔθνη. (*De praem. et poen.* 16, ed. Cohn and Wendland.) We next meet the Warrior-Messiah in I Bar. xl 1–3, an important passage in this connexion:—

'(1) The last leader of that time will be left alive, when the multitude of his hosts will be put to the sword, and he will be bound, and they will take him up to Mount Zion, and my Messiah will convict him of all his impieties, and will gather and set before him all the works of his hosts. (2) And afterwards he will put him to death, and protect the rest of my people which shall be found in the place which I have chosen. (3) And his principiate will stand for the age, until the world of corruption is at an end and until the times aforesaid are fulfilled.'[2]

Again, in the passage (quoted above) 4 Ezra xiii 2 ff, the 'one as it were a man' destroys the hostile multitude of men from the four winds

hat sie diese fremden Stoffe stark amalgamirt; in späterer Zeit aber, als die Religion erschlaffte, hat sie das Fremde mit Haut und Haar verschlungen. (*Verständnis* p. 24.)

[1] Cf. 2 Thes. ii 8; Wendland, *ZntW.* 1904, 343, 349 f; Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten* p. 273.

[2] Charles's Transl.

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of Heaven with a flood of fire from his mouth (cf. xiii 38, 39). Lastly, the 'Lion' of the Eagle-Vision, 4 Ezra xi, is expressly identified with 'the Christ' *qui orietur ex semine David* (xii 32). The same appears in Ap. Joh. v 5 (ὁ λέων ὁ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Ἰούδα, ἡ ῥίζα Δανείδ).[1]

It only remains to add that the people are represented Eth. Enoch xc 19 (see above) as co-operating in the destruction of their foes. Cf. lvi 7; I Bar. lxx 10.

Now, to adopt Gunkel's way of putting a similar case, let any candid reader go carefully through these passages and ask himself what kind of narrative he is here dealing with. Surely he will answer without hesitation: *Das ist ein Mythus!* But we must not leave the point to be decided by a mere subjective impression. I will therefore set out the most important features of these *Weltkampf*-stories for which mythological parallels are forthcoming, and endeavour to trace their origin. A complete investigation must not, of course, be looked for here, but I will do my best to put the reader in the way of carrying on this line of enquiry for himself, should he be so minded.

1. To begin with, we find almost everywhere a period of wrath and confusion described. As Volz puts it, *es geht alles drunter und drüber, man kommt aus dem Entsetzen nicht hinaus.*[2] Surely this is ultimately connected with the mythical (Babylonian) תְּהוֹם וָבֹהוּ of Gen. i.[3]

2. As in the *Enuma eliš* story, and the Persian account of the overthrow of Añra Mayñu by Ahura Mazda, the combat precedes the new creation. It is no objection that the contest is here eschatological, since the transference of myths from *Urzeit* to *Endzeit* is a well-established fact, of which further instances will come before us later on. (Cf. Cheyne's Art. *Jonah* in Ency. Bibl.)

3. In the Persian Myth Añra Mayñu or Druj (= Serpent, Snake) is defeated and finally destroyed by Ahura Mazda. So Jub. xxiii 29 ('there shall be no Satan'); III Sib. 73 (Βέλιαρ φλέξει); Test. Jud. 25; Test. Levi 18; Ap. Joh. xx 10 (καὶ ὁ διάβολος ὁ πλανῶν αὐτοὺς ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν λίμνην τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ τοῦ θείου), &c. (The Persian and Babylonian dragon-stories are almost certainly connected, *K.A.T.* 513.) Lastly, we may recall the New Testament passage, Jude 5–7, in which 'Jesus'[4] is represented as keeping the fallen angels in everlasting bonds.

[1] See also: V Sib. 101; I Bar. lxx 2–9; xxxix 5 ff; lxxii 2–6.

[2] *Jüdische Eschatologie* p. 181, cf. pp. 173–188; *B.R.J.* 286 f., M. Friedländer *Der Antichrist* (Gött. 1901) pp. 129–144; Klausner *Die messianischen Vorstellungen d. jüd. Volkes im Zeitalter d. Tannaiten* (1904) pp. 47–57. The Messianic Woes (חֲבָלִי הַמָּשִׁיחַ) will be discussed later.

[3] Gunkel *Schöpfung* pp. 111 f, 114–117; *K.A.T.* 393, 506–514. Clemen *Religionsgeschichtliche Erklärung des N. Ts.* (Giessen 1909) pp. 101–104.

[4] Cf. T. Whittaker *Origins of Christianity* (2nd edition, 1909) p. 27. Incidentally

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4. In 4 Ezra xi 38–42; xii 13 the Messiah rebukes the eagle. A similar *Scheltrede* Ps. Sol. ii 28 ff; cf. I Baruch xl 1; and in the Old Testament Ps. civ 7; Job xxxviii 11; Is. xvii 13.[1] This feature goes back to the Babylonian creation-epos, where Marduk rebukes Tiâmat immediately before his encounter with her.[2]

5. The characteristic of the Dragon in Ps. Sol. ii 28 ff. is Haughtiness or Arrogance. So of the Dragon in Old Testament (תנין, נחש, etc., *Schöpfung* p. 84), i.e. Tiâmat, whose arrogance in 'uprising' against the gods is emphasized in the Babylonian creation-myth.

Other parallel features might easily be traced, but enough has perhaps been said in support of the view that in the Messianic *Weltkampf* we have an echo of a very ancient myth. We turn, therefore, to a closer scrutiny of the figure of the Messiah himself.[3]

§ 3. *The Messiah as World-King.*

In the literature of later Judaism we meet with two very different views as to the nature and origin of the Messiah. On the one hand, he appears as a merely human ruler who is to bring about a period of quasi-material prosperity in the future, to destroy the enemies of Israel, and to inaugurate an era of ethical regeneration on earth. On the other hand, he is represented by the apocalyptic writers (in close

it may be observed that the reading 'Jesus' (so the Vulgate) is well attested in the MSS. Prof. W. B. Smith writes (in a letter to Prof. Drews of Karlsruhe, kindly communicated to me by the latter):—'The reading Ἰησοῦς in Jd. 5 seems 'certainly the older. It is given in A, οτι Ιησους, in B, οτι ις̄, with a number of 'minuscules and versions, including Amiatinus, which you quote. So, too, 'Hieronymus, who refers it to Joshua. [For the equation Joshua = Jesus, cf. Bolland *De evangelische Josua* (Leiden 1907) pp. 3–7.] ℵ gives κ̄ς̄, where κ may 'easily be mistake or correction for ι. C gives ο θ̄ς̄, where again difference of only 'one letter. . . . We can easily see how and why the ι was changed to κ, but never 'why κ should have been changed to ι. So we must accept ις̄ as the original reading. 'This same is completely confirmed by the foregoing and by the general usage of 'Jude. *Even* if κύριος be read the reference is *still* to Ἰησοῦς, for in 4 we read τὸν 'μόνον δεσπότην καὶ κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν. It is impossible for I. X. to be κύριος 'in v. 4, and not also κύριος in v. 5. Again this same I. X. is κύριος in v. 17 and v. 21 'and v. 25. God alone appears as Sotêr, which is again only Gnostic for Ἰησοῦς. 'Jude thus bears strong and direct testimony to the divinity of Jesus in the '*primitive* conception.' For the 'binding' process parallels are not wanting, especially in Mazdaism (cf. Clemen *Religionsgeschichtl. Erklärung d. N. T.* 124 and refs.), *K. A. T.* 511.

[1] The meaning of נער is explained, *Schöpfung* 59 n. 2. Is it a mere coincidence that Jesus 'rebukes' (ἐπετίμησεν) the winds and the sea, Matt. viii 26?

[2] See the passage (*Enuma eliš*, Table iv 76–82) in *Schöpfung* p. 412.

[3] For a succinct statement of the case with regard to the non-indigenous character of Israelitish eschatology in general cf. Gressmann *Ursprung* pp. 160, 245–250.

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connexion with the idea of divine judgement) as a wholly supernatural being, depicted in characteristically mythical colours, and viewed as the initiator of the new 'Golden Age'; in other words, emphatically as a God-king. It will be best to keep the treatment of these two conceptions separate.

A very brief account of the evolution of the idea of a national (non-divine) hero in Israel is necessary before we pass to an examination of the passages in the Apocrypha in which this idea emerges. In the Old Testament, it would seem, the title Messiah (Hebr. הַמָּשִׁיחַ, Aram. מְשִׁיחָא) is applied to *any* king (מְשִׁיחַ יהוה). The origin of this designation is not quite clear. It is possible that the rite of anointing was transferred from gods to kings. In Egypt the images of gods were anointed with oil,[1] and similar rites are known to have been practised in Babylonia,[2] where, however, no anointing of kings can be made out. In Egypt and (?) Babylon the rite is thus connected with the 'divine' character of kings. And in the former country, at all events, the deification of kings was already a religious dogma; while evidences of its prevalence in Babylon up to the time of Ḫammurabi is not wanting.[3] In Israel, on the other hand, as might be expected, the kings are no longer termed gods; but the fact that a king is addressed as 'god' in Ps. xlv 7 ('Therefore, God, thy God hath anointed thee') suggests that the absence of the title in the Old Testament may be partly due to the scruples of late editors. Without deciding this point, we may observe that the title Messiah came to be applied to kings especially in their relation to Yahwè. As Dalman rightly remarks, the kings of Israel are called Yahwè's anointed, not merely in reference to the ceremonial anointing at their coronation, but 'because through this anointing they belong to the special circle of God's servants, and hence are holy and inviolable'.[4] The term is, then, applied to the reigning king; its connexion with the future expected ruler is therefore secondary. The point of connexion becomes clear when we advert to the conventional language in which the wide rule of Israelitish kings is described, e. g. Ps. ii, lxxii, cx, &c. The language of such passages, extravagant as applied to Israel, points to the existence of a technical courtly style (*Hofstil*), which can be exactly paralleled from Babylonian sources.[5] At no period of its history could

[1] A. Erman *Die ägyptische Religion* (Berl. 1905) p. 49. The anointing was part of their daily toilet.

[2] *K. A. T.* 526, 602.

[3] Cf. *K. A. T.* 379 (for apotheosis, 639). Further, Ed. Meyer *Geschichte d. Altertums* i 1 (2. Aufl.) § 54; i 2 §§ 219 f (Egypt), §§ 402, 414 and note (Babylonia). The term *pašīšu* (= anointed) is applied to Babylonian priests.

[4] *Worte Jesu* p. 241.

[5] So Gressmann *Ursprung* pp. 250 ff; 270 ff; 305 ff. The basis of the *Hofstil* is of course mythological.

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Israel lay claim to widespread rulership—the accounts of Solomon's empire are largely legendary [1]—and the phraseology in question may have come (possibly about the time of Solomon himself), as Gressmann thinks, from Phoenicia, though its ultimate origin is Babylonian. Now, it is not unlikely that all this phraseology [2] is ultimately derived from the description of some semi-mythical (? Babylonian) founder-king, whose reign was looked back to as an original golden age. Certainly, the representation of new kings as heaven-sent bringers of an epoch of bliss was fairly common in Babylonia,[3] and what was easier than to combine this latter notion with that of a world-ruler, project both into the future (from *Urzeit* to *Endzeit*, as usual), and apply to the coming World-King all the conventional phraseology (including the designation Messiah) concerning the personality of the monarch and the blissful period of his rule? That the Messianic rule is conceived mainly as a period of general prosperity, conquest, and increase of population is, of course, no objection to the above hypothesis. For, as will be shewn hereinafter, the transcendent God-King was no mere invention of the Apocalyptists, but can be traced back to an early period; while *he* certainly cannot be explained otherwise than by supposing an ancient myth of foreign origin as the basis of the apocalyptic tradition. The dropping of the mythical features in certain circles is only what we should anticipate. In any case, the origin of the conception of a world-rule in the tiny kingdom of Israel is simply unthinkable.[4]

The Jews were not, indeed, the only people who looked forward to a 'Messianic' king. The belief existed among the Samaritans, and in the period of the Diadochi was wellnigh universal. In Persia it was specially prominent, and in Rome the court poets adopted it to flatter their patrons.[5] Hence one is inclined to be surprised at the relatively infrequent appearance of the Messiah in later Jewish literature. In the Apocrypha proper he is hardly mentioned; not at all in pseudo-

[1] Winckler *Geschichte Israels* (1900) ii 284.

[2] To this courtly phraseology belong also such formulae as 'First-begotten of God' (Ps. lxxxii 9), and especially 'Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee' (Ps. ii 7), for which an exact Babylonian parallel is forthcoming.

[3] *K. A. T.* 381 f. For later uses of σωτήρ see Deissmann *Licht vom Osten* 265 f.

[4] So Gunkel: '*Jedenfalls muss die Religion, die so die Prophetie beeinflusst hat, eine solche gewesen sein, die mit dem Weltkultus in Verbindung stand; die Idee von einem kommenden Weltreiche, das über alle Nationen gebietet, und die damit zusammenhängende von einer künftigen Weltreligion, der alle Völker anhängen, eine Idee, die in der israelitischen Eschatologie so häufig auftritt, kann sicherlich nur auf dem Boden eines grossen weltherrschenden Volkes, und nicht in einem Winkel der Erde, entstanden sein.*' (*Verständnis* p. 24.)

[5] Further details in *B. R. J.* 259–260.

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Aristaeus, Jubilees, Eth. Enoch 1–36, 91–108, Slav. Enoch, Assumption of Moses, I (Syriac) Baruch; while the part he plays in Eth. Enoch 85–90, III Sib., II (Greek) Baruch, Apoc. Abr. is insignificant, and perhaps due to mere literary reminiscences. In some cases (Ecclus., Ps. Arist.) the subject-matter of the writings sufficiently explains the phenomenon: for the rest we may accept the explanation of Bousset,[1] who points out (1) that the enlargement of the Jewish view of the world, so clearly evidenced by the later Eschatology, involved a recasting of the final drama on a far larger scale. No mere national hero (even of the stock of David!), but only Yahwè or His accredited representative, could successfully engineer the overthrow of the powerful rule of the Diadochi, the displacement of Greek culture, and the destruction of the Roman Empire. (2) In the second place, the Jews of the Maccabean period may well have believed themselves to be living in the Messianic age, and could point to the Maccabees themselves as a race of Messiahs. And if they expected further developements, as they probably did, in the near future, these again were to be on a scale too large to be realized by a mere Messiah ben David.

For a complete picture of the expectations of a personal non-divine Messiah as cherished in the first century B.C., and of the form in which the people expected him to appear, we must turn to the Psalms of the Pharisees or Psalms of Solomon (written about 60–40 B.C.). This collection of eighteen psalms, probably by different hands, displays no marked originality, but as summarizing the national hopes, is specially important in the present connexion. It falls into two well-marked groups, 1–16, which depict the restoration of the tribes,[2] but contain no reference to the Messiah, and 17, 18, which give a vigorous description of the origin, time of appearance, mission, and rule of the *χριστὸς κύριος*.[3]

The Messiah is king of Israel,[4] and of the house and lineage of David, xvii 23 (21),[5] *Ἴδε, κύριε, καὶ ἀνάστησον αὐτοῖς* (the Israelites) *τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν υἱὸν Δανίδ*. Cf. xvii 5 (4). God is to send him *εἰς τὸν καιρὸν ὃν εἶλου σύ*, xvii 24 (21); cf. xvii 51 (45), *Ταχύναι ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ Ἰσραὴλ τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ*. He is called *χριστὸς κύριος* xvii 36 (32) (? *κυρίου*, as in xviii 6 (5), 8 (7), see Kittel's note). Further, he is *βασιλεὺς δίκαιος καὶ διδακτὸς ὑπὸ θεοῦ*, xvii 35 (32). He is in a special sense the king of Israel, and is related to the heathens in a quite external way. His

[1] *Ibid.* p. 256. [2] xi 1–8.

[3] Probably a mistranslation of יהוה מְשִׁיחַ. See Ryle and James *Psalms of the Pharisees* (1891) pp. 141 ff.

[4] That the people of God can alone represent God's kingdom on earth—so Daniel—is the primary idea underlying the מלכות יהוה.

[5] The references in brackets are to Kittel's translation in Kautzsch ii 144–148.

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primary mission is to overthrow the ἔθνη, whom he is summoned to destroy, xvii 23 (21) καὶ ὑπόζωσον αὐτὸν ἰσχύν, τοῦ θραῦσαι ἄρχοντας ἀδίκους. Thus, he will have strength, ἐκτρῖψαι ὑπερηφανίαν ἁμαρτωλοῦ ὡς σκεύη κεραμέως, ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ συντρῖψαι πᾶσαν ὑπόστασιν αὐτῶν· ὀλοθρεῦσαι ἔθνη παράνομα ἐν λόγῳ στόματος αὐτοῦ, xvii 26, 27 (23–24). With the last words we may compare xvii 37 (33) οὐ γὰρ ἐλπιεῖ ἐπὶ ἵππον καὶ ἀναβάτην καὶ τόξον, οὐδὲ πληθυνεῖ αὐτῷ χρυσίον οὐδὲ ἀργύριον εἰς πόλεμον, καὶ πολλοῖς[1] οὐ συνάξει ἐλπίδας εἰς ἡμέραν πολέμου. After the destruction of the hostile nations, the others will be subject to his yoke, xvii 32 (30) καὶ ἔξει λαοὺς ἐθνῶν δουλεύειν αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τὸν ζυγὸν[2] αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸν κύριον δοξάσει ἐν ἐπισήμῳ πάσης τῆς γῆς. As to the Jews, οὐκ ἀφήσει ἀδικίαν ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν αὐλισθῆναι ἔτι, καὶ οὐ κατοικήσει πᾶς ἄνθρωπος μετ' αὐτῶν εἰδὼς κακίαν· γνώσεται γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὅτι πάντες υἱοὶ θεοῦ εἰσὶν αὐτῶν, xvii 29–30 (27). He will bring back the Dispersion, συνάξει λαὸν ἅγιον, οὗ ἀφηγήσεται ἐν διακοσύνῃ, xvii 28 (27). The work of regeneration is further emphasized, xvii 36 (32) καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀδικία ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτοῦ ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν, ὅτι πάντες ἅγιοι καὶ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν χριστὸς κύριος (κυρίου). His rule will be spiritual, xvii 49 (43) οἱ λόγοι αὐτοῦ ὡς λόγοι ἁγίων ἐν μέσῳ λαῶν ἡγιασμένων. Cf. xvii 44–46 (40–41), xviii 7–10 (6–9). He himself is καθαρὸς ἀπὸ ἁμαρτίας, xvii 41 (36) καὶ οὐκ ἀσθενήσει ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ θεῷ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ὁ θεὸς κατειργάσατο αὐτὸν δυνατὸν ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ, καὶ σοφὸν ἐν βουλῇ συνέσεως μετὰ ἰσχύος καὶ δικαιοσύνης, xvii 42 (32–33). Again, his rule is religious, he is κραταιὸς ἐν φόβῳ θεοῦ, ποιμαίνων τὸ ποίμνιον κυρίου ἐν πίστει καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ, xvii 44–45 (42). Finally, he is God's Vice-Regent on earth, κύριος αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς αὐτοῦ, xvii 38 (34); and he is mortal, as we gather from the expression οὐκ . . . ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτοῦ, xvii 42 (32). So Kittel, who renders *nie in seinem Leben.*

We shall now take up in order the several details in this portrait, and consider how far they are reiterated or modified in the rest of the literature of our period.[3]

1. The Messiah as King of the House of David. In Ecclus. xlv 25 f we read of Yahwè's compact with 'David of the tribe of Judah', whose lineage will endure, and whose kingdom will be eternal. Similarly, xlvii 11; 1 Mac. ii 57 (cf. 2 Sam. vii 16). The thought is carried further, as we have seen, Ps. Sol. xvii 4, 21; so Test. Jud. 22–24.

[1] James and Ryle change πολλοῖς to πλοίοις, Gebhardt adds λαοῖς, Hilgenfeld conjectures παλτοῖς or ὅπλοις.

[2] They will not, however, be admitted into Jerusalem, xvii 30–31 (27–28); the κρινεῖ here must not be understood forensically.

[3] I have not scrupled to avail myself of the results of others' labour in bringing together passages bearing on a particular point. To adopt the words of Gressmann, *'was ich etwa mein Eigen nenne ist nicht das Einzelne, sondern das Ganze'.* Volz and Bousset should be specially mentioned.

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Again, III Sib. 47 f, we hear of a *βασιλεία μεγίστη ἀθανάτου βασιλῆος* to be revealed when Rome shall rule over Egypt, and of a coming *ἅγιος ἄναξ*, who may be connected with the 'kingly stock whose lineage shall not fail', i. e. David's, *ibid.* 288 f. The 'Christ' of 4 Ezra xii 35 will arise from the seed of David.[1] The prevalence of this belief is specially evident from the frequent references thereto in the Synoptics: thus, Mt. xii 23 *μήτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς Δαυείδ*; Mt. xxi 9 *Ὡσαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ Δαυείδ*. Mk. xii 35 *πῶς λέγουσιν οἱ γραμματεῖς ὅτι ὁ χριστὸς υἱὸς Δαυείδ ἐστιν*; cf. x 47; Lk. xviii 39 *Ἰησοῦ, υἱὲ Δαυείδ, ἐλέησόν με*. Rom. i 3 *ὁ γενομένος ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυεὶδ κατὰ σάρκα*. Cf. 2 Tim. ii 8 *Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς . . . ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυείδ*: Ap. Joh. v 5; xxii 16; *Didache* ix 2, *ἄμπελος Δαυείδ*.[2]

Alongside of this tradition we find here and there expressed or alluded to the view that the Messiah will come forth not from the seed of David, but of Levi. In the stirring times of the Maccabees this view naturally comes to the surface. In the Book of Jubilees, which surely dates from this period (Charles), the descendants of Levi are vaunted as chieftains, warriors, rulers (xxxi–ii). More clearly in the Test. of the Twelve Patriarchs, which in its original form dates from (?) the same period, we are told of a (semi-divine) Messiah of the tribe of Levi (Test. Levi ii, xviii), who will possess an eternal priesthood, will judge as a king, bind Beliar, open the gates of paradise, to give to the 'pious' to eat of the tree of life. The book has been worked over in the Christian interest, and the other passages in which the ideas of a Messiah ben David and a Messiah ben Levi are combined are of Christian origin (cf. Sim. vii; Levi ii; Gad viii; Naphth. viii; with Rub. vi; Sim. 5; Jud. 25).[3]

2. The Messiah as Son of God. This designation occurs relatively seldom. Of course it bears as yet no metaphysical meaning. We find it *Vita Adae* xlii (Kautzsch ii 520) *Christus filius Dei*; Eth. Enoch cv 2 'My (God's) son'; 4 Ezra vii 28 *filius meus Messias*.[4] I can find no other instances of its application to the *earthly* Messiah.

3. The Christ. This is the commonest of all the titles of the Messiah. We have it (*χριστός*, *unctus*) I Bar. xxix 3; xxx 1; *ibid.* xxxix 7; xl 1; lxx 9; lxxii 2 ('my Messiah'); 4 Ezra vii 28. It is

[1] For refs. in Talmud and Targum see F. Weber *Jüdische Theologie* (2. Aufl. Lips. 1897) pp. 356–358.

[2] For the Bethlehem tradition see Schürer *Geschichte d. jüdischen Volkes* ii[4] (1907) 615.

[3] For the Messiah ben Joseph, who does not strictly belong here, see *B. R. J.* 264–266.

[4] Cf. Dalman *Worte Jesu* 221 f; Volz *Jüdische Eschatol.* 199. The reader should remember that we are here concerned only with the non-divine national king.

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unnecessary here to refer to the New Testament usage in detail. Messiah is, of course, the title of the (transcendent) God-King; its frequent occurrence rather tends to rebut the assertion of Dalman that Ps. ii 2 was rarely interpreted Messianically in later Judaism.

4. The Messiah and the Nations. As a rule, the conquest or destruction of the hostile nations is the first task of the Messiah. This tradition goes back to Ps. ii 9 'Thou shalt break them (i. e. the nations) with a rod of iron; thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel', and is, as we have seen, in the last analysis of mythical origin. It is expressed,[1] III Sib. 653 *τοὺς μὲν ἄρα κτείνας, τοῖς δ' ὅρκια πιστὰ τελέσσας*, (cf. Is. xi 4); V Sib. 108, and, more fully, 416–420:—

> *καὶ πάντων ἐκράτησε καλῶς πᾶσίν τ' ἀπέδωκεν*
> *τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τὸν πλοῦτον ὃν οἱ πρότεροι λάβον ἄνδρες.*
> *πάσας δ' ἐκ βάθρων εἷλεν πόλιας πυρὶ πολλῷ*
> *καὶ δήμους ἔφλεξε βροτῶν τῶν πρόσθε κακούργων.*

Other references are: Philo *De praem. et poen.* xvi; I Bar. xxxix 7; lxx 9. So far as I can discover the earthly Messiah never appears as judge—the 'judgement' of Ps. Sol. xvii 29 is not forensic—but only as warrior; while the sphere of his activity is wholly confined to Palestine.[2] In our period Judaism had reached the stage of transition from a national cult to a universal religion. Universalistic tendencies were operative throughout—their strength is shewn in the ultimate triumph of Christianity—but were constantly checked by the national exclusiveness. In general, the latter tendency prevails in the conceptions of the future earthly (i. e. national) kingdom, the former in the apocalyptic literature; though it is true that the ultimate fate of the heathen remained to the end a matter of small interest. Sometimes they are damned without scruple, Eth. Enoch xxii 11 ff, xci 9; Ps. Sol. xvi 2 (2); xv 11 (10); xiv 6 (9), see below. Among the Jews of the Dispersion, however, we meet with the idea of a 'conversion' of the heathen. So especially in the Sibyllines, e. g. III 616 ff, 716 ff *al.* One hardly expects to find the idea so early as the Book of Tobit (second century B. C.), where, however, we read: 'Many nations will come from far to the name (? presence) of the Lord our God, with presents in their hands, gifts for the King of Heaven. From generation to generation they will extol thee and sing thy praises' (xiii. 11). More clearly still, xiv 6 f, 'And all the heathen will revert to the truth and the fear of God, and will bury their idols; and all the heathen will praise the Lord.' So, again, Eth. Enoch x 21; xc 30; xci 14, where

[1] Volz *op. cit.* p. 223 f.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 234 f. See, however, Kautzsch ii 146 note g.

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the motive is supplied by God's loving care for His people. The Messiah himself converts the nations, Test. Zeb. ix; Test. Jud. xxiv; Test. Levi viii; I Bar. xli 3; Eth. En. xlviii. 5; Ap. Abr. xxix. As a rule, indeed, the converts will not be admitted into Jerusalem: Jub. l 5; V Sib. 264; cf. I Bar. xxix 2; xl 2; and in the New Testament, Matt. xix 28; Ap. Joh. xx 4 ff. Or, if they are received into the kingdom, it is only on sufferance as tributaries of Israel's rule, and in order to provide the wherewithal for the upkeep of the temple. (Cf. Zech. xiv 16 f.) So Tob. xiii 11[1]; Eth. Enoch xc 33, 37; III Sib. 716–726, 772 ff.[2] Nowhere is Jewish exclusiveness more prominent.

5. The Messiah and Israel. As in the Old Testament—Amos ix 12 f, xi 11; Jer. iii 11 *al.*; Ez. xxxvi 24, and often elsewhere—the dwellers in the Holy Land have a sort of *prima facie* right to enter the Messianic kingdom. So I Bar. xxix 2 'At that time I will protect only those who are in that land'; cf. xl 2; lxxi 1. But, in immediate dependence on Is. xxvii 13,[3] we find the hope that the Jews of the Dispersion will be 'collected' and finally united with their brethren. It is expressed Ecclus. xxxvi. 16–22; Tob. xiii 10, 13; xiv 5; 2 Mac. ii 7, 18; Eth. Enoch xc 32; I Bar. iv 36—v 9 (cf. Ps. Sol. xi). Frequently, they assemble at the sound of Yahwè's trumpet, e. g. Ps. Sol. xi 1 ('Blow the trumpet in Zion', &c.). See further, Ps. Sol. viii 27; Jub. i 15; Ap. Abr. xxxi; Philo, *De Execrationibus* cc. viii, ix. The thought lived on, and meets us in Christian sources (gathering of the elect), Mk. xiii 27; Mt. xxiv 31; *Didache* ix 4; x 5.[4]

A good deal of mythology is mixed up with this tradition of the 'return', especially in the descriptions of the wonders of the Messianic kingdom. This will have to be fully discussed in connexion with the idea of a coming God-King, but some features of the earthly paradise may properly be adverted to here. Thus, when the heathen have been delivered into the hands of the righteous, there commonly ensues for the latter an eternity of blissful peace. So Wisd. iii 8; Jub. xxxi 18, 20; xxxii 18 f; Eth. Enoch xc 30; xci 12; xcvi; xcix 10 (for the woes of the godless see this and the preceding chapter *passim*). A standing feature of this myth is the splendour of the new Jerusalem[5] and of the Temple. 'For Jerusalem will be built of sapphire, emerald, and ivory, thy walls and towers and fortifications of pure gold. And

[1] Possibly in part of non-Jewish origin, Schürer *Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes* iii[3] 178–180.

[2] Cf. Couard *Anschauungen* pp. 181 f.

[3] Cf. Deutero-Is. xlix 22, and (?) Trito-Is. lx 4, 9: lxvi 20.

[4] Cf. Hennecke *Handbuch z. d. neutestamentl. Apokryphen* (1904) p. 270.

[5] Further discussion Bousset *Die Offenbarung Johannis* (6. Aufl. 1906) p. 509 (= Bd. XVI of Meyer's *Kommentar über d. N. T.*); Volz *Jüd. Eschatol.* 34, 369 ff; Gunkel *Verständnis* pp. 47 f; see especially p. 48 n. 3.

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the streets of Jerusalem will be paved with beryl and carbuncle and precious stones from Ophir. And all her streets will cry "Halleluja!" and will extol with the words "Praised be God, who hath exalted thee for all eternity"', Tob. xiii 16. Its walls will reach to Joppa, V Sib. 251. The rebuilding of the temple is described, Tob. xiv 5 ff. It will be splendid as of old, III Sib. 294. It will teem with riches, and be decked with gold and silver and purple, III 657 f, built in splendour for all eternity, Eth. Enoch xci 13; Jub. i 17, 27, 28. Cf. 2 Mac. ii 4 ff; I Bar. vi 5 ff. A more spiritual conception of the new Jerusalem, I Bar. v 1 ff.

The delights of the new order of things are almost everywhere materially conceived. A good instance is the naïve description I Bar. xxix 4–8:—

'And Behemoth will be revealed from his place and Leviathan will ascend from the sea, those two great monsters which I created on the fifth day of creation, and I kept them until that time; and then they will be for food for all that are left.[1] 5. The earth also will yield its fruit ten thousandfold, and on each vine there will be 1000 branches, and each branch will produce 1000 clusters, and each cluster will produce 1000 grapes, and each grape will produce a cor of wine. 6. And those who have hungered will rejoice: moreover, also, they will behold marvels every day. 7. For winds will go forth from before me to bring every morning the fragrance of aromatic fruits, and at the close of day clouds distilling the dew of health. 8. And it will come to pass at that selfsame time, that the treasury of manna will descend from on high, and they will eat of it in those years, because these are they that have come to the consummation of time.'[2]

Ibid. lxxiv 1:—

'And it will come to pass in those days that the reapers will not grow weary, nor those that build be toilworn, for the works will of themselves speedily advance with those who do them in much tranquillity.'[3]

Similarly, III Sib. 744–749, 783; Eth. En. x 19; xi 1; Jub. xxiii 27–29.

The consummation of peace is specially insisted on,[4] e.g. III Sib. 751 ff; 780 f; V 253, 382 ff; Test. Sim. vi; Jud. xxii; Jub. xxiii 29 f; xxv 20; l 5; all kings are reconciled, III Sib. 756, under the general

[1] Cf. Eth. Enoch, lx 7 ff, 4 Ezra vi 49 ff. Bousset *R. J.* 584 note 2, and Böklen *Verwandtschaft* 113, compare 'the food and drink of immortality' in Mazdaism (flesh of the bullock Hadhayoš slain by Saošyant), while Clemen (*Religionsgeschichtl. Erklärung d. N.T.* 129) refers to Is. xxv 6, and thinks of a Messianic festival as in the Gospels. But these explanations are not mutually exclusive.

[2] Charles's transl.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Volz *Jüd. Eschatol.* 345 ff.

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Rule of the Lord, *id.* 767 f; who dwells among his people, Jub. i 17, as a father among his children, Ps. Sol. xvii 30 (27). As in the golden age of Isaiah (xi 7 ff), we read again, III Sib. 777 ff, wolves and lambs, panthers and kids, will feed together, and the like. So I Bar. lxxiii 6. Peace and Plenty shall reign over the whole earth, Eth. En. i 8; xxv 6; 4 Ezra viii 52, and elsewhere often. Extensive propagation of children is mentioned, Eth. En. x 17, also absence of the pangs of childbirth, I Bar. lxxiii 7. Eternal youth is promised, Jub. xxiii 27; Eth. En. v 7–9; xi 1–2.

It is only fair to add that ethical regeneration finds a place in these strange descriptions. It is especially brought out V Sib. 429–433:—

> οὐκ ἔτι γὰρ πέλεται δειλοῖσι βροτοῖς τότε δεινά,
> οὐδὲ γαμοκλοπίαι καὶ παίδων Κύπρις ἄθεσμος,
> οὐ φόνος οὐδὲ κυδοιμός, ἔρις δ' ἐν πᾶσι δικαίη.
> ὕστατός ἐσθ' ἁγίων καιρός, ὅτε ταῦτα περάνῃ
> θεὸς ὑψιβρεμέτης, κτίστης ναοῖο μεγίστου.

Also, III Sib. 376; Eth. En. xci 8, 14; xcii 5; I Bar. lxxiii 4.

On the whole, however, the criticism of Charles is abundantly justified. He writes:—

'Sin and wickedness have no place in [the Messianic kingdom.] But . . . there is no adequate account given of the cause of this spiritual transformation. This transformation is brought about catastrophically and in the main mechanically. By the eternal fiat of the Almighty, sin is banished at once and for ever from the hearts of the members of the Messianic kingdom. This catastrophic change is in itself at variance with all the spiritual experience of mankind.'[1]

6. The time of the Messiah's coming. A few words may be said on this point here, though it properly belongs to a later section. Only vague indications are as a rule given[2]; and it is pretty certain that the idea of the immediate approach of the End first gained general currency with the emergence of Christianity. In Tob. xiv 5 the end comes when the world-periods have been fulfilled; in I Bar. xxiii 4 it is delayed until the full complement of Adam's descendants—whose number appears to be pre-ordained—be born. That the world is already old is a thought often expressed, e. g. Ezra v 55; xiv 10; I Bar. lxxxv 10. The near approach to the end is hinted at, I Bar. xx 6; lxxxiii 1; 4 Ezra iv 26.

The duration of the Messianic Rule is variously estimated. According to Eth. Enoch i–xxxvi it is of eternal duration on a purified earth;

[1] *Doct. of Immortality* p. 276.

[2] How such conclusions are reached will be discussed later, as also the origin of the theory of world-periods, etc.

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so *ibid.* lxxxiii–xc, less clearly, 2 Mac. vii 33, 37; xiv 15. A temporary Messianic kingdom appears for the first time in Eth. Enoch xci–civ, followed by Ps. Sol. (see above) IV 53–56, 60, 61; Ass. Mos. ix 1; x 1; Jub. xxiii 11, when 'the day of the great judgement' seems to follow on the close of the Messianic kingdom. The Millennium is mentioned, Slav. Enoch xxxii 2; xxxiii 2; while in 4 Ezra vii 28 the duration is given as 400 years. In the Apocalypse of Baruch the kingdom appears to be of indefinite duration.

Only two further points in the conception of the national Messiah remain to be dealt with here: and for these we must look elsewhere than in the Psalms of Solomon. In Mal. iii f we hear of an angel or messenger of Yahwè, who is to prepare the way for the day of Judgement, to refine and purify Israel, and to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children and of the children to their father. By a later hand this 'angel of the covenant' is identified with Elijah. The personage in question surely belongs, as here conceived, to the class of Messiahs; but was subsequently viewed as a precursor of the Messianic Rule. The prophet reappears as a quasi-Messianic figure in Ecclus. xlviii 10–11, where the phraseology closely resembles that of Malachi. Again, in 1 Macc. iv 46 occurs the phrase *μεχρὶ τοῦ παραγενηθῆναι προφήτην*, and similarly *ibid.* xiv 41 *ἕως τοῦ ἀναστῆναι προφήτην πιστόν*. Here the *προφήτης* may be Elijah. The idea may be that a prophet must return and effect the purification necessary before the manifestation of the Messianic Rule.[1] So far, however, there is no indication that Elijah is other than a forerunner of Yahwè Himself. His connexion with the Messiah proper is secondary and popular. We have it explicitly, Mk. ix 11–13; vi 15; viii 28; Jn. i 21; cf. Mk. i 2; Mt. xi 10–11. Others besides Elijah are mentioned as precursors or assistants of the Messiah. Thus Moses,[2] Lk. ix 30, and often in the Targumim.[3] So in the Transfiguration narrative, Mk. ix and parallels; also, it may be that the 'two witnesses', Ap. Jn. xi 3, are Moses and Elijah (Bousset). A reappearance of Enoch seems to be expected, Eth. En. xc 31. See further 4 Ezra vi 26 ('those who have never tasted death', i. e. Elijah, &c.); *ib.* xiv 9, 49 (Ezra); I Bar. vi 8; xiii 3; xlvi 7; lxxvi 1–3 *al.* (Baruch); 2 Mac. ii 1 ff; xv 13; Mt. xvi 14 (Jeremiah). Judging from one's experience elsewhere, I find it hard to believe that this tradition is wholly derived

[1] So Weber (*Jüd. Theol.* 353): *Hiermit löst sich die Antinomie zwischen Forderung und Wirklichkeit hinsichtlich der Zeit vor der Ankunft des Messias. Israel wird in Verfall gerathen sein, ehe der Messias kommt; Elia aber richtet es auf und macht es äusserlich und innerlich würdig für die Erscheinung des Messias.*

[2] Possibly another originally Messianic figure. (? = the *προφήτης* of Jn. i 21; vi 14; vii 40; Acts iii 22.)

[3] Weber *ibid.* 354. Cf. Volz *Jüd. Esch.* 193; Bousset *Antichrist* (1895) pp. 134 ff.

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from Malachi. It is at least worth recording in this connexion that the Persian Saošyant is likewise accompanied by a varying number of the famous men of old.[1]

The second point to which I desire to direct the attention of the reader is the mysterious 'revelation' of the Messiah to which allusion is here and there made in the post-canonical books. In III Sib. 652 God is to send His King ἀφ' ἡλίοιο (i. e. from the East).[2] Similarly V Sib. 414 ἦλθε γὰρ οὐρανίων νώτων ἀπ' ἀνὴρ μακαρίτης, i. e. the Messiah. Again a gradual 'revelation' of the Messiah is mentioned I Bar. xxix 3. In Test. Levi xviii a mysterious 'star' is to arise on the coming of the 'new priest', bringing peace to the whole earth. Weber[3] refers further to Jn. vii 27 ὁ χριστὸς ὅταν ἔρχηται, οὐδεὶς γινώσκει πόθεν ἐστίν, and connects it with a Jewish tradition as to the hidden origin of the Messiah. So Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.* viii, cx, knows of a tradition that the Messiah is already born and dwells somewhere unknown. We can hardly be wrong in treating all these passages as echoes of one and the same tradition, and referring them to Is. xlv 15 'Verily thou art a *hidden* God, O God of Israel, a Saviour'. Gressmann[4] observes that the epithet 'hidden' cannot have originated in Israel, but makes no suggestion as to its source. He, however, notes the parallel instances of the 'epiphany' of a θεὸς σωτήρ.[5] Now, we know that not only the transcendent Messiah (so 4 Ezra xiii 26[6]), but also the national Messiah is occasionally called 'saviour', e. g. Test. Levi ii *ad fin.* ('he who is to save Israel'), especially in rabbinical literature.[7] And when we find in the cuneiform texts a precisely similar conception of a king mysteriously summoned to establish a rule of peace, we are strongly tempted to conclude that the latter is the true original of the passages in question. Zimmern[8] quotes from a prayer of Assurnasirpal (son of Tiglat-Pileser I) to Ištar the following, which seems to me quite in point here:—

'I was born in the midst of mountains which no man knows,
I bethought me not[9] of thy lordship, nor did I pray continually to thee.

[1] Söderblom *La Vie future d'après le Mazdéisme* (*Annales du Musée Guimet. Bibliothèque d'Études* T. ix, 1901) p. 257; Böklen *Die Verwandtschaft d. jüdisch-christlichen mit der parsischen Eschatologie* (1902) pp. 100 ff.

[2] Cf. Is. xli 25, where LXX reads ἐγὼ δὲ ἤγειρα . . . τὸν ἀφ' ἡλίου ἀνατολῶν, and see Weber *Jüd. Theol.* § 79, 1 (p. 358).

[3] *Jüd. Theol.* 358. See also Schürer *Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes* ii[3] (1898) pp. 531 f.

[4] *Ursprung* p. 311.

[5] Collected by P. Wendland in his article ΣΩΤΗΡ, *ZntW.* v (1904) pp. 335–353. Also Harnack *Der Heiland* (= *Reden u. Aufsätze*, Giessen 1904, i 307 ff). In Is. xliii 3, liv 21, xlix 26, lix 20, lx 16, lxiii 18, the σωτήρ (σώζων) is of course Yahwè.

[6] See Gunkel ad loc.; Kautzsch ii 396.

[7] Weber op. cit. 364. [8] *K. A. T.* 382.

[9] Cf. Is. xlv 4, 5 ולא ידעתני (Zimmern).

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The people of Assyria knew not thy Deity, prayed not thereto.
Then hast thou, O Ištar, revered Mistress among the gods,
Cast thy glance upon me, hast desired me to rule,
Hast brought me forth from the mountains, hast called me to shepherd[1] the people,
Hast given me a righteous sceptre,' &c.

The application of such language to kings is doubtless secondary, and belongs to the *Hofstil* of the period. The legend is most probably based on the story of Marduk-Bêl, who after his conquest of the dragon is raised to the dignity of king.[2]

It seems better to conceive the connexion in this way than to suppose that on the contrary the eschatological notion of a coming ruler who should establish a new golden age grew out of the conventional language applied to actual sovereigns. For in the latter case the origin of the *Hofstil* would still have to be explained; while it is easy to understand how, once the belief in a golden age, originally mythical, existed, it would be the highest form of flattery to salute a king on his accession as the inaugurator thereof.

This is all that can be said at present: but we shall return to these questions in a later section, after dealing meanwhile at length with the idea of a God-King as it emerges in the later apocrypha. Not till we have discussed the whole elaborate setting in which this figure appears can we fully appreciate the significance of the details we have already encountered in what precedes.[3]

§ 4. *The Messiah as God-King.*

By this time it will be obvious to the careful reader that the Messiah is no unitary personage whose attributes and functions are consistently represented throughout, but that on the contrary there exist a number of variously conceived figures to which the general designation 'Messianic' may fairly be given. Thus we have (*a*) the popular and rabbinical (? indigenous) conception of a national hero of the race and lineage of David; (*b*) the sinless but quite human Messiah (likewise a scion of David), of the Psalms of Solomon; (*c*) the Peacemaker of the Sibyllines,

[1] Cf. 2 Sam. v 2; vii 7; Jer. iii 15; Micah v 3; Nah. iii 18; Ez. xxxvii 24, and the uses of ποιμήν in the N. T.

[2] See especially the text from the library of Assurbanipal transl. in Gunkel *Schöpfung* pp. 417 f. Note the mention of *clouds*, as in Dan. vii 13, and often elsewhere.

[3] For the method adopted cf. Gunkel: '*Unser Verfahren muss . . . vielfach in diesen Dingen das sein, dass wir die ihrem Ursprung nach oft fast unkenntlichen altprophetischen Schilderungen aus den viel deutlicheren spätprophetischen und apokalyptischen zu verstehen suchen*' (*Verständnis* p. 24).

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and lastly (*d*) the semi-supernatural Priest-King of Test. Levi xviii.[1] Yet, however much they differ in detail, all these have certain features in common. Though often connected with wholly supernatural occurrences they are all alike human, and, above all, their common business is to secure for Israel a period of prosperity and happiness. Their relation to the nations is, as we have seen, merely external. But as Judaism tended more and more to become a religion for all mankind, a new developement of the Messianic idea takes place. Or rather, an ancient tradition (whose continuous existence is revealed, as we shall seek to shew, by a diligent examination of the older scriptures) is revived to meet the demand for a personage of sufficient dignity to be the bearer of the enlarged functions of a cosmical ruler and judge.[2] To the examination of this exalted personage we must accordingly address ourselves in earnest.

The transcendent or superhuman Messiah appears unequivocally in three, and only three, of the apocalyptic compositions, viz. Daniel, 4 Ezra, and the 'Similitudes' of the (Ethiopic) Book of Enoch. The three are mutually complementary, so that their chronological order is for us a point of minor importance. I will discuss them in the order named, which seems best adapted for bringing out the full details of the conception.[3]

The first passage, Dan. vii, stands thus in the Revised Version:—

13. 'And I saw in the night visions, and behold, there came with the clouds of heaven one like unto a son of man (כְּבַר אֱנָשׁ), and he came even unto the ancient of days, and they brought him near before him.

[1] Volz *Jūd. Eschatol.* 211. The Messiah in Test. Levi xviii and I Bar. i 29 though truly much more than a national hero, is nevertheless not divine. In calling the God-King 'Messiah', I do not, of course, imply that the two figures are identical in origin. This will be clear from the sequel.

[2] It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader that these various conceptions are not always sharply differentiated in our literature. But no methodological objection can be raised against their separation for the purpose of bringing out more clearly the logical developement of the Messianic idea. Indeed the impossibility of accurately fixing the date of the several books in which the Messiah is mentioned renders any other procedure wellnigh impossible. A further point calls for notice here. Why, it may be asked, should Yahwè be deplaced as judge by the Messiah? The answer is (1) that He is not always so displaced, but that on the contrary the thought that only the creator of the Universe can discharge the function of cosmical judge is often strongly emphasized, e. g. 4 Ezra v 66–vi 6. On the other hand (2) the position of the Messiah is explicable only in terms of the ancient (and, as I hold, mythical) narrative which forms the basis of the apocalyptic tradition. For the justification of this account the reader is referred to the subsequent discussion.

[3] The best attempt to trace the historical evolution of the Messianic idea in later Judaism with which I am acquainted is that of Schürer *Geschichte* ii[4] 590–609.

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14. And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all the peoples, nations, and languages should serve him: his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed.[1]

The expression 'one like unto a son of man' first demands attention. This rendering agrees with the apparent meaning of the LXX ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου, but is in reality misleading. That the בר in בַּר אֱנָשׁ denotes merely, as it were, specific humanity, so that the phrase כבר אנש properly means 'one resembling a man', is now generally admitted, and is confirmed by the occurrence of the title[2] 'man' elsewhere (see below). Next arises the question, Who is this mysterious 'man' who comes 'on the clouds of heaven'?[3] It is quite irrelevant to reply that he is merely a symbol of the people of Israel; cf. *v.* 27. Even granting this, the further question remains, Whence does this symbolic figure come? It will hardly be contended that it originates with the author of Daniel. The one fact that the entire material of the chapter represents an ancient tradition[4] worked up allegorically is, or should be, decisive against such a view. But, further, the suggested exegesis runs counter to the facts.[5] Our author entirely fails in his interpretation to make any headway with the mythical personage in question. No explanation is given of his appearance 'on the clouds',[6] which is surely a characteristic feature and must have found a place in the allegory, if really invented *ad hoc.* Again, it is beyond the reach of question that this passage in Daniel was

[1] This passage is acutely handled by Cheyne *Bible Problems* pp. 213–235. My own conclusions have, however, been reached independently, and though following the same lines, advance the question, as I venture to think, a stage further.

[2] I hardly feel called upon to overhaul the voluminous recent literature on this topic. Most of the discussions seem to me to rest on a false critical basis, and we shall find, as we advance, ample reason to conclude that we are here dealing with an individual figure of a wholly supernatural kind. That is, after all, the main point. For the benefit of those who wish to go further into the linguistic (?) problem, I will subjoin a few references. N. Schmidt, art. 'Son of Man', *Encyc. Bib.* iv cols. 4705–4740, renews exhaustively the whole question, and discusses the views of other scholars. See also Volz *Jüd. Eschatol.* 214–216; *B. R. J.* 301 n. 2, 307 n. 2, 305 n. 1; Gressmann *Ursprung* pp. 334–339. The last two give full refs. Other recent literature will be mentioned as occasion arises.

[3] The LXX reads ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν, while Theodotion has μετά, and the Masoretic text עִם עֲנָנֵי שְׁמַיָּא. See Dalman *Worte Jesu* 198, who argues that since Yahwè alone comes 'on the clouds' (Is. xix 1; Ps. civ 3) the substitution of עִם for עַל may be due to a desire to obscure the divinity of the 'man'. This may be so; in which case it would be clear that the LXX interpreted the figure as, practically, divine. Cf. *B. R. J.* 303 f.

[4] i. e. the Chaos-myth; cf. Gunkel *Schöpfung* 323–335.

[5] Cf. Volz *Jüd. Theol.* 10–12.

[6] Gressmann *Ursprung* 340 f, 347 f.

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not only interpreted Messianically, but had a vast influence in shaping the developement of the Messianic idea. But is it not in the highest degree improbable that a unique conception such as that of the transcendent Messiah should have grown out of a mere blunder in exegesis?[1] I incline, however, to rely most on the line of argument pursued by Gunkel[2] who points out that the phrase 'the man' is but one of a number of technical terms occurring only in the apocalyptic literature and all obviously bearing a hidden meaning. Such are (to name only the most important) 'the day', 'the end', 'the (Messianic) woes', 'the abomination of desolation', 'the Lion', 'the Lamb', &c.[3] And is it not plain that our author assumes his readers to be already acquainted with the 'man' in question; else why introduce him at all? It follows that the first step towards clearing up the significance of the entire supernatural framework in which the transcendent Messiah appears must be to enquire into the original character and function of this 'man on the clouds of heaven', who, it may be noted in passing, is but one of a series of heavenly 'men', whereof more in the sequel.

Before, however, we can enter upon such an enquiry, it will be necessary to scrutinize more closely the details of his personality as presented in the apocalypses. From Daniel we gather that he is destined to assume the rôle of World-King (*ver.* 14). This and his divine, or quasi-divine, nature is all the information concerning him which the author vouchsafes us. Nothing is said as to his origin or the place whence he comes; but we are perhaps justified in regarding his pre-existence[4] as implied, while his coming 'on the clouds of heaven' at any rate suggests that heaven itself is his abode. The portrait is, however, completed, to a certain extent, in the later apocalypses, and accordingly we turn to the account in 4 Ezra xiii. Although the substance of portions of this important chapter have been set out in a previous section, it will be convenient to quote the whole here.[5]

[1] *B. R. J.* 607 f. Clemen observes: '*Das Missverständnis ist aus einem doppelten Grunde unmöglich. Einmal hätte doch dann aus der Stelle nur entnommen werden können, was irgendwie in ihr lag; sowohl Henoch als der vierte Esra wissen aber viel mehr über den Menschensohn auszusagen. Und dann wird er, so gut wie die Tiere, schon bei Daniel auf eine Tradition zurückgehen, denn das Kommen auf den Wolken des Himmels, das von ihm ausgesagt wird, passt gar nicht auf Israel und wird daher auch nachher nicht ausgedeutet*' (*Religionsgeschichtl. Erklärung d. N.T.* 117).

[2] See his art. *Aus Wellhausens apokalyptischen Forschungen*, in the *Zeitsch. f. wiss. Theol.* N. F. Bd. vii (1899) pp. 582–590.

[3] Such employment of common words in special meanings is characteristic of the 'Mysteries' of the period in which the Jewish Apocalyptic arose. See examples in Gunkel's *Verständnis* p. 20.

[4] Traces of a pre-existent Messiah are found in the LXX, Volz *Jüd. Eschat.* 208; *B. R. J.* 304 f.

[5] I have followed mainly the text of Bensley-James (*The Fourth Book of Ezra*,

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1. 'After the seven days, it happened that I dreamed in the night a dream. 2. Behold, there arose a mighty wind from the sea and stirred up all the waves thereof. 3. And I looked, and behold, that wind brought up from the heart of the sea as it were the likeness of a man (*tanquam similitudinem hominis*); I looked, and behold, that man was flying (*conuolabat*) with the clouds of heaven. And whithersoever he turned his countenance and gazed, there all trembled which he gazed upon; 4. and whithersoever the voice of his mouth proceeded, there all things which heard his voice were molten even as wax melts when it feels the fire. 5. Again I looked, and behold, there gathered together from the four winds of heaven a countless army of men to fight with the man who had arisen from the sea. 6. Then I looked, and lo, he graved (*sculpsit*) for himself a great mountain and flew thereon. 7. But I strove to learn the region or place whence the mountain had been graven; but I was not able. 8. Thereafter I looked, and lo, all those who had gathered together to war against him fell into a great fear; but nevertheless they dared the combat. 9. But when he saw the onslaught of the army which came against him he raised not a hand, nor brandished a sword or other instrument of war; but I saw only 10. how he sent forth from his mouth as it were a stream of fire, and from his lips a flaming breath, and from his tongue there issued a tempest of sparks; but all these mingled together, the stream of fire, and the flaming breath, and the mighty tempest. 11. It fell upon the assaulting army which was prepared for battle, and consumed it utterly; so that in the same moment there was naught to be seen of the countless army but dust and ashes, and the smell of smoke. When I saw this I was amazed. 12. Thereafter I saw how that man came down from the mountain and called unto himself another peaceable multitude. 13. Then there drew nigh unto him the forms of many men, some exulting, others gloomy; some were in bonds, some brought others with them as sacrificial offerings.'

Hereupon the dreamer awoke, and besought of the Most High the interpretation of the vision. And his prayer was answered in the following words:—

25. 'This is the interpretation of the vision: When thou sawest a man rising from the heart of the sea, 26. that was he whom the Most High has reserved throughout long ages, through whom he will deliver Creation, and who will himself establish the new order among those that are left. 27. When thou sawest how fire and flame and tempest issued from his mouth, 28. how he brandished no sword nor other instrument

in Robinson's *Texts and Studies* vol. iii No. 2 Camb. 1895), but have constantly referred to Gunkel's translation in Kautzsch ii 395-398. I have not thought it necessary to note deviations from the Bensley-James text.

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of war, and yet brought to nothing the assault of that army which took the field against him, that signifies, 29. lo, days will come when the Most High will deliver the inhabitants of earth. 30. And there will come amazement of mind upon the inhabitants of the earth, 31. so that they shall plot to war one against the other, city against city, place against place, people against people, and kingdom against kingdom.[1] 32. Then when these things will come to pass and the signs will happen which I told thee of before, my son will be revealed, him whom thou sawest as a man ascending. 33. And then, when all the nations will hear his voice, every man will leave his own land, and they will give over their mutual warfare; 34. and a countless army will be gathered together into one place,[2] as thou sawest, desiring to come and battle against him. 35. But himself will stand on the top of Mount Zion. 36. But Zion will appear and be revealed to all men, builded in perfection, even as thou sawest the mountain graven without human hands. 37. But he, my son, will punish the impieties of the nations which came against him,—these are like unto the tempest—he will reprove them for their evil designs, and will prepare their future torments,—38. these are as it were the fire,—then he will bring them to naught without pity by his word,—that is like unto the flame. 39. But when thou sawest him summoning and gathering unto himself another peaceable multitude, 39. that is the ten tribes which were carried away out of their land in the days of King Josiah[3] . . . 48. Moreover, that [multitude] is also those that are left out of thy people, and who are in my holy region.[4] 49. Therefore when he has brought to naught the multitude of the assembled heathens, he will protect the people [of Israel], so much thereof as is left. 50. And he will shew unto them many other great portents. 51. Then I spake: Lord God, shew me why I beheld the man rising from the heart of the sea. And he spake to me: 52. Even as no one can fathom or learn what is in the depths of the sea, so no one who dwelleth on earth can behold my son or his companions, until the hour of his day be come.'

Now, as in the case of Dan. vii 13 f, it is obvious on examination that the material of this chapter is not something freshly imagined *ad hoc*. The artificiality of the interpretation points to an already existing tradition which refuses to fall completely within the allegorical scheme of the author.[5] Thus the interpretation of the graven mountain as typifying the building of the new Jerusalem is hardly satisfactory—the *tertium comparationis* is altogether wanting. Especially is this the case in *vv.* 37–38. It is Gressmann who says:—

[1] Cf. Is. xix 12; Matt. xxiv 7 (Gunkel).

[2] i.e. Armageddon, as we learn from Ap. Joh. xvi 16 (Gunkel).

[3] Their further history does not concern us here.

[4] Perhaps interpolated: so Gunkel.

[5] Cf. Gunkel in Kautzsch ii 347.

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'The form of this sentence . . . is illogical. The author intended to express in the first two members as well as in the last that the punishment of the impieties is like the tempest,—the future torments are like the fire,—the pitiless annihilation like the flame, or better: Like tempest, fire, and flame, he will punish, torment, annihilate them. But apart from this, the interpretation could not possibly be worse. For how can fire be distinguished from flame? How can the former symbolize future torment, and the latter—in contradistinction thereto!—instant annihilation? Even should these symbols be capable in themselves of bearing such a meaning, where they are united and expressed in the same breath, they cannot at any rate be differentiated in this fashion.'[1]

From *vv.* 3, 25, we learn something concerning the place whence 'the man' makes his appearance. But who would have expected 'the heart of the sea' to be mentioned in this connexion? True, in Dan. vii 2, 3 'the four winds of the heaven brake forth upon the great sea', but it is the 'four great *beasts*' who 'come up' from thence. Again, I Bar. liii 1, a 'cloud' arises from 'a very great sea', but is subsequently explained as symbolizing 'the wide *world* which the Almighty created when he bethought him to create the world' (lvi 3). The latter passage can hardly be in point here, but it might be maintained that the author of 4 Ezra had confused the personages in Daniel vii. However, I prefer the suggestion of Gunkel,[2] that a star-myth has somehow got mixed up with the Daniel-Ezra-Enoch tradition of a heaven-sent king. Anyhow the trait in question does not fit in with the interpretation. Surely it is the secrets of *heaven* which no mortal may explore! Furthermore, the fragmentary character of the whole tradition is seen in the additions which the author makes in the interpretation, and for which parallel features are wanting in the vision itself. Thus 'the man' is to appear with certain 'companions' (xiii 52), probably the angelic host; and there will be mutual wars among the nations (xiii 31).

A comparison of this account with the passage in Dan. vii discloses the following noteworthy points. (1) In 4 Ezra 'the man' plays an active rôle, whereas in Daniel his conquest of the last beast is but tacitly implied. (2) Here, too, 'the man' appears explicitly as both Judge and Deliverer, the latter conception predominating in the 'inter-

[1] *Ursprung* p. 352.

[2] Kautzsch ii 397 note u. So Volz 220 bottom. We shall see the force of this suggestion later. Gressmann's criticism (*Ursprung* p. 354) seems to me irrelevant; this author indeed concedes all that Gunkel contends for. The latter is supported by Jeremias *Babylonisches im N. T.* (1905) 41: Zimmern *K. A. T.* 392; Bousset *R. J.* 303 note 1; H. Schmidt *Jona: eine Untersuchung z. vergleichenden Religionsgeschichte* (1907) 184 ff.

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pretation', the former in the 'vision',—another proof of the manifold character of the tradition. (3) The pre-existence of 'the man' is here clearly asserted, xii 32, xiii 26. So vii 28 ('my son, the Messiah, will be revealed'); xiv 9 ('thou shalt dwell with my son'; cf. Gunkel *ad loc.*).[1] (4) If we include the passage in c. vii just referred to, we have here four distinct titles for the transcendent World-Saviour, viz. (α) the Old Testament designation Messiah, (β) the apocalyptic 'man',[2] (γ) the Hellenistic σωτήρ, and (δ) the synoptic Son of God. (5) The Messiah is described as inaugurating a new order of things (xiii 26), a conception for which parallels are not wanting. Thus the function of the 'angel of the covenant', Mal. iii, may originally have been to restore all things to their primordial order.[3] So Test. Levi xviii the Messiah appears as restorer of the condition of things lost through the sin of Adam; and this is perhaps the explanation of the name Taxo (= τάξων) in Ass. Mos. ix 1.[4] (6) Lastly, the pre-existent Messiah is hidden. God 'reserves' (*reservat*) or 'keeps' him till the time when he is to be revealed as eschatological king (xii 32; xiii 26); in a place where he can be seen only by the elect, cf. xiii 53; xiv 9. The last passage, by the way, shews once more that several distinct traditions are worked up in 4 Ezra, since it is implied that the prophet will be caught up to *heaven* and will *there* abide with the Messiah and his companions. Still whether hidden in heaven or in the heart of the sea, the Messiah is at any rate pre-existent.

We come next to the 'Similitudes', which consist of chaps. xxxvii–lxxi of the Ethiopic Book of Enoch.[5] We have seen that 'the man' of 4 Ezra cannot be explained by mere literary dependence on Dan. vii, and the same holds good of 'the man' in the Similitudes. All three writers employ the same traditional myth-material. We must now consider how the author of the Similitudes has dealt with this tradition, and the best way will be to summarize the Messianic content of the relevant chapters.

[1] Syr. Ar.[1] *filius meus Messias*, Eth. *Messias meus*, Arm. *Messias dei*, Ar.[2] *Messias*. The Lat. has *filius meus Iesus*, obviously a Christian interpolation.

[2] xiii 3 *ille homo*; xiii 5 *homo qui ascenderat de mari*; xiii 12 *ipse homo*; xiii 25 *vidisti virum*; xiii 32 *ut vir ascendens*; xiii 51 *vide virum ascendentem de corde maris*.

[3] Cf. Mk. ix 12 (Ἠλείας μὲν ἐλθὼν πρῶτον ἀποκατιστάνει πάντα), and parallels.

[4] Cf. Clemen's note Kautzsch ii 326.

[5] I have used (1) Charles *The Book of Enoch* (Oxford 1893), (2) German Translation with introduction and useful notes by G. Beer in Kautzsch ii 217–310, (3) J. Flemming and L. Radermacher *Das Buch Henoch* (Leipzig 1901), in the series *Die griechisch-christl. Schriftsteller d. ersten 3 Jahrhunderte*, hrsg. v. d. Kirchenväter-Kommission d. Königl. preuss. Akad. d. Wissenschaften. There is a short but excellent *résumé* of the Messianic ideas of the Similitudes in Charles *Doct. of a Future Life* pp. 213–217.

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First of all, then, as to the titles here borne by the Messiah. These are:—(1) 'The Son of Man'.[1] This, of course, goes back to the Aramaic בר אנשא, and we have already suggested reasons for concluding that the proper rendering is simply 'the man'. It occurs, with unimportant variations,[2] xlvi 2–4; xlviii 2; lxii 5, 7, 9, 14; lxiii 11; lxix 26, 27, 29 (twice); lxx 1; lxxi 14, 17 (the last two refer to Enoch himself).[3] The variations referred to mostly concern the use or omission of the demonstratives 'this' and 'that'; and it is now practically settled that in the Ethiopic version these simply represent the Greek article.

More remarkable are the phrase *walda 'ĕguâla 'emahayâw*, literally, 'the offspring of the mother of the living', which occurs in the Ethiopic text, lxii 7, 9, 14; lxiii 11; lxix 26, 27; lxx 1, and the reading *walda bĕ 'ĕsit* = 'son of woman', which is occasionally found in some of the later MSS, e. g. in lxii 5. There is, of course, no reason *a priori* why the title 'son of woman' should not occur,[4] and we shall, later, adduce instances of its employment. Still, no argument must be founded upon its use in the Ethiopic text, since (α) the reading *walda bĕ* 'ĕsit (= son of woman) for *walda bĕ 'ĕsit* (= *filius uiri*) in lxii 5 may be due either to Christian tampering with the text, or, possibly, to a confusion with *walda* and *bĕ 'ĕsit* which stand in the preceding verse.[5] Further, (β) Dalman, Schmidt, and Charles[6] hold that in Ethiopic no difference of meaning exists between *walda sab'e* (= *filius hominis*,—found, seemingly, xlvi 2, 3, 4; xlviii 2 only) and *walda bĕ ĕsi* (= *filius uiri*), while the odd phrase 'the offspring of the mother of the living' 'is regularly used in Ethiopic for "mortal man",... [and] is the constant equivalent for ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου in the New Testament, at least in the printed texts'.[7]

(2) The Messiah or Christ. This title occurs only twice, xlviii 10 ('because they denied the lord of spirits and his Christ') and lii 4 ('all this which thou hast seen serves to shew the glory of his Christ'). Dalman[8] would strike out the words 'and his Christ' in the first instance, on the ground that the 'lord of spirits here' = the Messiah; he regards lii 4 as an interpolation as breaking the connexion between 3 and 5.

[1] If any one doubts that the 'son of man' is here really a *title* of the Messiah, let him read carefully Charles's note (*Doct. of a Future Life* pp. 214–215), where the point is convincingly made out.

[2] For these see *B. R. J.* 301 n. 2; Volz *Jüd. Eschat.* 214; and Beer's note to xlvi 2 (Kautzsch ii 262).

[3] See Beer in Kautzsch ii 277 note o.

[4] Cf. Is. vii 14.

[5] These suggestions come from Beer's note *ad loc.* (Kautzsch lxxxviii 271).

[6] Refs. in Dalman *Worte Jesu* 199, Volz 214.

[7] Prof. Burkitt, 'Four Notes on the Book of Enoch' in the *Journal of Theological Studies* viii (1906–1907) p. 447. This note disposes of certain difficulties I had previously felt owing to my unfortunate ignorance of the Ethiopic language.

[8] *Worte Jesu* 221.

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The grounds assigned are no doubt slender; a better argument would be the absence of the designation elsewhere in the Similitudes. In any case, there can be no question but that 'the man' is none other than the Messiah.

(3) The Elect One (בָּחִיר, ἐκλεκτός). This is a standing title of the Messiah in the Similitudes. It is found, xxxix 6 ('the Elect One, of Righteousness and Truth or (?) Faith'); xl 5; xlv 3; xlix 2, 4; li 3, 5; lii 6, 9; liii 6; lv 4; lxi 5, 8; lxii 1.[1] The companions of the Messiah are styled the 'elect ones', e. g. xxxix 6, also the 'righteous ones', and even the 'saints' (xxxix 4; xl 1; lxii 8).

(4) The righteous one.[2] This occurs several times, e. g. xxxviii 2; liii 6. So xlvi 3 ('this is "the man" who hath righteousness, and with whom righteousness dwelleth'); lxxi 14 (where the quasi-Messianic Enoch is addressed by Michael: 'Thou art "the man" who art born unto righteousness').

The next point to be considered is the rôle played by the Messiah in the last act of the great World-Drama. In general, he is represented in the Similitudes as less active than was the case in 4 Ezra xiii; but he is none the less an imposing figure. He discharges two main functions, (i) as cosmical Judge, in which case he appears as more or less passive by the side of God, and (ii) as Messianic Champion and Ruler of the Righteous. In each instance we shall consider (*a*) the scope and range of his activities, and (*b*) the characteristics which accrue to him by reason of the two functions respectively.

i. (*a*) As Judge,[3] his jurisdiction embraces all creatures. The sum of judgement will be committed unto Him[4] (lxix 27), as He sits on the throne of His glory (xlv 3; lv 4; lxii 3), whereon the Lord of Spirits will place Him (lxi 8; lxii 2) alongside of Himself[5] (xlvii 3; li 3). On the Day of Judgement (that great day, liv 6, of tribulation and suffering, xlv 2; lv 3) the elect will stand before Him (lxii 8), and He will judge all the works of the holy in heaven, and weigh their deeds in the balance, according to the manner of the righteous judgement of the Lord of Spirits (lxi 8–9). No one shall be able to utter a lying word before Him (xlix 4). As to sinners, the word of His mouth will slay them, and all the unrighteous will be destroyed before His face (lxii 2; cf. xxxviii 1–3; xlv 2–6); so in particular the kings and mighty ones of the earth will perish and be delivered into the hands of the righteous and holy,

[1] Cf. Is. xli 8 f; xlii 1; Lk. ix 35; xxiii 35.

[2] Cf. Acts iii 14; vii 52; xxii 14; 1 Jn. ii 1. See further Dalman *Worte Jesu* 200.

[3] The Ancient of Days himself acts as Judge, xlvii 3; so in the N. T. the rôle is attributed now to the Father, and again to the Son.

[4] Cf. Jn. v 22, 27.

[5] Cf. Ps. cx 1.

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xxxviii 5; for their subsequent fate see lxi 8; lv 4; lxii 3; ii 5, 9; lxiii 9, 1, 8; lxii 11, 12; lxiii 10). Likewise, those who have led the world astray (presumably the 200 angels whose *amours* with the daughters of men were productive of so much mischief), will be destroyed from off the face of the earth (lxix 27); and again Azazel and all his crew will be judged by the Elect One 'in the name of the Lord of Spirits' (lv 4).

i. (*b*) As Judge, the Messiah possesses Righteousness, Wisdom, and Power.[1] He is the Righteous One κατ' ἐξοχήν (xxxviii 2; cf. liii 6 'the Righteous and Elect One'). By reason of his indwelling Righteousness God has been pleased to elect him to the position (xlvi 3; xlix 4). Wisdom, finding no habitation on earth, withdrew to heaven (xlii 1–2, see Beer *ad loc.*), the spirit of Wisdom abides in him[2] (xlix 3), and its secrets pour forth like water from the thought of his mouth (xlix 1, 3;[3] li 3). Likewise he possesses the Spirit of Power and of Universal Dominion from generation to generation (xlix 2; lxii 6).

ii. (*a*) As Messianic champion he is to overcome the minions of Ungodliness and to vindicate the possession of the (new) earth to the righteous for ever. He thus corresponds in some sort to the Restorer and Deliverer of 4 Ezra, though indeed his punishment of the evildoers is here viewed less as a conquest than as a forensic act. As usual, he has to clear the ground (so to say) by removing (α) the foes of Israel, (β) the sinners, and (γ) the demoniac powers. We are not for the moment concerned with the by no means edifying details of their respective punishments. Chapter li announces (so far as words go) a general resurrection in the body[4] and the transfiguration (δοξάζειν) of the righteous, before whom all the might of the heathens will melt away (lii 6) through the power of the Messiah, as one may suppose, though this is not explicitly stated. No defence will avail the godless (lii 7–8), and they will seek in vain to secure by gifts the mercy of God (liii 1–2). Satan and his companions will be dealt with by angels (liii 3), and the kings and mighty ones will be cast into (?) Gehenna, where also the host of Azazel will be tormented in different ways (liv 1–5). The latter will finally be cast into the fiery furnace (liv 6), after being judged by the Messiah in the presence of the kings and mighty ones who will dwell on the earth (lv 4). Chapter lvi describes a final attack on Jerusalem by the heathen kings and their forces. These will destroy one another,

[1] Cf. Volz *Jüd. Eschatol.* xxxv 8 pp. 231 f, where parallels are mentioned; also Ps. xlv 4–8; lxxii; Is. xi 3–5; Jer. xxiii 5–6.

[2] From this to the thought of an hypostatized Logos was but a small step.

[3] For the meaning of 'the spirit of those who have fallen asleep in Righteousness', which is mentioned in this verse, see Gressmann *Ursprung* 359.

[4] Beer *ad loc.* compares the Persian myth in which the Saošyañt raises the dead and rewards or punishes them according to their 'works'.

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and together with the godless ones, will be finally swallowed up by Še'ol before the eyes of the righteous. According to lxii 2 the Messiah will slay all sinners with the word of his mouth, while xlviii 9–10, lxii 12 make the kings and mighty ones of the earth to be seized by an angel of punishment, when they form a spectacle for the righteous (!) as they burn and disappear for ever, xlviii 9. Whether the same persons are intended in the two cases I am not in a position to say. Indeed it is impossible to extract a consistent account from the confused narrative in these chapters. But enough has, perhaps, been said to shew that the part played by the Messiah is slight, as compared with the active functions assigned to him in the Psalms of Solomon, the Sibyllines, and 4 Ezra.

The fate of the righteous may be briefly outlined here. Sin and wrongdoing are banished from the face of the earth (xlix 2); heaven and earth are transformed (xlv 4–5), to become the fitting abode of the righteous elect (xxxix 5; xli 2). There they will live days without end, the righteous in the light of the sun, and the elect in that of eternal life. They will seek the light, and find righteousness in the Lord of Spirits, and enjoy eternal peace (lviii 3–4; cf. xxxviii 4; lviii 3).

ii. (*b*) As Champion of and Ruler of the Righteous, the Messiah has already been revealed to them (lxii 7—so Charles, but I do not see how the statement is to be explained, unless as referring to the members of the pre-existent community); he is their support and will keep them from stumbling (xlviii 4), the Light of the nations (=τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου), and the Hope of those who are oppressed (*ibid.*). He is the Avenger of the righteous (xlviii 7). As we have already noted, after the παρουσία, the righteous and elect will dwell in everlasting joy on the new earth[1] (li 5), and the community of the righteous will endure in unhindered prosperity (liii 6; lxii 8). Their faces will shine with joy (li 5), they will be clothed with Life and Glory (lxii 15–16), and Light (xxxix 7), and become even as the angels of heaven (li 4), and will live in closest communion with the Elect One (lxii 14), in the presence of the Lord of Spirits (*ibid.* xxxix 7).

We have here a great and noteworthy advance on the earlier conceptions of the Messiah, and an approximation to the ethical and spiritual Christology of the Gospels. Such an approximation is also found in the stress here laid on the pre-existence of the Messiah.[2] On this point the Similitudes go far beyond any of the books hitherto discussed. The

[1] Cf. Mt. v 5. I mention only the most striking of the N. T. parallels. The reader will find a pretty complete list in Beer's notes.

[2] Bousset *Die Jüdische Apokalyptik* p. 59 (cited by Cheyne *Bible Problems* p. 235) seems to me to go too far. Surely there are other essential elements in the Christian conception of the suffering Messiah, which find no place here.

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language of xlviii 3 is striking: 'Before the sun and the signs (i. e. of the Zodiac) were created, and before the stars of heaven were made, his (the Messiah's) name was named by the Lord of Spirits.'[1] In popular belief, name and personality are, of course, identical[2]; but the personal pre-existence of the Messiah is further explicitly stated: God has elected and hidden him 'before the foundation of the world' (xlviii 6; cf. lxii 7), 'his glory endureth from eternity to eternity and his power from generation to generation' (xlix 2). His dwelling is under the wings of the Lord of Spirits (xxxix 7). Most clearly xlvi 1: 'I beheld there the Head of Days (עַתִּיק יוֹמַיָּא Dan. vii 13), and his head was white as wool; and with him another whose countenance was as that of a man (the apocalyptic *k^{e}bar'ĕnâš*) and his face full of graciousness, even as that of a holy angel.' Here he is represented as abiding with God.[3] We note that the Messiah is portrayed as dwelling in the midst of a pre-existent community of the elect, as in 4 Ezra vi 26; vii 28; xiv 9. Thus in c. xxxix Enoch is caught up by a whirlwind to the end of the heavens,[4] and there beholds the mansions of the righteous and the habitations of the saints (3), wherein they dwell with the Elect One (6) under the wings of the Lord of Spirits, (7) from eternity to eternity (5). Heaven is, of course, spatially conceived, so that 'the end of the heavens' must mean the place furthest from earth where the Ancient of Days sits enthroned.[5] Such passages are important as throwing light on the conception of the hidden Messiah, which we find in lxii 67: 'the man' was hidden from the beginning, and the Most High has reserved him ... and revealed him to the elect, and he rules over all hidden things. In lx 11 the angel shews Enoch 'all things hidden, the first

[1] According to Weber the original idea was '*dass es Gottes Wille von Ewigkeit her war, den Messias zu schaffen und in die Welt zu senden, wie auch die mit ihm als präexistent genannten Väter, das Volk Israel und das Heiligtum, nicht wirklich, sondern in Gottes ewigem Heilsrathe vorhanden waren*' (*Jüd. Theol.* 355). The thought of a *real* pre-existence is late. Dalman rightly observes: '*Die Präexistenzaussagen der Bilderreden Henochs, des vierten Esrabuchs, und von Pesikta Rabbati setzen übrigens auch keine menschliche Geburt des Messias voraus*' (*Worte Jesu* 107). But when he goes on to state that '*von einer der Geburt als Mensch vorangehenden dem Messias eigentümlichen Präexistenz das Judentum nie etwas gewusst habe*' (*ibid.*) he certainly runs counter to the facts, as will be shewn before we have done. See further Volz *Jüd. Eschatol.* 216–218.

[2] See *B. R. J.* 302 n. 1, 404; Cheyne *B. P.* 229 ff.

[3] The real pre-existence of the Messiah in the Similitudes is denied by Billerbeck (*Zeitschrift Nathanael* xix 97 ff; xxi 89 ff), on what appear to me insufficient grounds. Couard (*Anschauungen* pp. 207 f) criticizes this position, but his interpretation of the עֶבֶד יהוה is open to serious question.

[4] Cf. 2 Cor. xii 2 ff. The Persian origin of the whole conception has been established by Bousset (*Arch. f. rel. Wiss.* 1901, 155 ff).

[5] Interesting details are given by Weber, *Jüd. Theol.* 162 ff.

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and the last, in heaven high above, and in the deep under the earth, at the ends of the heavens, and at the (?) foundations thereof'.[1] Of these secret repositories only the 'end of the heavens' can, however, be the abode of the Messiah, since there alone, as we have seen, is God, under whose wings he abides till the time of his manifestation arrives. There are the seats of the righteous, of the patriarchs, and of the elect of former days (lxx 4). There, too, is the garden of life, i. e. paradise. The Messiah is thus the paradisal king, the first created of all things; we may call him with 'Paul' πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως (Col. i 15).[2] Or, bringing together the scattered details, we find that the Messiah appears in the apocalyptic literature as a concrete individual figure which cannot be explained as a mere literary creation of the author in whose writings it emerges, but shews every indication of having a long tradition behind it. We find 'the man' invested with divine attributes, represented as dwelling eternally in Paradise, and destined to be revealed at the close of the present era, to deliver the righteous and to judge the whole of created beings. He is to found a new order of things, or rather to 'restore' them to their original perfect condition. Furthermore, his supernatural characteristics and powers place him in a wholly different category from that of the humble scion of the house of David who formed the object of the popular aspirations of Israel. If we style him the Messiah, it is with the full consciousness that in his case the title bears a new and enlarged meaning. The popular Messiah is earthly, and born of human parents; 'the man' is divine and has pre-existed from all eternity. Moreover, the fact that the two conceptions continued for a time to flourish side by side points to the existence of two distinct currents in Jewish thought: we cannot regard the transcendent Messiah as a mere developement of earlier Messianic ideas.[3] Any other conclusion would imply the deification of an originally human (i. e. humanly conceived) figure. Now there are plenty of instances in which an original god has been 'honourably degraded' to heroic or even to human rank[4]; but not one single case of the reverse process is discoverable in Israel or elsewhere. Couard indeed argues[5] that the developement

[1] Text uncertain.

[2] See, however, Dalman *Worte Jesu* 245–248; Weber *Jüd. Theol.* 354 ff.

[3] The transcendent Messiah is, of course, never represented as a descendant of David. The words *qui oritur ex semine David*, which are found in the Syrian version of 4 Ezra xii 32, seem to be a Christian interpolation.

[4] This is the case, e.g., with Lycurgus. For instances less remote from the present investigation, see the second volume of Winckler's *Geschichte Israels*, which work, though needing to be used with caution, is rich in suggestion and supplies ample materials for forming a sound judgement. Cf. Ed. Meyer *Israeliten* 278 ff.

[5] *Anschauungen* 212. Similarly Schürer: '*Die jüdischen Anschauungen bleiben überall eigenartige und erklären sich von der Basis der alttestamentlichen Anschauungen*

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is explicable in terms of the universalistic tendencies in later Judaism. We have already seen how these may account for the displacement of the Messiah ben David in the apocalyptic writers; but this reasoning breaks down when applied to the particular form which the results of the new developement assumed. The student who weighs the arguments already advanced will, I hope, conclude that the being resembling a man is not a mere invention of the author of Daniel, but rather an already existing tradition at most revived by him and adapted as well as might be to his particular purpose. The further fact (on which Couard relies), that the pre-existence of the Messiah is implied in Mich. v 1 f and elsewhere serves only to confirm the existence in Israel of the tradition of a coming God-King, and by no means to establish its intra-Israelitish origin. I have already sought to shew that the idea of a divine world-ruler could not conceivably arise in Israel itself, and I will proceed to verify this hypothesis by a more searching examination of the entire tradition.

aus als Umbildung oder Ergänzungen dieser' (*Geschichte* ii[4] 587). But this notion will have to go. As Prof. Drews observes (in a letter to the present writer), *'Handelt es sich doch vor allem darum, das Vorurteil der "Einzigartigkeit" der jüdisch-christlichen Vorstellungswelt zu zerstören und den Blick dafür frei zu machen, dass auch diese Welt nur Moment und Glied eines grössern Zusammenhanges von mythischen Ideen darstellt. Unsere Theologen sitzen ja noch immer eingepfercht in ihren jüdischen Mauern und meinen schon genug getan zu haben, wenn sie zeigen, dass ein bestimmter Gedanke sich innerhalb der letzteren nicht nachweisen lässt.'* As to the idea of Pre-existence cf. Harnack *Dogmengeschichte* i[3] 755-764.

W. V. HAGUE.

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THE EARLY GREEK COMMENTATORS ON THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST MATTHEW.[1]

THE number of early commentaries on St Matthew's Gospel, compared with the number of the commentaries on the other three, is astonishingly large, and is one of several indications of the predominant position held by this Gospel from the earliest times. A summary enumeration of them, and the natural starting-point for any systematic account, is the list given by St Jerome in the preface to his own Commentary on St Matthew, written in 387: 'legisse me fateor ante annos plurimos in Mattheum Origenis viginti quinque Volumina, et totidem eius Homilias, Commaticumque interpretationis genus; et Theophili Antiochenae urbis episcopi Commentarios, Hippolyti quoque martyris, et Theodori Heracleotae Apollinarisque Laodiceni ac Didymi Alexandrini, et latinorum Hilarii Victorini Fortunatiani, opuscula.' Jerome, then, writing before the close of the fourth Christian century, had made personal acquaintance with the work of nine commentators on St Matthew, of whom six were Greek and three Latin.

1. Of the work of **Theophilus of Antioch** nothing is known outside Jerome's testimony. But Jerome refers to it also in the *de viris illustribus* 25, and in his 121st Epistle *ad Algasiam* § 6 quotes *verbatim* a curious exposition of the parable of the Unjust Steward, who is interpreted to be none other than St Paul. It was really, in fact, not a commentary on St Matthew alone, but on the Four Gospels put together, 'quattuor evangelistarum in unum opus dicta compingens'. This in itself hardly sounds like the second century; and in view of Theophilus's remoteness from St Jerome's day—a gap of two centuries divides them—it is impossible not to suspect some flaw in the tradition.[2] But these very notices in Jerome gave a fictitious life to the supposed

[1] The following study is a fragmentary commencement, written in 1903, of what was to have been a connected account of all patristic exegesis of the New Testament. The vastness of the subject soon made contraction of the project imperative, and all that ultimately took shape was an article on 'Greek patristic commentaries on St Paul' contributed to the supplementary volume of Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible*. I have no hope of ever being able to return to the subject: and it seemed to me, as I sorted some old papers, that perhaps these pages, fragmentary and incomplete as they are, might be worth rescuing from one's rubbish-heap and transferring to the friendly shelter of the JOURNAL. Here and there a sentence will be found to repeat what I have already said in print in the Hastings *Dictionary*.

[2] And Jerome himself seems to have had his suspicions, for he expressly notes in the *de viris* that the commentary on 'the Gospel' was in his opinion incongruous, in language and refinement, with Theophilus's other works.

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'Commentaries of Theophilus'; some ingenious author or scribe prefixed the name to a Latin compilation of a date not only later than St Jerome, but later also than the fifth-century writers Eucherius and Arnobius Junior, and the mediaeval fraud imposed on an illustrious scholar of our own generation, who bestowed on it a temporary patronage. It will be enough on this subject to refer to a paper by Dr Sanday in *Studia Biblica* i (1885) 89–101.

2. In none of the ancient lists of the works of **Hippolytus**—neither in the inscription on the chair of his statue, nor in Eusebius *H. E.* vi 22, nor in Jerome *de viris illustribus* 61—is mention made of any commentary on St Matthew. But the inscription is jejune about exegetical works altogether,[1] unless indeed the mysterious ᾠδαὶ εἰς πάσας τὰς γραφάς conceals somehow the meaning 'exegesis on all the scriptures'[2]; Eusebius subjoins to his list the note that 'very many other works' of Hippolytus would be found on research to be extant; and in Jerome's case the negative evidence of the *de viris* is of little moment in view of the definite statement cited above from the prologue to the *Comm. in Matt.* It is true that nothing like such a commentary is extant among the remains of Hippolytus: but he wrote in Greek, and Greek soon ceased to be familiar in Roman church circles, so that it is not wonderful that his books soon dropped out of sight.

That would be in itself a sufficient explanation: but there is also, in the case of the work before us, the alternative possibility that it was not really a complete commentary in the later and stricter sense at all. At the beginning of the third century, when Hippolytus wrote, the exegesis of Scripture, and perhaps especially of the New Testament, was in its infancy as a form of literature; and doubtless some experiments were tried under this head which were far from amounting to a continuous exposition from first to last of the whole of some book of Scripture. Εἰς τὸ κατὰ Μαθθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον, for instance, is the sort of title which might cover exegetical work of very varying extent; and it is at least significant that all the considerable fragments of Hippolytus which can be referred with probability to the lost commentary on St Matthew attach themselves exclusively to the twenty-fourth chapter, an eschatological passage which we know, from the titles of other writings of Hippolytus, would have formed a particularly congenial theme.

(*a*) In *Hermathena* vii 137–150 (1890) Dr J. Gwynn published in

[1] See Lightfoot *S. Clement of Rome*[2] ii 325: only treatises 'on the Psalms' and 'on the Witch of Endor' are mentioned.

[2] 'All the scriptures' need not be too literally interpreted. Diodore and Theodore among the Antiochenes are both of them reported to have written roundly expositions or explanations of 'all' the books of scripture: among the Alexandrines Didymus is said to have interpreted Old and New Testament κατὰ λέξιν, 'phrase by phrase'.

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Syriac, with English translation, an extract from the commentary of Dionysius Bar Salibi on the Apocalypse (MS Brit. Mus. Rich 7185) embodying Hippolytus's explanation of Matt. xxiv 15–22. The margin of the MS attributes the quotation to 'the interpretation of the Gospel', i.e. apparently a definite commentary, and Harnack, *Altchristliche Litteratur* i 641, accepts, as I gather, the attribution; but Gwynn, while defending the Hippolytean authorship, speaks with reserve as to its exact *provenance*, and Achelis in the Berlin edition of Hippolytus (I ii 243–246: A. D. 1897) prints it as part of the 'Capitula against Gaius'.

(*b*) From Coptic, Ethiopic, and Arabic catenae, which are all derived from a single (doubtless Greek) original, Achelis, *op. cit.* 197–207, prints German renderings of 'interpretations' ascribed to Hippolytus, covering Matt. xxiv 15–34.

(*c*) Of much greater importance than either of the foregoing, if it could really be attributed to Hippolytus, is an anonymous Latin exposition of Matt. xxiv 20–44, which Mgr G. Mercati and I myself discovered independently in the same MS of the Ambrosian Library which contains also the Muratorian Canon (I 101 sup., foll. 19–29: saec. vii–viii: from Bobbio): see *Studi e Testi* xi (Rome 1903) 'Anonymi Chiliastae in Matthaeum fragmenta', and *J. T. S.* v 218 (1904) 'An exegetical fragment of the third century'. That the original belonged to pagan times I argued in the JOURNAL both from the division of mankind into the three classes of *iusti peccatores impii*, and from the specific interpretation of the 'sign of the Beast on the forehead and the hand' as the laurel crown worn on the head—compare Tertullian *de corona militis*—and the incense cast on the altar of abomination. That a crude and materializing eschatology was still largely prevalent in the circles with which the writer is familiar is shewn by the care with which, though himself a millenarian, he sets himself to overthrow the superstition that the saints during the thousand years' reign would literally eat and drink the good things of earth at the Lord's table. That the Latin as we have it, whether it is original or a translation from the Greek, is not later than the third or fourth century, the character of its biblical text sufficiently guarantees. If the Latin of the Ambrosian MS is a translation, then the probability was great that its ultimate source is in Hippolytus. If on the other hand the Latin is original, then the claims of the earliest Latin writer on St Jerome's list, Victorinus of Pettau,[1]

[1] Victorinus of Petavio or Pettau, martyred under Diocletian, was according to Jerome, *de viris* 74, better acquainted with Greek than with Latin: but the commentary on St Matthew is enumerated by Jerome in the Latin section of his list. Nevertheless he deserves mention here, in connexion with the Greek commentators, just because it was the business of his Latin writings to put before the Latin Christian world, with however inadequate expression, the exegetical

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were very strong. In either case we seemed to have a new contribution to patristic exegesis in its most ancient period. Another feature was, however, introduced into the discussion by Mr Souter's proof (*J. T. S.* v 608) of the intimate relation between the language of the fragment and the language of the author of the commentary on the Pauline Epistles and book of Biblical *Questions* known as Ambrosiaster. Mr Souter claims that Ambrosiaster was himself the writer of the fragment, and that view is certainly the simplest; but I do not myself think that, especially if the original was Greek, the possibility ought to be excluded that Ambrosiaster was working up the material of an earlier writer.

3. The work of **Origen**, although chronologically he follows after Theophilus and Hippolytus, is for its intrinsic importance naturally placed by Jerome at the head of his list. Each of his three methods of exegesis, Commentary, Homilies, and Notes, was represented on St Matthew's Gospel: 'Origenis viginti quinque Volumina, et totidem eius Homilias, Commaticumque interpretationis genus.' But in this case at any rate the Commentary was by far the most important of the three; and it is the only one mentioned in Jerome's lately recovered catalogue of Origen's writings[1] 'in Mattheum lib. xxv'.

(i) These twenty-five volumes or τόμοι of Commentary, written towards the end of Origen's life, about A. D. 245, are also mentioned in Eusebius *H. E.* vi 32, and are in parts extant in the original Greek and in a Latin version.

a. Books x–xvii, containing the Commentary on Matt. xiii 36–xxii 33, were first published in the original Greek in Huet's edition, Rouen 1668:

material of Hippolytus and Origen. Compare Jerome *ep.* 36. 16 (A.D. 384) 'Hippolyti martyris verba . . . a quo et Victorinus noster non plurimum discrepat, non quod omnia plenius exsecutus sit, sed quod possit occasionem praebere lectori ad intellegentiam latiorem': *ep.* 61. 2 (A.D. 396) 'taceo de Victorino Petabionensi et ceteris, qui Origenem in explanatione dumtaxat scripturarum secuti sunt et expresserunt': *ep.* 84. 7 (A.D. 400) 'nec disertiores sumus Hilario nec fideliores Victorino qui eius [*sc.* Origenis] tractatus non ut interpretes sed ut auctores proprii operis transtulerunt'. Similarly Rufinus (*Apol.* ii 30) asserts 'de sancto Victorino' that he was not strictly a translator of any Greek work, 'interpretis titulo nihil omnino arbitror transtulisse de graeco'. No direct quotations appear to have survived from Victorinus's work on St Matthew: Jerome even omits all mention of it in the catalogue of Victorinus's writings in the *de viris*, and Cassiodorus's reference suggests that Victorinus, like Hippolytus, may have dealt only with selected passages, *de inst. div. litt.* 7 'Mattheum . . . de quo et Victorinus ex oratore episcopus nonnulla disseruit'.

[1] The catalogue is a fragment of a letter to Paula and Eustochium of A.D. 384: printed in Harnack *Altchristliche Litteratur* i 334, and (with the help of further MSS) by Klostermann in the *Sitzungsberichte der k. preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1897, p. 855.

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see de la Rue iii 442–829, Migne *P. G.* xiii 835–1600. The MSS are enumerated, and their relations discussed, by A. E. Brooke, *Fragments of Heracleon* ('Texts and Studies' i 4, A. D. 1891) pp. 1–17; by Preuschen in Harnack's *Altchristliche Litteratur* i 391, 392; and again by Brooke *Commentary of Origen on St John* (Cambridge, A. D. 1896) pp. xviii, xix. Munich graec. cxci, saec. xiii, is the oldest MS and is the direct ancestor of some at least of our other MSS.

β. The Commentary on Matt. xvi 13–xxvii 66 is represented in a Latin translation, first edited by Merlin, Paris 1512, omitted by Huet, but restored to a place among Origen's collected works in de la Rue iii 521–931, Migne *P. G.* xiii 993–1800. It commences at tom. xii § 9 of the Greek, and is divided into *tractatus*, numbered from 1 to 35.[1] Preuschen, *op. cit.* 366, explains by reference to these thirty-five *tractatus* the error in Jerome's prologue to his translation of Origen's Homilies on St Luke 'xxxvi tomos illius [*sc.* Origenis] in Mattheum': but the figure there should doubtless be read not xxxvi but xxvi, in accordance both with a Cambridge manuscript of the Latin *Homiliae*,[2] and with Rufinus's citation of this very prologue of Jerome's in *adv. Hieron.* ii 21, 22.[3] For the date of the version we are thrown back therefore on other evidence than Jerome's. *Termini ad quem* are the following: one MS, used by de la Rue, had been given to St Remi at Reims by archbishop Hincmar, who died in 882: the translation is used in the *Commentary on St Matthew* of Paschasius Radbert, abbot of Corbie, who died in 851: and finally it is not likely that any Western scholar would have had access to any treatise of Origen, much less have wished to translate it, later than the sixth century. In the opposite direction, as a *terminus a quo*, Dom Chapman (*J. T. S.* iii 436 [1902]) sought to establish the dependence of the translator on the Latin commentary known as the *Opus imperfectum in Mattheum*, an Arian work composed at earliest about A. D. 400. Chapman argued that the translator was a bishop: Huet had suggested Cassiodorus's friend the presbyter Bellator, the known translator of Homilies of Origen on the two books of Esdras (*circa* A. D. 550). From comparison with the original Greek in the five or six tomes for which they overlap, the work appears to be rather a paraphrase than a translation. Yet even so, and inelegant or even barbarous as it is, de la Rue was able, in defending its re-inclusion in his edition of Origen (*pref. ad vol.* iii), to appeal to its services in emending the text, and establishing the meaning, of the original Greek.

[1] The division into 145 'series' or sections, by which it is now usually cited, is due to the editors (presumably to de la Rue), and only commences from the point where the Greek text fails us, Matt. xxii 33.

[2] MS of Corpus Christi College, of about A.D. 800: see Westcott *Dict. Christ. Biogr.* iv 113 *a*.

[3] Preuschen's reference here is wrong.

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(ii) The twenty-five Homilies rest on the single guarantee of Jerome's preface to his Commentary. No other ancient authority mentions them: and the various homilies on texts taken from this Gospel which are found in Latin mediaeval MSS—the Venice 1513 edition of Latin Homilies of Origen includes e. g. sixteen on St Matthew—appear to have no claim to genuineness.

(iii) The Notes on St Matthew, 'commaticum interpretationis genus', are similarly known only from the same preface of Jerome.

But how does it come about (it may be asked) that Jerome should enumerate in this preface, among books read by him long before, two works of Origen on St Matthew which are yet absent from the presumably exhaustive catalogue of Origen's writings sent only three years earlier, in 384, to Paula and Eustochium? It is an apparent rather than a real contradiction: for the list in the letter to Paula is taken over bodily from Eusebius's *Life of Pamphilus*, and the absence of the Homilies and Notes on St Matthew from the list means not that they were unknown to Jerome but that they were unknown to Eusebius.

Of fragments of Origen on St Matthew the following will be found in print:—

a. In Eusebius *H. E.* vi 25: from the *Commentary*, tom. i.

b. In the *Philocalia* c vi (ed. Robinson pp. 49, 50): from the *Commentary* tom. ii (on Matt. v 9).

c. In Pamphilus's *Apologia pro Origene* as translated by Rufinus, cap. v 'responsio ad quintam criminationem' (de la Rue iv appendix p. 36): from the *Commentary*, tom. i. And in the same work, cap. x (de la Rue iv app. pp. 45, 46): two passages from the *Commentary* tom. xi and tom. xiii.

d. In Possinus's catena on St Matthew (Toulouse 1646: from a manuscript of archbishop de Montchal of Toulouse) are seventy-one quotations under the name of Origen: Matt. i 1, 5, 16, 18, 18 *bis*; ii 2, 11, 13, 18; iii 4, 14, 17; iv 2, 11, 12, 16, 17, 22; v 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 16, 17, 22, 25, 28, 37, 45, 48; vi 1, 5, 31; vii 2, 22; viii 20, 32 f; ix 2, 9, 30; x 2, 6, 16, 23, 24 f, 26; xi 17, 19, 24; xii 28, 39 f; xiii 32, 33, 33 *bis*, 44; xiv 19, 20; xvi 28; xvii 6; xviii 21; xix 12, 24; xx 1, 16; xxi 1; xxiii 8; xxiv 15, 28; xxvi 8, 45. That the quotations become relatively infrequent in the later chapters is probably due more to the slackness of the Catenist than to anything else; not only Origen but other fathers as well are cited less often for these chapters, and the catena becomes more and more a mere series of extracts from St Chrysostom. The Origenian quotations we shall naturally expect to have been drawn principally from the *Commentary*, the only form of Origen's work on this Gospel which we know to have been cited by subsequent writers. But assuming that the labels are correct and that erroneous ascription cannot

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have affected more than a small proportion of the quotations, this expectation is not in fact fulfilled. If the quotations and the *Commentary* be compared for the chapters where the latter is extant—Matt. xiii 36–xxii 33—it results that, among many resemblances in thought, there seems to be no single case of identity in expression: the nearest likeness is perhaps in the comment on Matt. xvii 6 (Possinus p. 241 = de la Rue iii 564), yet even there it does not extend throughout the citation. Either then the Catenist habitually summed up in his own words the subject-matter of long passages of Origen, or he must have borrowed as a rule from some other work than the *Commentary*. And in fact there do occur, as Origen's, expositions of the text which, though they may well be Origen's, are not the actual expositions given in the *Commentary*. Many of the citations, too, have a pregnant brevity which suggests derivation neither from a commentary nor yet from homilies—for Origen as a commentator and a homilist is not brief—but from the Notes, the 'commaticum genus' of St Jerome's preface. Take for instance the Parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard, Matt. xx 1–7. Here the Catenist quotes as from Origen the pithy explanation οἰκοδεσπότης *μέν ἐστιν ὁ Χριστός· οἶκον δὲ ὅλην τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσιν λέγει· καὶ ὁ ἐξελθὼν πρωῒ αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ Λόγος, ἐξελήλυθε γὰρ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ· ἐργάται δὲ οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ, οἱ τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐργαζόμενοι ἐν ἡμῖν καὶ συνεργοῦντες ἀεὶ καὶ τῶν κακῶν ἀναχαιτίζοντες πράξεων*. In his *Commentary* Origen dwells at length on the same parable, giving first an elaborate allegorical exegesis, and then a simpler one, 'useful for those who stumble at the deeper and more recondite explanation': according to the former the labourers represent the different covenants of God with man, in Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Christ; according to the latter the different periods of man's life—infancy, youth, manhood, old age, death-bed—at which the call may come to enter the Vineyard of the Church. But nowhere does there appear to be any hint of an identification of the *ἐργάται* with the angels.

In Corderius's catena on St Matthew[1] there are, as far as I have noticed, no citations of Origen.

e. At the close of Gallandi's *Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum* (vol. xiv [Venice A. D. 1781] appendix pp. 73–83) is a series of fragments of Origen on St Matthew, collected from catena MSS of the library of St Mark's. The passages of the Gospel to which they relate are as follows: Matt. i 18; vii 5, 6, 9, 10; viii 11; xi 11, 12; xii 14, 15; xiii 44, 47; xviii 5, 20, 21; xxi 33; xxiv 45; xxv 1; xxvii 11, 45; xxviii 18.

[1] Corderius's catena on St Matthew (which is that of Niceta of Serres) was published at Toulouse in 1647, as a sequel to that of Possinus: his catenae on St Luke (a Latin version only) and St John had been published some years earlier at Antwerp, in 1628 and 1630.

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Of this series there is no doubt that the *Commentary* was the source; wherever comparison is possible, not only the ideas but the salient expressions are found to correspond. The Catenist abbreviates and summarizes, and his text as printed is often obviously corrupt. There can therefore be no question of recovering, on his authority alone, any of the *ipsissima verba* of lost portions of the *Commentary*; yet it would be interesting enough if we could refer to Origen even the substance of the comment, for instance, on Matt. i 18, the distinction between γέννησις and γένεσις.

f. The catena of Cramer on St Matthew (Oxford 1840) is derived from two MSS, the one at Paris, coislin gr. 23, saec. xi, and the other in the Bodleian, Auct. T. I. 4, saec. x. There are about the same number of citations from Origen as in Possinus: Matt. (i 19, 25); ii (7) 18; iii 1; v (33), 45; vi 3; vii 27; viii 8, 11, 22, 34; ix 17, 24, 30, 37; x 9, 23, 32, 34; xi 3, 9, 16–17, 25; xii 1,[1] 6, 10, 20, 22, 33, 44, 50; xiii 16, 19, 21–23, 25; xiv 23, 36; xv 5; xix 1; xxi 28, 35, 42, 44; xxii 4, 6–9, 11, 13; xxiii 25, 27, 31–32, 37; xxiv 10; xxv 24, 34; (xxvii 27); xxviii 9: viii 34, xii 50, xiii 16, xxi 42, have two quotations apiece. On the one hand these quotations not only run to greater length than those in Possinus, but also shew much more unmistakeable points of contact with the *Commentary*. On the other hand Cramer's catena reveals evidence of carelessness in the way of double ascriptions and blunders in the way of false ascriptions, whether these are to be attributed to editor, collator, or scribe.[2] An exposition of the parable of the Two Sons, Matt. xxi 28–31, is certainly taken from the *Commentary* (Cramer p. 173 = de la Rue iii 770), though reference to the original text is necessary to make intelligible the abbreviated and corrupted passage in Cramer. A beautifully drawn out contrast between those who 'only touched the hem of his garment' (Matt. xiv 36: Cramer p. 119) and those who enjoyed the fullness of Christ in the Eucharist is absent from de la Rue's text, and is perhaps falsely labelled with the name of Origen. Among the more interesting notes, in the parts not represented by the continuous Greek or Latin of the Commentary, are those on Matt. v 45; viii 11, 12; ix 30; xii 46–50 (Cramer 42. 8; 59. 31; 71. 30; 99. 24). The unintelligent methods of the editing may be gauged from Cramer 56. 19, Matt. vii 27, where we should of course read Ὠριγένους. βροχὴ ὁ διάβολος· ποταμοὶ οἱ ἀντίχριστοι· ἄνεμοι τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας.

[1] This long passage is introduced with the words εἰδὼς ὁ δεσπότης Χριστός, and the use of the title δεσπότης rather points away from Origen to the later Antiochene School.

[2] In the case of Cramer's catena on 1 Corinthians, Mr Jenkins has shewn (*J.T.S.* vi 113) that many citations which the edition puts down to Origen are, in the MS from which the text was taken, correctly ascribed to Chrysostom.

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In the result it must be admitted that the catenae on St Matthew, or at any rate such of them as are yet printed, contribute rather little to an exact knowledge of Origen's exegesis. The very meaning of a catena was to be *multum in parvo*, to summarize in handy form the best exegetical matter of different writers and different schools: and no one lent himself less easily to such a system than Origen, who beyond all others was accustomed, as Jerome phrases it in the prologue to his translation of Origen on Ezekiel, to 'spread the full sails of his genius to the favouring winds'. With other writers the value of catenae will be greater: but in the case of Origen there will be too much reason to fear that the selections of one Catenist may have been abbreviated by another and perhaps epitomized by a third, until the original, if we had it, might be barely discernible in the quotations that profess to represent it.

Besides catenae and similar fragments professing to be quoted directly from Origen, it must be borne in mind that a large amount of Origenian matter is preserved in later commentators, especially in Western writers such as St Hilary, St Ambrose, and St Jerome. But in distinguishing this from other elements of a composite work, we have of course to rely, where the original is not extant, only on internal criteria.

4. **Theodore, bishop of Heraclea-Perinthus** in Thrace from before 341 till his death *circa* 355–358: said to have been a pupil of Lucian of Antioch, therefore before 311, the year of Lucian's martyrdom: a leader of the moderate Arian party, one of the earliest and ablest exegetes of the Antiochene school, and perhaps the first of all Christian exegetes whose work was devoted mainly to the New Testament. Of the books of the Old Testament, he wrote on the Psalms; of those of the New, on St Matthew, St John, and 'the Apostle'. Jerome, *de viris* 90, praises the clearness of his style and his historical intelligence—qualities, of course, specially characteristic of the great Antiochene expositors. Theodoret, *H. E.* ii 3, places his 'remarkable eloquence' and his 'interpretation of the divine Gospels' in immediate connexion with the influence which, as bishop of an important see in the near neighbourhood of the capital, he exercised in the Arian direction over the mind of the emperor Constantius. Of all these New Testament commentaries nothing remains outside the catenae. The whole of the large Arian literature of the fourth century has disappeared with such minute exceptions, that it is extraordinarily difficult to recreate for ourselves even in imagination the chronicles, the histories, the commentaries, which, no less than works which were primarily theological, fell under the ban of heretical authorship, and disappeared in course of time simply because no one would any longer be at the pains of copying them. It was only in selections, where care could be taken to supervise the

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doctrinal innocency of the parts selected, that heretical writings could ultimately hope to survive: as St Cyril of Alexandria puts it, with no less wisdom than charity, *οὐ πάντα ὅσα λέγουσιν οἱ αἱρετικοὶ φεύγειν καὶ παραιτεῖσθαι χρή, πολλὰ γὰρ ὁμολογοῦσιν ὧν καὶ ἡμεῖς ὁμολογοῦμεν.* In days when the increasing sensitiveness of Byzantine orthodoxy was closing all ordinary avenues of circulation to the writings of many even of those who had died in full communion with the Church, the catenae still kept a half-open door for Origen and Theodore of Heraclea and Eusebius of Emesa and Apollinaris of Laodicea and Diodore of Tarsus and Didymus of Alexandria and Theodore of Mopsuestia.

Of the printed catenae on St Matthew Possinus contains twenty-three quotations under the name of Theodore of Heraclea, Corderius only two, Cramer thirty-seven.[1] And even in the estimate of these few quotations the usual deductions necessary for catenae must be made. Thus, four are common to Possinus and Cramer, but in each case considerable differences exist between the two forms of text. In one of them, the exposition of the parable of the Talents (Matt. xxv 14–30 = Possinus 338, Cramer 210), the advantage lies on the side of Cramer[2]; in the comment on the feeding of the 4000 (Matt. xv 33 ff = Possinus 225, Cramer 128) Possinus, though the shorter, is by far the more intelligible; upon the 'abomination of desolation' (Matt. xxiv 15 = Possinus 317, Cramer 196) the two catenae if not inconsistent are at any rate divergent, the fuller statement in Possinus being also the more probable; while for the fourth we have to choose between the authorship of Theodore (Possinus) and Apollinaris (Cramer) for an exposition, verbally identical in the two catenae, of the 'temple and the gold in the temple' (Matt. xxiii 16 = Possinus 307, Cramer 189).[3] A further and special risk of confusion attaches to the name Theodore: besides Theodore of Heraclea the catenae cite both Theodore of Mopsuestia (also called Theodore of Antioch) and Theodore the Monk. Thus if we find, in a comment on Matt. iv 4, given by Cramer p. 25 under the name of our Theodore, the words *ἀρραβών ἐστι καὶ τῆς μελλούσης καταστάσεως ὅπερ ἤρξατο ἐν Χριστῷ*, it is impossible not to suspect that the

[1] One of Cramer's quotations, p. 176, has, besides the name of Theodore, the special heading *περὶ τῶν καλουμένων εἰς τὸν γάμον* (Matt. xxii 2). But the quotation consists actually of a summary explanation of the parable of the Vineyard and the Husbandmen, Matt. xxi 33, and appears therefore to have been misplaced in the MSS, so that all reason for conjecturing the existence of some special source other than Theodore's *Commentary*, such as a Homily on the Wedding-Guests, disappears.

[2] In the exposition of this parable Chrysostom appears to follow Theodore of Heraclea.

[3] There is little doubt that Cramer is here right with Apollinaris, for, as it happens, he has already given a comment from Theodore of Heraclea on the passage.

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true author is Theodore of Mopsuestia, with whom no idea is more common than that of the two *καταστάσεις*, the *παροῦσα* and the *μέλλουσα*, and the 'commencement' of the second in the earthly life of the Lord Christ. Perhaps too the exegesis of the *τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου* (Matt. xxvi 26 = Possinus 349) may be thought to be wrongly ascribed to our Theodore, since it employs the phrase *μεταποιούμενον εἰς σάρκα καὶ αἷμα τοῦ κυρίου*. Gregory of Nyssa, as is well known, uses *μεταποιεῖν*: but if the catena comment is really from Theodore of Heraclea, the use of this language is taken a generation further back.

Two of the catena fragments, if they are rightly attributed, shew clear trace of the influence upon Theodore of Origen. Perhaps the earlier Antiochenes were not so personally antagonistic as their successors to the great Alexandrine, and there are departments of Gospel exegesis, such as in particular the exegesis of the parables, where the antinomy of the literal and the allegorical had less play than elsewhere: and of course Origen was not always allegorical. Anyhow both Origen and Theodore on Matt. x 23 (= Cramer 78. 14, 26) explain that the 'coming of the Son of Man' is not the final return in glory but that in which He shews Himself 'from time to time' to the Saints: and in the parable of the Vineyard and the Husbandmen (Matt. xxi 33–41 = de la Rue iii 772, Gallandi xiv appendix 78 = Cramer 176) the resemblance is so close that it might even be thought that the ascription to Theodore in Cramer is a mistake for Origen. An allegorizer after the Alexandrine fashion Theodore of course was not: what he has borrowed from Origen is plain straightforward stuff. If we except the undoubted comment on Matt. xxiii 16, where the putting of the gold above the temple is explained as an *αἴνιγμα* of the preference of the Jews for Moses over Christ, Theodore is on the whole a strict adherent of the literal sense. Even where numbers are concerned—the greatest of all temptations to allegory—such as the 'fourth watch' of Matt. xiv 25 or the 'twelve apostles' of Matt. x 2 (Possinus 134, 211), he refuses to launch out into the deep; the number and names of the apostles were exactly recorded, he tells us, simply in order that the faithful might have a criterion at hand whereby to distinguish true apostles from false. Other interesting notes are those on Matt. i 18 (Poss. 12); ii 15 (Poss. 30: the quotation is referred to Num. xxiii 22); v 42 (Poss. 78); x 34–36 (Poss. 148); x 42 (Cr. 82); xii 20, 21 (Cr. 92); xv 32 (Cr. 127); xviii 8 (Poss. 252: the offending hand or foot are offending members of the Church); xix 9 (Cr. 151), *ὥσπερ γὰρ ἄτοπον τὸ ἐκβάλλειν τὴν σώφρονα, οὕτω τὸ* [Cramer unintelligently *τε*] *κατέχειν μοιχαλίδα ἀσεβές, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον εἰς Σολομῶνα.*

Just enough then still survives to give us some idea of the standpoint and method of the earliest and not least capable of the expositors of the

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historical school. Obviously Theodore was a clear, succinct, sensible commentator, free from the faults (if we ought not rather to call them the merits) alike of Origen and of his own namesake of Mopsuestia. It is not likely that his Arianizing belief seriously affected the value of his expositions, at any rate of the Gospel of St Matthew; and their loss is greatly to be regretted.

5. **Apollinaris** (or **Apollinarius**), **bishop of Laodicea** in Syria and eponymous author of the Apollinarian heresy, died, apparently in possession of his bishopric, *circa* A. D. 390. St Jerome, in the *de viris* 104, speaks of him as 'in sanctas scripturas innumerabilia scribens volumina' but is silent about his doctrines: in his eighty-fourth epistle (A. D. 400) he says more expressly still 'Apollinarium Laodicenum Antiochiae frequenter audivi et colui,[1] et cum me in sanctis scripturis erudiret numquam illius contentiosum super sensu dogma suscepi'. Whatever Jerome's faults, lack of gratitude to his teachers was not among them: and no doubt Apollinaris's services in resistance to the long dominant Arianism of the East inclined Jerome, as it inclined Athanasius, to an indulgent estimate of his teaching. But while the Catholics of Egypt and the West were thus kindly disposed to Apollinaris, the school of Antioch, Catholics and Arians alike, cherished a special resentment against the theological conceptions which took their name from him: the bias of Theodore of Mopsuestia, the system of Nestorius, were alike produced by reaction from it, and it was long before the anti-Cyrilline leaders, John of Antioch and Theodoret, could be persuaded that the Alexandrine emphasis on the formula of the Theotocos was not motived by an unavowed leaning to Apollinarianism. Thus it was just in his own district—Laodicea was close to Antioch, and it was actually at Antioch that Jerome heard him lecture—that the movement in his disfavour was strongest; moreover it was just in the sphere of exegesis that the school opposed to him held the field throughout the fifth century, while his own followers rather concentrated their efforts on the circulation of his doctrinal treatises, which for safety's sake they often placed under the shelter of names of admitted orthodoxy. Naturally therefore the commentaries of Apollinaris, whatever their intrinsic merit (and for that Jerome would alone be a sufficient guarantee), were doomed to early oblivion. Even the catenae—there is good reason to conjecture that catenae as a form of biblical literature developed first at Antioch—made but sparing use of him. Jerome, as we have seen, speaks of a commentary on St Matthew: but of the catenae on that Gospel, Possinus has only sixteen citations from him, Corderius

[1] Either in A. D. 374 or 379. For further detail of the use which Jerome made of Apollinaris's writings, see the preface to his commentary on the epistle to the Ephesians.

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none, Cramer eleven. Nevertheless, few as they are, they are of extraordinary interest. His comments on St Paul reveal him as on the whole an Antiochene rather than an Alexandrine exegete, in agreement with Theodore of Heraclea and Diodore against Didymus and Origen. Here on the Gospel we should perhaps rather place him midway between the two schools. If less diffusive than Origen, he has none of the succinctness of Theodore of Heraclea. Interest in the historical sense of the letter of scripture is subordinate to interest in the theology: compare the notes on prophecies (Matt. ii 18, viii 17, 29 = Possinus 32, 113, 119); on our Lord's reserve in working miracles (Matt. xiv 19, xvi 4 = Poss. 208, 227); on the Word as creator (Matt. xix 4 = Cr. 151 [in l. 20 read *πατρός* for *πρός*]); on the resurrection of the body (Matt. xxii 32 = Cr. 183); on chastity as a natural gift (Matt. xix 11 = Poss. 265), *τὸ δὲ οἷς δέδοται χαρισμάτων φυσικῶν ἐστὶ δηλωτικὸν καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ γεννήσεως εὐφυΐας εἰς τὸ τῆς σωφροσύνης κατόρθωμα*—a comment which Chrysostom appears to have directly in view when he writes *ad loc.*, *οἱ ἐκ φύσεως ἔχοντες τὴν σωφροσύνην ἄμισθοί εἰσιν*. Similar boldness characterizes his exegesis of Matt. i 16 (Poss. 10), on the sense in which Joseph can be rightly called 'father' of Christ both *κατὰ χάριν* and *κατὰ σάρκα*, or of Matt. xii 48 (Cr. 99: cf. Luc. ii 34, 35), the Mother herself 'spoke against' Christ 'for a time'. He does not shrink from contrasting (Matt. xxiii 16–19 = Cr. 189) the letter of the Gospel statement with the spiritual reality of the Christian dispensation, where the gold *is* greater than the temple and the gift than the altar, 'for the gold in the present spiritual temple of God is the Spirit itself, and the gift on the spiritual altar is the Body of Christ, *διόπερ τὰ ἐνόντα μείζονα νῦν ἢ τὰ δεχόμενα*, for it is the former that sanctify and the latter are sanctified by them'. Among other comments may be noted those on Matt. xii 19 (Poss. 170); xix 8, 9 (Cr. 151); xxv 24, 25 (Poss. 338); xxvii 5 (Cr. 231, *ll.* 11–13), where Papias is cited at some length for the fate of Judas.[1]

The Church historian Socrates must be speaking of a different work from the *Commentary*, when he tells us (*H. E.* iii 16) that under Julian Apollinaris 'published (*ἐξέθετο*) the Gospels and the Apostolic teaching in the form of Platonic' dialogues. The discourses in St John, and the epistle to the Romans, may have lent themselves to this manner of treatment, and the parallel cases cited in Socrates imply clearly that the biblical books themselves were rendered into classical form. It is hardly possible therefore to translate *ἐξέθετο* 'expounded', and to understand the reference to be to a *commentary* on the Gospels by way of

[1] The same passage is given, and again as from Apollinaris, in Cramer's catena on Acts p. 12: the source in both cases is no doubt the *Commentary* on St Matthew.

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question and answer: for in commentaries of that sort not the question but the answer is the really important thing, whereas the converse is the case with dialogues 'after the manner of Plato'.

6. **Didymus, presbyter of Alexandria** and head of the catechetical school, born about A. D. 309, died between 392 and 400. Few figures even among the churchmen of the fourth century present greater fascinations than the indefatigable scholar and theologian, who, in spite of total blindness from early childhood, mastered all the secular and sacred science of the day, and was appointed by Athanasius to the post that had been held by Clement and Origen. At the great catechetical school he numbered among his hearers both Jerome and Rufinus. It was to the exegesis of scripture that Didymus especially devoted himself: Palladius *Historia Lausiaca* § 4 tells us that he 'interpreted Old and New Testament phrase by phrase'; Jerome, *de viris* 109, after cataloguing some ten works, nearly all of them commentaries, adds that there were countless others 'quae digerere proprii indicis est', and the same writer in his prologue to the *Comm. in ep. ad Ephesios* says that he went to Alexandria to see Didymus and to question him on any points of doubt over the whole of the Scriptures. That a commentary on St Matthew was among his writings is made certain by Jerome's statement both in the *de viris* and in the *prol. ad Comm. in Matt.* Yet none of the printed catenae appear to have preserved any citations from it: another proof that to have been an Alexandrine and a follower of Origen entailed in the circles of catenists and scribes a more stringent ban than open Arianism or Apollinarianism or Nestorianism in the more favoured writers of Antioch.

C. H. TURNER.

'A NEW NAME' (NOT 'ANOTHER NAME'), ISAIAH LXV 15.

THE two readings in this passage (*καινόν* LXX, אַחֵר M.T.) present practically the same meaning. Indeed the fact that the LXX does represent a Hebrew variant has commonly been overlooked. Thus Mr Ottley writes: '*καινὸν* is not quite exact, but may have been meant to harmonize with ver. 17.' But *καινόν* is not a loose rendering. Elsewhere in Isaiah and throughout the whole of the LXX *καινός* invariably stands for חָדָשׁ, and presumably it does so here. Though the sense remains almost unaffected, whichever reading be adopted, the way in which the one reading seems to have been evolved out of the other is not without interest. The explanation here given elucidates moreover another small textual point in the context.

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The passage contains a contrast between the servants of the Lord and those that forsake the Lord. The latter are to leave their name for a curse unto the Lord's chosen: the formula of the curse which follows 'Then may the Lord God slay thee' is thought (Marti) to be a marginal gloss which has crept into the text. The passage proceeds:—

M.T. ולעבדיו יקרא שם אחר: אשר
המתברך בארץ יתברך באלהי אמן
והנשבע בארץ ישבע באלהי אמן

R.V. And he shall call his servants by *another name: so that*
he who blesseth himself in the earth shall bless himself in the God of truth;
and he that sweareth in the earth shall swear by the God of truth.

LXX τοῖς δὲ δουλεύουσί μοι κληθήσεται ὄνομα καινόν,
ὃ εὐλογηθήσεται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· εὐλογήσουσιν γὰρ τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἀληθινόν,
καὶ οἱ ὀμνύοντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὀμοῦνται τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἀληθινόν.

The LXX translator has gone astray at the beginning of the second line, but there is more than one indication that he was working upon a Hebrew text superior to the Massoretic. The context shews that his μοι is right: the insertion into the text of the words of the curse has no doubt, as Marti says, occasioned the alteration of the suffix into 'his' in the M.T. אשר, R.V. 'so that', is not wanted and is omitted as a prosaic gloss by the commentators, who compare Deut. xxxiii 29. They do not, however, give any reason for its insertion in this place. Here again, the text represented by the LXX is superior, for it has no equivalent for אשר. It is true that the Greek has a relative pronoun at this point, which it is natural to equate with אשר, but in reality it must correspond to the article in המתברך, which the translator has mistakenly interpreted as a *neuter* participle with passive meaning.

The origin of the M.T. reading is easily explained if it is permissible to suppose that the word שם, 'name', was, at one time in the course of the textual transmission, written with a final guttural in the form which became normal in later Aramaic—שמא. Though there are not wanting indications of Aramaic influence in the Hebrew text which lay before the Greek translators of Isaiah, we can hardly postulate quite so early a date for the spelling שמא, as the Biblical Aramaic keeps the biliteral form of the noun. The spelling might, however, conceivably have found its way into a text of the first century A.D. In the following century the M.T. reading is well established, being supported by Aquila

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and Symmachus. Granted the spelling שמא, the history of the corruption is easy to follow. The final א became attached to the following radicals, and the ד of חדש was, as so often, read as ר: אחר was thus produced, and the remaining ש was naturally interpreted as the common late Hebrew (or Aramaic) equivalent for the relative אשר. The stages in the textual history were thus:—

(1) שם חדש LXX
(2) שמא חדש
(3) שם אחר ש
(4) שם אחר אשר M.T.

The LXX phrase is that contained in both texts in the parallel passage, Isa. lxii 2.

H. St. J. Thackeray.

THE PROPHECY IN ISAIAH IX 1–7.

(*A reply to Dr Burney*)

Dr Burney in his criticism[1] of my article in *J. T. S.* vol. vii pp. 321 ff, entitled 'The Prophecy in Isaiah ix 1–7', makes some assertions which call for a reply.

In the first place it may be pointed out that a statement made in accordance with the opinion of one of the first Assyriologists in England, deliberately pronounced with reference to a case in point, would not usually be described as made 'on hearsay'. Since, however, the source of a statement is of small importance compared with its intrinsic probability, I may pass on to consider Dr Burney's remarks on this point. With reference to the word סָאוֹן, Dr Burney writes, 'It is not improbable that the word was ordinarily unused in Hebrew, and that Isaiah intentionally used the native word applied by the Assyrians to their military boots'. He maintains that '*sûnu* and סָאוֹן have no philological connexion whatsoever. The real Assyrian equivalent to סָאוֹן is the familiar *šênu*'. And in a later footnote he says, 'Here I assume that the operation of the law which governed the interchange of vowels was constant, and that Isaiah, hearing *šênu* (or more probably *šên*) pronounced, would reproduce it, not indeed by סָאוֹן as pronounced by the Massoretes, but by its original form *sa'n*, which appears to have been the nearest Hebrew equivalent'.

[1] *J. T. S.* April 1910 p. 438 ff.

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Here Dr Burney makes some assumptions which appear, to say the least, extremely arbitrary. In the face of such passages as Deut. xxviii 49, 2 Kings xviii 26 (leaving out of account the difficult passage Isa. xxviii 11), he asks us to believe that Isaiah not only possessed a knowledge of the Assyrian language, but a knowledge so extensive and intimate, that he was able to change an Assyrian word into the form which it would have possessed in Hebrew, if it had come down into the latter language from the speech of the parent Semitic stock. It is an absolutely unwarrantable assumption that a *loan-word*, taken over from living speech, would be so modified in the mouths of those who borrowed it. There are in modern English a number of words taken over from the French in recent times. Would it ever occur to any one to alter such words into the form which they would have had, if they had been brought over by William the Conqueror? If Isaiah himself was numbered among 'the students of Semitic philology', were the inhabitants of Jerusalem and the men of Judah generally equally enlightened? How were those who knew no Assyrian, and ordinarily, as Dr Burney thinks, did not use the root סאן, to know that when Isaiah said *sa'n*, or some such word, he meant the boot which the Assyrian soldiers called *šên*? Dr Burney, indeed, maintains that 'certain other words exist in Hebrew in which ס and not שׂ is the equivalent of Assyrian *š*, and that these all appear to be *loan-words* from the Assyrian or Babylonian'. But even on the assumption that this is correct, it does not prove that a Hebrew, hearing an Assyrian *š*, would necessarily reproduce it as an *s*. Moreover, we know that in the dialects of Palestine itself *š* and *s* were interchanged (cf. Judges xii 6). But the supposition that Isaiah reproduced an Assyrian *šên* by *sa'n* does not concern the pronunciation of the sibilants only. How, we may ask, did the prophet know that *šên* was derived ultimately from a root middle *aleph* and not middle *wāw*? Even if he knew the Assyrian equivalents of ראשׁ and צאן, why should he suppose that every Assyrian *ê* should have arisen out of an *aleph* preceded by a short *a*? The author of Isa. xlvi 1, who may be supposed to have had a much more extensive acquaintance with Assyrian or Babylonian than Isaiah had, writes בֵּל not בַּעַל. If, however, we might suppose, for the sake of argument, that Isaiah knew that the Assyrian boot was called *sûnu* or *sûn*, there would be little difficulty in supposing that he assumed the identity of this word with the more familiar Aramaic סָאנָא, which he might know in a literary form, and which would be recognized by many other people (cf. 2 Kings xviii 26). The evidence of Semitic philology is not therefore so conclusive as Dr Burney represents it.[1]

[1] It is to be noticed that Dr Burney's assumption that סָאנָא originally as written by Isaiah was pronounced *sa'n* requires us to suppose that the later form סאן was still later modified into סָאנָא on the analogy of שְׂאֵת for שְׂאת. This artificial

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But the exact derivation of סָאוֹן is of little importance, since Dr Burney agrees with me that, like the Syriac ܣܐܢ, ܣܐ, to which it bears such a suspicious resemblance, it means *boot*. I may therefore pass on to consider Dr Burney's further remarks. It is satisfactory to find that he agrees with me that רַעַשׁ here means *noise*. But in discussing the meaning of the participle סֹאֵן he is scarcely consistent. If, as he states, 'there exists in Assyrian a verb *šênu* (another point of connexion with Isa. ix 4); and the passages in which it occurs seem to demand the sense *to put on boots or sandals* (as in Syriac and Ethiopic),' and if 'upon this analogy סֹאֵן should mean "one wearing boots"', why cannot סֹאֵן בְּרַעַשׁ mean, as I translate it, 'one noisily booted', i. e. one whose boots make a noise?[1] Why, if the word רַעַשׁ be translated 'noise', 'must we *conjecture* that the verb סאן can mean "to march in boots"'? If, as Dr Burney maintains, we are to think 'not of the tramp of a single soldier, but of the measured march of a well-disciplined army', the use of the singular is inexplicable. It must not be forgotten that Hebrew possesses a word which means 'to march'.

I may point out that I have never denied that the Assyrians wore boots. My assertion is that we have no proof that heavily-nailed boots, if they existed, 'were the ordinary equipment of the Assyrians, who in the eighth century B. C. are frequently represented as shod merely with a sort of sandal turned up at the heel or even barefoot'. I am acquainted with the representations of the soldiers of Sennacherib wearing boots half-way up the leg, to which Dr Burney refers. I do not, indeed, know of any as early as the time of Tiglath Pileser, though I do not deny the possibility that they may have been worn at this time; but even if this should prove to have been the case, it would not destroy the force of my contention that the boots of the Assyrian soldiers *in general* were not, as far as we know, sufficiently remarkable to be singled out from all their other equipment, in order to denote a soldier. I may again call attention to the fact that in a passage of which there is no reason to doubt the Isaianic authorship (v 27) the boot (or shoe) of the Assyrian is called a נַעַל.

But inasmuch as I have never based my main argument for the Maccabaean date of Isa. ix 1–7 on the translation of סָאוֹן סֹאֵן בְּרַעַשׁ, regarding the rendering of this phrase which I have adopted only as a further confirmation of what, I have maintained, can be established on

shifting of the vowel, however, appears to belong to the Masoretic age, i.e. the age of the introduction of the vowel points, whereas in this case the *consonantal* spelling implies the pronunciation *s^{e}'ón*.

[1] By boots which make a noise we must surely understand what would usually be described as *heavy* boots, boots with heavy soles. *Creaking* boots are surely not to be thought of! The epithet *noisy* certainly is more applicable to nailed soles than to soles composed simply of leather.

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other grounds, I may pass on to Dr Burney's remarks about the history. In his opinion 'the most obvious explanation of the phrase, "the district of the nations"', is 'that this northern district was so named *from the time of Israel's earliest occupation of Canaan*, because the foreign element, from the first, largely predominated over the Israelite. Judges i 30–33 (J) claims no conquests for Zebulon, Asher, and Naphtali, but tells us, on the contrary, that they failed to expel the inhabitants of certain specified cities, and settled down among them. The same reference to this foreign element is found in חֲרֹשֶׁת הַגּוֹיִם, "Harosheth of the nations", mentioned as the home of Sisera in Judges iv 2, 13, 16; a locality which, whether it corresponds to the modern el-Haritîye, on the right bank of the lower Kishon, or is to be looked for further north, would in any case fall within the district denoted by הַגָּלִיל'. But unless Dr Burney maintains that Judges iv is older than 722 B.C., in which few modern students of the Old Testament will agree with him, this latter part of his argument is of no force. I am not aware that any one nowadays affirms that Galilee was ever Israelite to the same extent as, for example, Ephraim; but it is surely an unwarrantable assumption that all through the period of the Israelite monarchy the inhabitants of Galilee remained so distinct from those accounted Israelites that the region was known as 'the district of the nations'.

Dr Burney's explanation of the fact that Isaiah ignored the crushing blow which came upon Samaria in 722 is 'the relatively simple one that this had not occurred when he wrote'!

But if, as he maintains, this passage was composed by Isaiah *before* 722, what, we may well ask, was the great deliverance which the land had experienced? It will be generally admitted that an Imperfect with *Wāw* Consecutive is not the natural sequence after a Prophetic Perfect, but after an historic tense. The use of the Imperfect with *Wāw* Consecutive in וַיִּקְרָא and וַתְּהִי is an indication, as I have maintained (p. 336), that the Perfects which these words follow are *real* Perfects, that is, *they relate to events already accomplished.* The natural inference from the use of the tenses is that the writer *looks back at those actions expressed by the Perfects*, and forward to their effects still future. To what great light given to the inhabitants of Galilee did Isaiah *look back* at some date before 722? What had then happened which could be described as the breaking of the yoke of the oppressor, and which led to the hope that the equipment of the foreign soldiers would be burnt? Who, we may well ask, is the 'son' that *had already been given* to the nation? If, on Dr Burney's hypothesis of the date of this passage, Isaiah had Hezekiah in view, and if Hezekiah had already succeeded to the throne, which is doubtful, there is yet no evidence that the Assyrian empire was shaken by his succession, nor is there the faintest

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hint in the Old Testament or elsewhere that between 734 and 722 anything happened which would have led Isaiah to imagine that his country *had actually recovered independence.*

R. H. KENNETT.

FOUR AND SEVEN AS DIVINE TITLES.

THE following conclusions were reached after an investigation of the meaning of the name Ḳiriath-Arbaʿ, which is stated (Gen. xxiii 2, xxxv 27; Joshua xiv 15, xv 13, 54, xx 7, xxi 11 all P; Judges i 10 R^{p}) to have been the ancient name of Hebron. In the main they have already been anticipated by Prof. Winckler[1]; but since I fail to find even a bare allusion to such an explanation in recent works which deal with the interpretation of Ḳiriath-Arbaʿ, it seems worth while to state the arguments which appear to me to offer a practical demonstration of the meaning of this name, as also of others.

Ignoring, as we may do, the conjecture of the priestly writer that Arbaʿ was 'the greatest man among the ʿAnaḳim' (Joshua xiv 15), or 'the father of ʿAnaḳ' (Joshua xv 13, xxi 11),[2] we naturally interpret Ḳiriath Arbaʿ as 'City of Four'. Modern commentators exhibit a unanimity in explaining this enigmatic title as Tetrapolis, fourfold city, or city of four kindred or confederate tribes. Dr Skinner, in his recent commentary on Genesis, even goes so far as to say that 'the name means "four cities"'. Such an explanation is purely conjectural, and lacks the support of a particle of evidence. I cannot help thinking that, in adopting it, scholars have been influenced consciously or unconsciously, by the possibility that the name Hebron may denote 'league' or 'association'. Yet the fact that the city formerly called Ḳiriath Arbaʿ was afterwards renamed Hebron should tell in favour of diversity, rather than similarity, of meaning in the two names.

In thinking over the problem, the first idea that occurred to me was a comparison of the Assyrian Arbela between the Upper and the Lower

[1] *Geschichte Israels* ii pp. 39 ff.

[2] Prof. Moore has shewn that the original text in each of these passages was probably 'the metropolis (אֵם) of ʿAnaḳ', which was altered owing to later misunderstanding: *Judges* p. 25.

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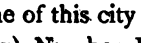
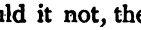
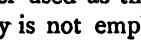
Zab. The name of this city is written in cuneiform  (*alu*) *Arba' ilu*, 'city) Number Four God'. That is to say, the numeral Four is here employed as a divine name or title. This is beyond question. Would it not, then, apart from further evidence, be at least very probable that in Ḳiriath Arba', 'City of Number Four', the numeral is in like manner used as the title of a God, even though the specific symbol of Deity is not employed in the Hebrew as in the Assyrian? But further evidence is abundantly forthcoming. One thinks at once of the Beth Arbel (בֵּית אַרְבֵּאל) of Hosea x 14, perhaps situated near Pella on the east of Jordan. Here we have the name Arba'-ilu taken apparently directly from the Assyrian or Babylonian, since the ע of the Hebrew אַרְבַּע is wanting. Turning to Prof. Winckler's *Geschichte*, I find that he adopts this explanation of Ḳiriath Arba', and further explains Beer Sheba' in like manner as 'Well of Number Seven God'. Thus new light is thrown upon the subject. A God *Sibitti*, i. e. 'Number Seven', was known to the Babylonians at the period of the First Dynasty. Thus, for example, we find such names as  Arad- (ilu) Sibittim, 'servant of (God) Sibitti'.[1]

The meaning of Four and Seven as divine titles is elucidated by the well-known fact that the name of Sin, the Moon-god, is commonly written in cuneiform  , i. e. 'God Number Thirty', thirty days being the conventional length of the lunar month. It can scarcely be doubted that, as Prof. Winckler thinks, Four and Seven represent different aspects of the Moon-god, the former the four phases of the moon, the latter the seven-day week as a lunar quarter.[2] If it be questioned whether the worship of *Sibitti* extended to the West, then it may be remembered that, in the list of kings of the West whom Tiglath-Pileser III mentions as paying tribute, the king of Gebal bears the name of Sibittibi'li, i. e. 'Number Seven is lord'.[3]

Surely, then, we are justified in explaining Bath-Sheba' as 'daughter of Number Seven', Eli-Sheba', 'God is Number Seven', and, most important and interesting of all, Jeho-Sheba', 'Yahwe is Number Seven'. If this be so, we have definite corroboration of a conclusion to which many indications seem to point, viz. that Yahwe was in origin identical with the Moon-god.

I may claim, in the evidence here brought together, confirmation of two inferences I drew two years ago in my article entitled 'A Theory of the Development of Israelite Religion in Early Times'

[1] Thureau-Dangin *Lettres et Contrats de l'époque de la première dynastie Babylonienne* No. 15. Cf. further references in Jastrow *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* i p. 173.

[2] *Op. cit.* p. 48.

[3] Cf. Rost *Tiglath-Pileser* p. 27.

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(*J. T. S.* ix pp. 321 ff); firstly that 'the Yahwe of Abraham was originally connected with the deity Sin', and secondly (as witnessed by the antiquity of the names Ḳiriath 'Arba, Beer Sheba', and their association with the Patriarchs), that this Deity was known and worshipped in Canaan prior to the settlement there of the tribes of Israel.

C. F. BURNEY.

ASTRONOMICAL EVIDENCE FOR THE DATE OF THE CRUCIFIXION.

IN the *Journal of Philology* xxix (1903) pp. 100–118, I discussed the date of the crucifixion from the point of view of technical and astronomical chronology. A discussion of the same question, partly based on my article, was contributed by Dr Bacon under the title of *Lucan versus Johannine Chronology* to the *Expositor*, Seventh Series iii (1907) pp. 206–220. In both articles it is maintained that the beginning of each Jewish month was determined empirically, and both articles depend on calculations, made by me, of the first appearance of the moon in every month which can possibly be regarded as the month of the crucifixion. In my article I expressed regret that there was no table in existence, shewing the depression of the sun below the horizon at moonset, or the altitude of the moon above the horizon at sunset, necessary to render the moon visible to the naked eye, and, in the absence of exact data, I fell back upon a vague rule given by Hevelius. Since then I have made an investigation of seventy observations of the visibility or invisibility of the young moon, made for the most part by Julius Schmidt at Athens and published in August Mommsen's *Chronologie* (1883) pp. 69–80. My discussion of these observations will be found in *Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society* lxx (1910) pp. 527–531. In this paper I found that the conditions of visibility may be expressed in terms of the difference in true azimuth and true altitude of the sun and moon at sunset, and I tabulated my conclusion as follows:—

True Difference in Azimuth at Sunset.	Minimum True Altitude of Moon at Sunset to be visible same evening.
°	°
0	12·0
5	11·9
10	11·4
15	11·0
20	10·0
23	7·7

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This solution is independent of differences in latitude, but not necessarily of differences in the clearness of the air between one place and another. The striking uniformity of the Athenian observations suggested, however, that the problem is almost purely astronomical, and not atmospheric. Happily, the same problem engaged the attention of Maimonides,[1] who, though silent as to the observations on which his conclusions rest, gives a detailed rule for determining the date of the first visibility of the moon in Palestine. The result, according to his theory, depends partly on the true elongation or difference in true longitude between sun and moon, and partly on the apparent angle of vision at the moment when the moon might be expected to appear. This moment is, according to him, on an average twenty minutes after sunset. By the angle of vision he appears to mean the apparent difference in zenith distance between sun and moon.

Maimonides's conclusion may be summarized as follows:—If the angle of vision exceeds 11°, the moon is visible; if the angle of vision is between 10° and 11°, the moon is only visible if the elongation exceeds 12°; if the angle of vision is between 9° and 10°, the moon is only visible if the elongation exceeds 13°; if the angle of vision is less than 9°, the moon is only visible if the elongation exceeds 24°.

Converting this rule to the form in which I have expressed mine, I get:—

True Difference in Azimuth at Sunset.	Minimum True Altitude of Moon at Sunset to be visible same evening.
°	°
0	11·8
5	11·3
10	9·7
15	9·7
20	9·7
23	7·3

There is no reason for doubting that the rule given by Maimonides is the result of trustworthy observations. By making a leap of a degree at a time, it gives a somewhat discontinuous result, and therefore cannot be pressed in detail, but it appears to shew that the conditions of observation are slightly more favourable at Jerusalem than at Athens. Maimonides also gives rules for computing the moon's elongation and angle of vision, but they are very inaccurate compared with the methods of modern astronomy.

[1] In his treatise on the Sanctification of the New Moon, translated into German, with astronomical comments, by von Littrow in *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie*, Math.-Naturw. Classe, lxvi (1872) Abth. ii pp. 459-480.

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The following table shews the true altitude of the moon at sunset and the true difference in azimuth of sun and moon at sunset at Jerusalem for the first two sunsets after the new moon of Nisan in each of the years, 26–35 A.D. In the case of 26 and 29 I have computed for two different new moons, as there may be some doubt as to the identity of the new moon of Nisan in those years. The table also shews on which evenings the moon ought to be visible according to my formula, and on which days of the year and week Nisan 14 ought to fall.

A.D.	Day.	Moon's Altitude at Sunset.	Difference of Azimuth at Sunset.	Result.	Day.	Moon's Altitude at Sunset.	Difference of Azimuth at Sunset.	Result.	Date of Nisan 14.
		°	°			°	°		
26	Mar. 8	10·7	4·8	Invisible;	Mar. 9	23·9	8·3	Visible	Sa., Mar. 23
26	Apr. 6	5·9	5·4	Invisible;	Apr. 7	18·6	8·3	Visible	Su., Apr. 21
27	Mar. 27	10·7	6·6	Invisible;	Mar. 28	23·6	9·1	Visible	F., Apr. 11
28	Mar. 15	6·3	5·9	Invisible;	Mar. 16	17·6	8·0	Visible	Tu., Mar. 30
29	Mar. 4	5·6	6·0	Invisible;	Mar. 5	15·9	8·4	Visible	Sa., Mar. 19
29	Apr. 3	9·4	5·9	Invisible;	Apr. 4	20·4	7·3	Visible	M., Apr. 18
30	Mar. 23	9·3	5·4	Invisible;	Mar. 24	20·3	6·5	Visible	F., Apr. 7
31	Mar. 12	8·0	4·9	Invisible;	Mar. 13	19·9	6·0	Visible	Tu., Mar. 27
32	Mar. 30	10·2	3·0	Invisible;	Mar. 31	25·6	3·1	Visible	M., Apr. 14
33	Mar. 19	2·8	0·9	Invisible;	Mar. 20	16·8	1·5	Visible	F., Apr. 3
34	Mar. 9	10·1	4·5	Invisible;	Mar. 10	21·3	1·2	Visible	W., Mar. 24
35	Mar. 28	7·1	2·6	Invisible;	Mar. 29	20·9	1·6	Visible	Tu., Apr. 12

There is a certain amount of dispute among astronomers about the correct values for some of the constants used in the above computation. I have endeavoured to select the best constants in each case, but no set of constants would give altitudes differing by so much as 0°·2 from mine, and the correction to the difference of azimuth would be much more minute.

It will be observed that in each instance the moon lies well on one side or other of the dividing line between 'Visible' and 'Invisible', as given in my summary table; there can, therefore, be little doubt that, except where the first appearance was delayed by clouds, it took place on the day specified above. On 27 March 27 the moon would, it is true, lie just on the dividing line which I have deduced from Maimonides's rule, although she stands one degree below the line as resulting from the Athenian observations. But, as suggested above, the line deduced from Maimonides appears to require smoothing, in which case the moon would be invisible on that date according to his rule as well as according to that deduced from the Athenian observations.

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A comparison of the above table with the figures that I published tentatively in the *Journal of Philology* will shew that in six instances, viz. 28, 29 twice, 30, 31, and 33, I formerly placed the first appearance of the moon one day too late. On the other hand, Wurm, who was content to allow a minimum interval of thirty-six hours between new moon and first appearance, was in error in six instances only.[1] Salmon,[2] who is followed by Mr Turner,[3] allowed a minimum interval of thirty hours, which should have given him an erroneous date in the year 33 only. But he saves this error by quoting two alternative dates for that year. While it is clear that in my former paper I attached too much weight to causes other than the age of the moon, it is also clear that Salmon's success with a calculation based on age alone was largely a matter of luck. Thus the moon of 34 March 9 was new three hours later in the day than the moon of 29 March 4, yet it had an altitude of 10°·1 as against 5°·6 at the following sunset, and of 21°·3 as against 15°·9 at the sunset of the evening on which it would be visible for the first time. The moon of 34 March 9 would in fact be visible in the latitude of Jerusalem, though in another longitude, about sixteen hours after it was new, while the moon of 29 March 4 would take thirty hours to reach an equally favourable position. But as the appearance at Jerusalem could not take place till just after sunset, the moon of 34 would actually be thirty-six hours old and that of 29 thirty-nine hours old when first seen. In this way both appear to obey the rule that the moon becomes visible at the first sunset not less than thirty hours after new moon.

It will be observed that if Nisan began on the evening on which the moon ought astronomically to have become visible for the first time, there is not one of the years under discussion in which Nisan 14 would fall on a Thursday, so that it would appear impossible for the crucifixion to have taken place on Nisan 15, as the synoptic gospels seem to imply. This date can only be saved, either by placing the first appearance of the moon in 27 on March 27, a date, which, as has been seen, is on the margin of possibility according to Maimonides's rule, if pressed literally, or by assuming that the moon was obstructed by clouds on 34 March 10, and that Nisan in consequence did not begin till the following evening. In order to render this possible it would be necessary to assume that the first appearance in the previous month was on February 9, for, if it were on February 8, the thirtieth day of Adar would close on the evening of March 10, and no Jewish month was permitted to contain more than thirty days. The moon appears to have narrowly failed to be visible

[1] See his paper in Bengel's *Archiv für die Theologie* ii (1817) p. 293.
[2] *Introduction to the New Testament* (1894) pp. 255–257.
[3] *Dictionary of the Bible* (1898) p. 411.

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on February 8, its altitude at sunset being 11°·0 with a difference of azimuth of 4°·2. It is therefore quite permissible to assume that clouds may have delayed the beginning of Nisan till the evening of March 11. If, however, 27 and 34 are both impossible on historical grounds, the synoptist date for the crucifixion will have to be abandoned.

St John's date (Nisan 14) fares much better. Here the figures give us a Friday for Nisan 14 in each of the years 27, 30, and 33. No other year can, however, be added to this list, if we maintain that the beginning of the month was determined empirically. I am pleased to find that Dr Bacon's date, 30 April 7, is now confirmed astronomically.

I should like to take this opportunity of making a few corrections and additions to my former paper. On p. 102 ll. 27, 28 of my article in the *Journal of Philology* the words 'visible' and 'invisible' should be interchanged. I should also like to abandon my reference to the Magdeburg Centuriators. The documents which they used are probably spurious, and the argument in support of which they are cited can do without their assistance.

On the general question of the empirical character of the Jewish calendar, I have met no evidence to lead me to modify the view I adopted on the authority of the Mishna, and it gains additional support from the Κήρυγμα Πέτρου, cited by Dr Bacon. I was at that time unaware that the Egyptian Arabs had employed a purely empirical calendar for civil life till the time of Mehemet Ali. The Elephantine papyri have brought to our knowledge a calendar used by the south-Egyptian Jews in the fifth century B.C. in which the months are made to begin, not at the first appearance of the moon, but at the sunset immediately following the mean new moon.[1] This could only be obtained by calculation, but we cannot argue from the Egyptian Jews of the fifth century B.C. to the Palestinian Jews of the first century A.D. The same papyri seem to shew an irregular intercalation, and in this respect the Jews of our Lord's time seem to have resembled their Egyptian prototypes. Sometimes the rule which I cited[2] from *Arachin* ii 2 is used as an argument to prove that the Jews did not entirely dispense with calendar rules, but it merely expresses the result of the two simple rules that no month was to have less than twenty-nine or more than thirty days, and that it was to be determined by observation which of these lengths a particular month should have.

Mr Turner's suggestion,[3] that the calendar rule limiting Adar to twenty-nine days may go back to the time of our Lord, deserves, perhaps, a fuller treatment than I gave it in my former article.[4] As I there

[1] See *Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society* lxix (1908) pp. 12–20.
[2] *Journal of Philology* xxix p. 102.
[3] *Ubi supra*, p. 412.
[4] pp. 103, 104, 115.

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stated, this rule is unknown to the Mishna. I may add that it is equally unknown to the Jerusalem Talmud and the Tosefta, but the Babylonian Talmud cites it as the opinion of some rabbis as old as the third century A. D. The only reason assigned for such a rule by its advocates mentioned in the Babylonian Talmud is the same as that suggested by Mr Turner,[1] that the Jews of the dispersion might know on what day the new month was commencing in Jerusalem. This difficulty would be most seriously felt in the months of Nisan and Tishri which contained the most solemn days of the Jewish calendar, and in particular at the festival of the new year which fell on the first day of Tishri, and which might easily have to be celebrated before news could come from Jerusalem announcing the sanctification of the new moon. The Mishna is not unaware of this difficulty, and mentions some rules adopted for the benefit of the Jews of the dispersion. Beacons were lit and afterwards messengers were sent to announce the new moon. Nisan, Elul, and Tishri were all among the months when messengers were dispatched at the date of the Mishna.[2] The messengers in Nisan are said to have been sent for the sake of the passover, those in Elul for the sake of the new year, and those in Tishri to fix the other holy days (apparently the day of atonement and the feast of tabernacles). It will be observed that this left open a little uncertainty about the date of the new year festival, as the Jews away from Jerusalem had only the Elul and not the Tishri new moon to guide them. The messengers do not appear to have gone beyond Syria, though the beacons which were used at an earlier date carried the news as far as Babylonia. The more distant Jews might in consequence be in doubt not only of the correct date for the new year's festival, but of the dates of the feasts of passover and tabernacles as well. A simple device for remedying the difficulty is mentioned in the Mishnaic tract *Erubin*,[3] where R. Judah is quoted as authorizing the doubling of the new year's festival where uncertainty exists as to the duration of Elul.

Such a rule, though devised for the convenience of the Jews of the dispersion, was capable of very inconvenient expansion. We learn from both Talmuds that some of the more zealous went the length of doubling the fast of the atonement when uncertain as to the length of Elul, and the father of Samuel b. R. Isaac is said to have died in consequence of this prolonged fast.[4]

[1] p. 411.
[2] *Rosh ha-Shana* i 3, 4.
[3] iii 7, 8.
[4] See the Jerusalem Talmud on *Rosh ha-Shana*, in *Talmud de Jérusalem*, &c. Schwab vi (1883) p. 68.

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But the difficulty affected the Babylonian Jews more than those of Palestine, and hence it is only in the Babylonian Talmud that we read of the less laborious solution mentioned by Mr Turner. Here[1] we find it vehemently asserted by certain rabbis belonging partly to Babylonia and partly to Palestine, and denied with equal vehemence by others, that Elul could never contain more than 29 days, and that either the Adar followed by Nisan or even both Adars in an intercalary year were similarly limited, though the duration of the other months was by universal consent to be determined by observation. R. Ḥanina b. Kahana even asserted on the authority of Rabh that, since the time of Ezra, Elul had never had more than 29 days. In a like vein R. Simai testified in the name of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi that each of the Adars might be either twenty-nine or thirty days in length. Both sides declared that the custom of the diaspora supported their view of the length of Adar. Whatever the theory may have been, there are several instances quoted in the Babylonian Talmud where Elul was actually given thirty days. It is therefore not surprising that what appears to have been the older expedient should also have received an expansion. R. Zera is said to have proposed in the name of R. Naḥman to double the feast of the passover, and R. Johanan finally gave orders to double the festivals both in Nisan and in Tishri. The doubling of the festivals and the limitation of the duration of the preceding month would appear to be in the nature of things alternatives, each of which rendered the other unnecessary. It is therefore not a little remarkable that Jewish scrupulosity should have ultimately adopted both expedients.

The doctrine that Adar should only contain twenty-nine days would appear from the names cited in its favour to date from the third century, but in view of (1) the silence of the Palestinian authorities, (2) the opposition which, as the Babylonian Talmud proves, this doctrine had to encounter in the third and fourth centuries, and (3) the appearance at least as early as the second century of a rival solution to the difficulty which this doctrine was devised to meet, it seems to me impossible to hold that this disputed doctrine of the third century A. D. represents a recognized calendar rule of the first century. I continue therefore to accept the statement of the Mishna that a thirtieth day was always assigned to a month when the moon failed to make her appearance at the end of the twenty-ninth day.

If such a rule as Mr Turner contemplates could have existed, it would convert those Saturday dates for Nisan 14, which follow a thirty-day Adar into Friday dates, and those Friday dates which follow a

[1] *Rosh ha-Shana* 19b–21a. See *Der Babylonische Talmud* ed. Lazarus Goldschmidt iii (1899) pp. 343–347.

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thirty-day Adar into Thursday dates. I insert *ex abundanti cautela* the results of this hypothesis. On 26 Feb. 7 the moon had at sunset a true altitude of 15°·9 and a difference of azimuth of 5°·6, while on 29 Feb. 3 she had a true altitude at sunset of 12°·5 and a difference of azimuth of 8°·6. The moon could easily be visible on both these evenings, and therefore the rule limiting Adar would, if it had existed, have made Nisan begin on the evenings of 26 March 8 and 29 March 4 respectively, always supposing that these dates do not fall too long before the vernal equinox to be possible dates for Nisan. This would give Friday, March 22, for Nisan 14 in 26, and Mr Turner's date, Friday, March 18, in 29. Similarly 27 and 30 would become available for the synoptic date, Nisan 14 falling on Thursday, April 10, in 27 and Thursday, April 6, in 30; but 33 would remain available for the Johannine date only, since the moon could not possibly have been visible on 33 Feb. 18, and Adar must in consequence have lasted till the evening of 33 March 20 as shewn in the table above.

J. K. FOTHERINGHAM.

Τότε IN ST MATTHEW.

IN *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* ii p. 89 Prof. Burkitt suggests that εὐθύς in St Mark and οὖν in St John correspond to the Hebrew '*wāw* consecutive'. 'Not, of course, that either of these Gospels is a translation from the Hebrew; but if the authors of these Gospels were familiar with the Old Testament otherwise than through the awkward medium of the LXX, they might well have felt themselves in need of something to correspond to the Hebrew idiom. The essence of the meaning of "*wāw* consecutive" is that the event related is regarded as happening in due sequence to what has gone before.' Prof. J. Weiss, in the May number of the *ZntW.*, disputes the suggestion as regards εὐθύς, though he admits the possibility in the case of οὖν. But the explanation may almost certainly be extended to the word τότε, which is so characteristic a feature of the first Gospel. The following statistics may be noted. Τότε is used by St Matthew 61 times to carry on a narrative, the verb being aorist 39 times and present 22 times. In the passages in which St Mark or St Luke has a parallel, the corresponding word in St Mark is καί (21 times), δέ (6), εὐθύς (1), and the copula is omitted thrice; in St Luke it is καί (6), δέ (14), τότε (1), and the copula is omitted twice. Further, Matt. xxv supplies some striking instances in which τότε expresses consecutive action in the *future*; see *vv.* 34, 37, 41, 44, 45. The most noteworthy of all occurs in *v.* 1: τότε ὁμοιωθή-

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σεται ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν κτλ., which practically means, 'And the next parable which illustrates the Kingdom of Heaven is the following'.[1]

It is not possible to argue, as Prof. Burkitt does in the case of εὐθύς and οὖν, that the word 'then' is alien to the spirit of the Aramaic language, for in Syr$^{sin. cur.}$ τότε is represented, almost without exception, by ܗܝܕܝܢ. St Matthew's usage is remarkably illustrated in Biblical Aramaic. In the whole of the Hebrew Old Testament אז occurs only 20 times to carry on a narrative, and never in the Hebrew portions of Daniel and Ezra. (It is represented in the Targums by הידין in Job, Psalms and Proverbs, and by בכין elsewhere.) But it is in the Aramaic portions of Daniel and Ezra that the use is as marked as in St Matthew. In Dan. ii iii v vi אדין or בידין occurs 45 times, these instances being represented in the Greek as follows: τότε LXX 32, Theod. 22; καί LXX 8, Theod. 20. Five times the LXX has no word to correspond with it, and Theod. once. Moreover LXX has τότε 8 times, and Theod. 3 times, where the particle is absent from the present Aramaic text. In Ezr. iv v vi it occurs 11 times in the Aramaic, in 10 of which the LXX has τότε, and in the remaining passage no corresponding word.

It seems clear, therefore, that in the third and second centuries B. C. Aramaic writers, when dealing with Biblical subjects, frequently expressed the force of the Hebrew '*wāw* consecutive' by 'then', and that the usage still obtained in Palestine in the first century A. D. It is probable that the Greek St Matthew, like the Greek of the LXX, represented the original by τότε in the large majority of cases.

A. H. M^{c}NEILE.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF JEAN DU TILLET.

FIVE years ago I contributed to my colleague Dr Fotheringham's edition of the Bodleian MS of St Jerome's Chronicle[2] an appendix, in which I put together all I could find out about the literary history of the earliest known possessor of the MS, bishop Jean du Tillet. In the intervening period I have accumulated, through the kindness of three distinguished scholars, enough additional information to warrant the request for a small corner of the JOURNAL's space where I may recapitulate this in a collected form. Prof. Bywater, with his wide knowledge

[1] This is simpler than Prof. Zahn's laborious explanation that τότε refers to the moment described in the last two verses of the preceding parable, a moment which is again described in xxv 6, *vv.* 2–5 being retrospective.

[2] *The Bodleian Manuscript of Jerome's version of the Chronicle of Eusebius reproduced in collotype: with an introduction* by J. K. Fotheringham, Oxford 1905.

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of the history of classical scholarship in the sixteenth century, has supplied me with various bibliographical data contained in the *Catalogus bibliothecae Thuanae* (put together first alphabetically by 'Petrus et Iacobus Puteani', arranged according to subjects by 'Ismael Bullialdus', and finally re-edited by Joseph Quesnel, Paris, 1679[1]), in Maittaire's history of Paris printers (*Historia Typographorum aliquot Parisiensium*, 2 vols., London 1717), and in H. Hagen's *Zur Geschichte der Philologie* (Berlin 1879) part 1 'Der Jurist und Philolog Peter Daniel aus Orleans'. Mgr Mercati sent me from the Vatican library a couple of his most helpful postcards. And Professor Paul Girard of the University of Paris, both by letters and by the gift of his learned and exhaustive paper *Le manuscrit des* Gromatici *de l'évêque Jean du Tillet* ('Mélanges Fitting: lxxve anniversaire de M. le Professeur Hermann Fitting', vol. 2 pp. 235–286, Montpellier 1908), has enabled me to share step by step in his researches and their results. As becomes a Professor of Law, Prof. Girard is primarily interested in du Tillet from the point of view of his contributions to Roman Law, just as I was primarily interested in his contributions to patristic study: but he intends to write a monograph on the works of du Tillet generally, and full justice will then be done to the man whom five years ago I ventured to call 'A neglected scholar of the sixteenth century'. Meanwhile, and without for one moment setting myself in competition with the coming monograph of Prof. Girard, I will just tabulate the additions and corrections to my two lists published five years ago, of books written by du Tillet and MSS in the possession of du Tillet.

I. *Addenda.*

To my list of sixteen books published by du Tillet I have now two or three more to add: viz.

17. A.D. 1554. *M. Fab. Quintiliani institutionum oratoriarum libri* XII *in commentarios redacti, Petro Paulo Vergerio auctore. Ex Bibliotheca Ioann. Tilii episcopi Briocensis.* Paris. G. Morel [8°]. Girard p. 260 n. 3 (a copy is in the Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève x 537 in 8°).

The book is a present from du Tillet to his nephews Jean Élie and Jacques: it is meant, as we learn from the dedication addressed to them, to make them 'sharers in the spoils which he had exported from Italy' on the occasion of his Roman journey in the preceding year [see my no. 9, Fotheringham p. 55]. It consists of a sort of résumé in which the work of Quintilian is reduced to a fourth of its original size, and which was no doubt made by some scholar of the fifteenth century. Du Tillet attributed the authorship to Verger (ob. 1428) because he had so found it 'in an ancient MS': but another MS of the same epitome

[1] It is the edition of Quesnel which I have used.

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(now Bibl. Nat. *nouv. acq. lat.* 316) gives the name of Francesco Patrizi, bishop of Gaeta from 1460 to 1494. See Fierville *M. F. Quintiliani de Institutione Oratoria liber primus* (Paris 1890) p. xxxv n. 3.

18. A.D. 1561. *Declaration de l'authorité des Ecritures, & du S. Sacrement de l'Autel.* Paris. G. Morel [8°]. Maittaire ii 48.

19. A.D. 1563. *Institution* [or *Instruction*] *du pere Chrestien à ses enfans.* Paris. G. Morel [4°]. *Cat. bibl. Thuan.* i p. 77: Maittaire ii 50.

To the similar list of fourteen MSS in du Tillet's possession the following additions now fall to be made:—

xv. To Élie Vinet du Tillet lent not only the two MSS which I catalogued as nos. xii and xiii, but also a MS of Priscian. The loan appears to have been made in 1565, for in a letter of 1568 Vinet speaks of having borrowed the MS three years before. It was in the same year, 1565, that Vinet published an edition of Priscian *de nummis ponderibus* &c. Hagen *op. cit.* p. 34.

xvi. MS gr. 2789 of the Bibliothèque Nationale (ancien Colbert 4874) *Eschylus cum glosis interlinearibus et scholiis*, saec. xv, contains on the guard-leaf the note *De Ranconnet: a Io. Tilio utendum accepi.* Aymar de Ranconnet, to whom du Tillet's edition of Ulpian was dedicated (see my no. 6), a Huguenot and 'président de chambre' in the Parliament of Paris from 1549 to 1559, was in the latter year sent to the Bastille, where shortly afterwards he died. Girard pp. 268 n. 5, 264, 265.

xvii. The 'codex Tilianus' of the Agrimensores or Gromatici, i. e. the Latin writers on land-surveying, was derived from an existing original, the seventh-century MS now at Wolfenbüttel, Aug. fol. 36. 23. It is to the history of this MS, and of du Tillet's copy of it, that Prof. Girard's paper is primarily devoted. The original MS belonged during the middle ages to the great library of Bobbio, the discovery and plunder of which was the great achievement of the scholars of the Renaissance in Italy during the second half of the fifteenth century: our MS found its way to Rome about 1500, passed through the hands of Tommaso Inghirami (Phaedrus), Angelo Colocci, Erasmus, John a Lasco, Gerard Mortaigne, Regnerius Praedinius, J. T. Arcerius (from whom it is known as the Arcerianus), Peter Scriverius, and arrived ultimately in 1663 in the ducal library at Wolfenbüttel. Meanwhile it had been three times copied out, after the zealous fashion of the Renaissance, during its brief stay in Rome: by a scribe whose work is represented by a copy now at Jena, by Basilio Zanchi, and by the jurisconsult Antonio Massa of Gallese. Zanchi's copy was in turn copied by Jean Matal, *alias* Metellus Sequanus, who was at Rome from 1545 to 1555: Metellus's copy was lent to du Tillet, who again copied it and took his copy back to France at the end of 1553. Du Tillet's copy was studied by more than one

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French scholar among his contemporaries with a view to publication: but in the end it was left to the nineteenth century, and to Blume and Lachmann's *Die Schriften der römischen Feldmesser*,[1] to employ for the first time the testimony of the Bobbio MS and its descendants in the construction of a purified text of the Agrimensores. Girard, *passim*.

xviii. Lambinus used a 'codex Tilianus' of Plautus 'qui fuerat mihi ab Io. Tilio olim episcopo Meldensi, nuper mortuo, commodatus'. Prof. Lindsay, from whose *Codex Turnebi of Plautus* (Oxford 1898: p. 14 n. 1) Prof. Bywater excerpted this reference, concludes that it was one of the ordinary Renaissance MSS of Plautus.

II. *Corrigenda.*

2. The MS of St Hilary of Poitiers, from which du Tillet published in 1540 his *editio princeps* of the canons of the Greek councils, appears to be the present MS gr. 1331 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, saec. xiv, (Girard p. 258 n. 4). The promised companion volume of the 'canonical' writings of the Greek Fathers never appeared: but it is possible that the copy for press exists in Vaticanus Reg. gr. 73, of which, as Dr Mercati informs me, the first half, foll. 1–115, consists of the printed text of the edition of 1540, while the second half, foll. 116–242, is written in a sixteenth-century hand (with references to the 'adiuncto exemplari impresso') under the rather puzzling introductory title Σύνταγμα τῶν κατὰ τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ ἁγίαν σύνοδον πραχθέντων. With reference to the Latin version of the Greek canons and 'canonical' writings which the indefatigable translator, Gentianus Hervetus, dedicated to du Tillet in 1561, Prof. Girard points out (p. 257 n. 3) that I was overhasty in concluding that du Tillet had been himself present at Trent: the plural of Hervetus, *cum Tridenti essemus in concilio*, is probably the plural of authorship. Prof. Bywater also points out to me that whereas I spoke of the Basle edition of 1559 as 'the first edition of the Greek with Latin version' (*op. cit.* p. 50), the Canons of the Apostles were twice printed in Greek and Latin between 1540 and 1559: I take the titles from the copies in his possession. (1) ΚΑΝΟΝΕΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ. Canones sanctorū Apostolorum. *Vnà cum latina interpretatione.* Parisiis. Apud Andream Wechelum, sub Pegaso, in vico Bellouaco, *Anno Salutis*, 1556.[2] (2) Octoginta quinque Regulae,

[1] The Tilianus is mentioned, so Dr Mercati informed me, in vol. ii pp. 14, 32 seqq., 476. In the last of these passages it is proposed to identify it with Paris lat. 7229: but that MS appears rather to be a copy by Ranconnet of du Tillet's MS (Girard p 268).

[2] In the margins of this edition reference is occasionally made to 'alterum exemplar', and once to 'aeditio parisiensis' (p. 5), by which latter phrase du Tillet's edition is no doubt intended.

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seu Canones Apostolorum; cum vetustis Ioannis Monachi ZΩnarae in eosdem commentariis, Latinè modò versis. Parisiis. Apud Andream Wechelum, sub Pegaso in vico Bellouaco: Anno Salutis, 1558. Cum priuilegio Regis.

3. To the five editions of the 'Chronicle of the French Kings' which I was able to enumerate, the *Catalogus bibliothecae Thuanae* (i, p. 346) adds one—*Io. Tilii de rebus Francorum Chronicon a Pharamundo usque ad Henricum II*: Paris, Vascosan, 1555 [folio]—and Prof. Girard (p. 259 n. 6) another, which has the further interest of taking back the original publication by four or five years. Copies of this edition of 1539 are in *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Histoire de France* I (1855) p. 63, with press-mark L. 35. 23, and *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de la ville de Grenoble* II (1835) no. 22, 881. From Maittaire ii 25 I conclude that this is the folio *Paul. Aemyl. de Gestis Francor. cum Chronic.* which M. Vascosan published in that year.

5. Besides the undated edition which I described of the 'leges barbarorum', there are also extant copies of an edition published at Paris in 1573, after du Tillet's death. Girard p. 259 n. 2.

6. Of the edition of Ulpian I had myself only seen the Louvain reprint of 1550. I noted the existence at Leyden of a copy of the original Paris issue of 1549, and to this Prof. Girard adds two more, Paris Bibliothèque Mazarine 21,242 and Troyes *Catalogue, Jurisprudence* I (1888) p. 42, no. 225. Girard p. 259 n. 3.

7. Prof. Bywater's library contains a copy of this edition of the Theodosian Code, and copies also of the Greek Canons (no. 2) and the Hebrew Matthew (no. 9).

9. Of the Hebrew Matthew I had seen no copy. Prof. Bywater's library contains it, and so does the Bibliothèque Nationale, A 600 in 8° (du Tillet's Hebrew MS is also in the Bibliothèque Nationale, *fonds hébreu* no. 132). Prof. Girard corrects (p. 258 n. 1) an error of Herbst, repeated by me, that du Tillet's letter of Nov. 27, 1554, printed in the text, was addressed to Mercier; in reality, the letter is nothing else than the dedication to the cardinal of Lorraine. Prof. Bywater tells me that the same printer (Hebrew founts were, I suppose, not common in Paris) had also republished in 1551 the older Hebrew Gospel of Matthew originally issued by Münster at Basle in 1537.

11. It would appear that the 1563 edition of the *Epître d'un evêque aux Ministres des eglises nouvelles* was followed up either by a second edition or by a sequel; for Maittaire (ii 52) catalogues, among the books published in 1566 by Morel's widow, a *Reponse aux ministres des eglises nouvelles.*

ix. An early reference to du Tillet's MS of Frankish annals is supplied by a letter of January 1578 from Gifanius to Peter Daniel (Hagen *op. cit.*

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p. 43): 'Saepe diuque te rogavi, vir doctissime, ut Chronicam illam de rebus gestis nepotum Caroli Magni, in qua et foedus est inter eos sermone Germanico et Gallico conscriptum, ab D. Tilii heredibus commodato sumptam describendam mihi curares . . . Scio te gratia tua et auctoritate facile id consecuturum quod Bodinus iam est consecutus: nam in libris suis de rep. foederis verba quaedam commemorat.'

xii. The difficulty which I raised with respect to the employment by Vinet in his edition of 1563 (Poitiers) of any MS of Cornutus in Persium belonging to du Tillet is solved by a letter of Vinet's to Peter Daniel (Hagen *op. cit.* p. 36), from which it is clear that du Tillet only lent him the MS in question after 1563: 'de Cornuto . . . gaudeo plurimum de isto Veneto exemplari' [= a copy of the *editio princeps*], 'ex quo et altero illo tuo et eo quod post Pictaviensem editionem nobis commodavit Ioannes Tillius Briocensis episcopus, alteram editionem spero longe emendatiorem fore.'

C. H. TURNER.

ON ΨΗΛΑΦΩΜΕΝΩ IN HEB. XII 18.

IN Heb. xii 18 ψηλαφωμένῳ has rightly been translated as a participial form agreeing with ὄρει understood, for the contrast is obviously intended between mount Sinai and mount Sion, and is one that receives further point from the assonance of the two names, though Sinai is not mentioned. Dr Westcott, however, gave us 'palpable' after the Latin Vulgate, and made it to agree with 'fire' instead of 'mountain'—Οὐ γὰρ προσεληλύθατε ψηλαφωμένῳ καὶ κεκαυμένῳ πυρὶ κτλ., 'a palpable and kindled fire', and he induced the revisers to give this translation a place in the margin. It may, however, be questioned whether it is Greek and still more whether it is sense. 'A fire that has been burnt' would naturally mean a fire that has ceased to burn and is extinct. But there is no support for κεκαυμένῳ πυρί in the sense of a fire that has been kindled: καιομένῳ πυρί is the Greek for that. But what could the writer imagine by a 'fire that was palpable', when nobody ever knew a fire that was not palpable? And if we had to deal with a 'palpable' fire what use would there be in adding the statement that it was 'kindled'? If one should argue that 'kindled fire' is the commencement of the quotation from Deut. iv 11, the answer is that the words there are τὸ ὄρος ἐκαίετο πυρί, widely removed from the tense of κεκαυμένῳ πυρί and lending no sanction to the opinion of Westcott: and further that in that

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case ψηλαφωμένῳ is rendered otiose. But apart from the question of the Greek, the sense of ψηλαφωμένῳ, 'that might be felt', is quite inconsistent with the words that follow two verses later: even a beast might not touch the mountain, much less a man. Support is sought for a 'felt fire' in a 'felt darkness', ψηλαφητὸν σκότος, Ex. x 21. The latter is a fine paradoxical expression, somewhat like Aeschylus's 'unlighted scent or sound': but a felt or 'palpable mountain' as a material object apprehended by a single sense would be absurd and 'a palpable fire' still more absurd.

Read therefore πεφεψαλωμένῳ, a good resounding word of Aeschylus (Prom. 363), likely to be quite unknown to the copyist, who would therefore substitute his own proposal which does not seem to be so absurd, as the history of eighteen centuries shews,—until it is considered. There is nothing improbable in the writer using this very rare word. For Dr Westcott quotes no less than twenty-two words used by Heb. and not found in any other part of the Greek scriptures; among these are ἐκδοχή, an Aeschylean word, τομώτερος, a rare Sophoklean word, ὑπείκειν (Soph. &c.), ἀκροθίνιον (Trag.). The author who has used so many negative verbals in -τος would probably have used ψηλαφητῷ if he had wished to say 'palpable', from Ex. x 21, rather than ψηλαφωμένῳ.

As to the accuracy of πεφεψαλωμένῳ applied to Sinai, there is no doubt. Stanley (*Sinai and Palestine*, 1887, p. 21) observes: 'There are at first sight many appearances [at Sinai] which to an unpractised eye seem indications of volcanic agency. But they are all, it is believed, illusory. The vast heaps, as of calcined mountains, are only the detritus of iron in the sandstone formation.' And (p. 71): 'The road lay through what seemed to be the ruins, *the cinders, of mountains calcined to ashes,* like the heaps of a gigantic foundry.' The fitness of the epithet is such as to suggest that the writer to the Hebrews had visited Sinai.

Observe that the final syllable of προσεληλύθατε before πεφεψαλωμένῳ might easily have led the copyist to think that φεψαλωμένῳ was the word before him, and this false word is very near to ψηλαφωμένῳ, which I suppose that he therefore introduced, entirely losing the sense of 'a calcined volcano' which the writer contrasts with Sion at the time of the Panêgyris of the Feast of Tabernacles, a mass of waving green, where 'glory (a diadem) is instead of ashes' (Is. lxi 3), and where myriads of her sons are organized as angels and evangelists (Is. lx 6). The contrast, however, must be drawn out elsewhere.

E. C. SELWYN

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REVIEWS

HISTORY OF DOCTRINE.

L'Eucharistie des origines à Justin Martyr, by M. GOGUEL. (Fischbacher, Paris, 1910.)

M. GOGUEL, who is a Professor in the Faculty of Protestant Theology at Paris, in the present volume essays the task, which has been attempted so often in recent years, of reconstructing on critical lines the early history of the Eucharist. The useful summary of modern views with which he prefaces his work, shews how bewildering in their variety are the theories which have been put forward to explain the facts, and how little finality there is as yet in the views which have been expressed. Two presuppositions underlie his own contribution to the question. The first is the eschatological point of view with regard to the ministry and teaching of Jesus, and in consequence the eschatological reference of the words and acts of Jesus at the last Supper. The second presupposition is that the accounts of the last Supper in the Synoptists, *as they stand*, shew traces of secondary influences and of ideas derived from Christian practice in the Jewish and Pauline churches. With the truth of both these hypotheses his presentation stands or falls, and for those who do not accept them, the interpretation placed upon the facts, and the critical reconstruction of the Synoptic narratives, which they involve, will fail to be convincing.

According to M. Goguel the Messianic conception was dominant in the thought of Jesus at the last Supper. He looked forward to a speedy return as the Messiah. He had no thought of organizing His disciples or enabling them to increase their number after His death. His action at the last Supper, which was not a Passover meal, was of the nature of a piece of parting instruction intended to enable them to understand the nature of the drama which was unfolding itself. In the words 'This is my Body' He professed His readiness to die for them, as He had lived for them, in order to prepare them to enter the Kingdom when it came. The ideas of suffering and separation were the dominant ideas. By distributing the cup (the words about 'the new covenant' form no part of the primitive tradition) 'Jésus donne rendez-vous à ses disciples' (p. 287). Such was the symbolism of His action at the Supper.

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The primitive community at Jerusalem had not at first any idea of repeating the act of Jesus at the last Supper. The death of Christ was too great a blow to the hopes of the disciples to allow of their dwelling upon the events which attended it. They were accustomed to take their meals in common and it is to these that the term 'breaking of bread' in Acts ii 42, 46 applies. Only gradually, when they came to reflect on the significance of the death of Christ, did they recall the incidents of the Passion and associate with their common meals the idea of a commemoration or repetition of the last Supper. It was then that the idea arose that this commemoration was in virtue of an express command of Jesus. At this period the meaning of the cup, which was part of the eschatological symbolism of the last Supper, and which had formed no part of the primitive 'breaking of bread', was transformed and became an equivalent (or doublet) of the bread. St Paul gave a theological interpretation of the rite and played a twofold part in the evolution of the Eucharist. (1) He interpreted the Eucharistic formulae in a realistic sense. The Supper was no mere commemoration of the last Supper, but a means of union with the suffering and dying Lord and an expression of the unity of Christians. (2) Under the influence of Greek customs the idea of a sacrificial feast came to be associated by St Paul with the Supper.

The accounts of the Synoptists are influenced by the later conception of the Eucharist as an institution of Christ and are coloured by the practice of the Jewish and Pauline churches. To these influences are due the conception of the communion as an assimilation by the believer of the benefits of the death of Christ (pp. 190 ff), as well as the conception of the last Supper as a Paschal meal, and of the Eucharist as a Christian Passover (the latter idea being specially prominent in St Luke). The Pauline conception of the Eucharist is found with some slight variation ('flesh' for 'body') in the Fourth Gospel and in Ignatius. The former spiritualized the conception and interpreted the 'flesh' of Christ to mean the Logos, the eternal and divine food of souls. The testimony of the Didache and of Pliny's letter (which M. Goguel, following some recent writers, thinks may have received Christian interpolations) shews that the developement of the Eucharist was not altogether homogeneous, though M. Goguel maintains that the Didache exhibits not so much a survival of the primitive 'breaking of bread' as the attenuation of a conception analogous to that of the Fourth Gospel. The transformation by which the Eucharist ceased to be an actual meal and became a rite was effected shortly after the beginning of the second century, and was fully accomplished in the time of Justin.

M. Goguel propounds his theory with ability and moderation. It is true that he builds too much upon the silence of the fragmentary and

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allusive references in Acts ii 42, 46. But on the other hand he admits that the Synoptists regarded the last Supper as an institution (even though St Matthew and St Mark do not record the command 'Do this in remembrance of me'), and, like a growing number of scholars, he accepts as genuine the fuller text of St Luke xxii 19–20, which he further regards as not directly dependent on the account of St Paul, but as derived from the same source. Again, he rejects the view that St Paul claims in 1 Cor. xi 23 knowledge derived directly from the Lord, and contends that he had no idea of adding anything to the tradition of the Church upon the origin of the Eucharist (p. 161). The question arises whether a conception of the origin of the Eucharist which appears to have been held by the Synoptists, and which was certainly held by St Paul, has not some better ground than M. Goguel allows.

The difficulty which M. Goguel finds in allowing any reference to the Eucharist in Acts ii 42, 46 (he apparently admits the reference in Acts xx 7, 11) does not appear to be serious (pp. 130 f). As he himself says elsewhere (p. 141), 'there was not perhaps at first the absolute difference which existed later on between the Supper and an ordinary meal'. The common meals of the early disciples would provide a natural opportunity for recalling the similar meals which they had shared with Christ, including the last Supper with its significant words and acts. Reflexion upon the significance of Christ's death was an inevitable outcome of the belief in the Resurrection. Hence it would be natural that such meals would assume a Eucharistic character, even though the fuller conceptions of St Paul had not dawned upon their minds. In fact, the real crux appears to be the assumption that Christ could not have instituted a rite, because His outlook at the last Supper was wholly different, and because the first disciples were wholly preoccupied with the thought of His return. Here again it may be questioned whether these assumptions so commonly made by many scholars are not too narrow to fit all the facts.

In his discussion of other passages of the New Testament M. Goguel shews a tendency to overstatement of the evidence. It is surely gratuitous to see a reference to the Eucharist in Gal. ii 11–14 (St Peter's eating with the disciples at Antioch) or John xiii 4–17 (the feet-washing is regarded as an allegory of the Eucharist). Again, he reads into 1 Cor. x 16 ff a closer parallel between the Christian Eucharist and the Pagan sacrificial feasts than is warranted by the statements of St Paul. It is surely wholly uncritical on the analogy of a phrase in the Oxyrhynchus Papyri (*δειπνῆσαι εἰς κλεινὴν τοῦ κυρίου Σαράπιδος*, p. 147) to read into St Paul's language an interpretation based wholly upon heathen sacrificial usage, and to speak of the 'blessing' of the

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Bread and Cup as an act of consecration by which they were 'offered' to Christ, and as a result of this 'oblation' again given by Christ to men. Such a conception may accord with later Christian liturgical usage, but it is an anachronism in St Paul, whose thought moves in the circle of simpler and more obvious Jewish ideas. There is a similar overstatement when M. Goguel interprets Justin's words *τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφήν* (Ap. i 66) as indicating the importance attached to a fixed formula in the celebration of the rite, and as implying that such formula came from Christ. Whether the words refer, as Mr Brightman has suggested, to the liturgical thanksgiving derived from the *εὐχαριστήσας* of the Last Supper, or whether *λόγου* be interpreted of the personal Logos, as others (e. g. Mr E. Bishop) have suggested, in either case there is no reference to the fixed character of the form employed.

The volume concludes with two Appendices on the religious meal in other religions and on the Agape, followed by a Table of the MSS and Versions of the New Testament.

J. H. SRAWLEY.

Histoire des Dogmes. II. de Saint Athanase à Saint Augustin (318–430), by J. TIXERONT. (V. Lecoffre, Paris, 1909.)

THE second volume of M. Tixeront's history of Doctrine is as admirable as the first. There is the same clear exposition and lucid style, the same sound judgements and excellent bibliographies and references, ancient and modern. There is also rather more grouping of writers and consecutive treatment of particular doctrines. The nature of the history demands such consecutive treatment even more imperatively in this later period than in the earlier, and personally I welcome the partial change of method and only wish it had been more whole-heartedly carried through. It would be a pleasure to quote some of the many admirable characterizations of the great leaders of Christian thought during this period and summaries of their teaching which M. Tixeront gives us. Frequently, too, in respect of matters which have been strangely misrepresented by some modern writers, one is grateful for M. Tixeront's quiet statement of the facts, even when he does not stay to refute expressly the misreadings of the history which he has in mind. (As the paradoxes of influential writers are far too commonly deemed 'worthy of all acceptation' it may be noted that M. Tixeront rejects the theory that *ὁμοούσιος* was received at Constantinople, or by Hilary, in the sense of *ὁμοιούσιος*.) It is the more to be regretted that now and again he should lend himself to unhistorical views—as when he represents the authority of the see of Rome as more absolute and more widely accepted in the fourth century than was the case (pp. 305 ff),

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and that he should encourage younger students of his own branch of the Church to think that the 'secularization' of the Church was one of the aims of Protestants—as he does incidentally in describing the teaching of Vigilantius (p. 249). I cannot think that M. Tixeront really believes that to oppose monasticism and the special mode of life which it involves (and these are the points in the teaching of Vigilantius which he has in view) is the same thing as to wish 'to secularize the Church', and the use of so prejudiced an epigram by a scholar of M. Tixeront's standing and general fairness is in any case to be deprecated.

But I cannot end this short appreciation of M. Tixeront's book with criticism. I think that all students into whose hands it comes are to be congratulated on their good fortune in having it as their textbook, and I look forward to the publication of the third volume which is promised to complete the history to the time of Charlemagne.

J. F. BETHUNE-BAKER.

NEW TESTAMENT.

The Synoptic Gospels, edited with an Introduction and a Commentary, by C. E. MONTEFIORE. Vols. i and ii. (Macmillan & Co., 1909.)

THIS is a production of quite exceptional interest. In a sense it is a composite work. Of the 1,200 and odd pages some 350 are accounted for by the fact that the Gospels are printed twice over, while a perfect mosaic of quotations meets us in the remainder of the book.

I hasten to say that the composite nature of the two bulky volumes in no way detracts from their many excellences. Their value is enhanced by it. With Jewish readers primarily in view it was well advised to present them with the unbroken Gospel-story in a somewhat modernized translation. That the Gospels should reappear in sections in the Commentary was of course necessary. The incessant and often lengthy borrowings should prove a boon to many—in particular to general readers with no first-hand knowledge of the mass of literature, in the main foreign, which has been laid under contribution. It is one of Mr Montefiore's merits that, knowing what his authorities mean, he can make them say what they mean to those unversed in French idioms or incapable of wrestling with involved Teutonic periods. There is just

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this cause for complaint; the reference one would like to have is occasionally absent from his quotation, while his frequent 'see Additional Note' is as frequently occasion for sharing the regret that we have yet to wait for that concluding volume which is to illustrate the rabbinic learning of Mr Abrahams.

But lately a hostile pen has in effect suggested a readiness on Mr Montefiore's part to swallow the New Testament at a gulp while content that the Old Testament should be rent in pieces. The implied charge is an amazing one, for the book which has raised Dr Gaster's ire affords sufficient proof that its author, at home in Gospel criticism, is not exactly the 'docile pupil of destructive masters'. Himself an 'advanced critic', he addresses himself in his Introduction to an exhaustive survey of the Synoptic Problem; the two-sources hypothesis is adopted, with a decided leaning to the theory (now allowed by Harnack) that Q—at all events in its oldest form—was known to and used by the author of our Second Gospel, a work which itself points back, if not to the *Urmarcus* of the Germans, to one or more Aramaic sources. Our Mark, accordingly, is a compilation ('nicht mehr Quelle, sondern Sammelbecken', as J. Weiss puts it), and its written sources, or some of them, may conceivably have been known to Matthew and Luke also. The two later Gospels are next treated of with equal thoroughness, with that collocation and comparison of the views of leading scholars which, throughout a prominent feature of Mr Montefiore's book, will assuredly be found acceptable. That his position is largely that of Loisy is, I think, manifest; he delights in emphasizing his indebtedness to Dr Estlin Carpenter. But *nullius addictus iurare in verba magistri*, himself an impartial and shrewd critic of the critics, he is quick to point out where 'the great authorities differ' or 'play among the shadows of an irrecoverable past'; he is alive to the frequent necessity of the suspended judgement: 'just where we most want to know we must always be content to conjecture.' With Wellhausen he demurs to unqualified assumptions that the greatest, most striking, most original things in the Gospels must be authentic because only Jesus can have thought of them. Due weight is nevertheless allowed to the argument: in the absence of 'definite reasons which plead for a later date we may fairly confidently assign to Jesus the words ascribed to him by Matthew only and by Luke only if they are words which seem to harmonize with his character and teaching as we can gather and infer them from the pages of Mark and (as most scholars, in spite of Wellhausen, would add) of Q'. Such 'definite reasons' are, indeed, very often advanced: 'when Jesus gives private explanations, we know that the Evangelist himself is at work.'

As might be expected much space is devoted to specifically Jewish

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questions. Here as elsewhere there are frequent evidences of the author's '"cross-bench" cast of mind', nor is his fear groundless that he will be deemed 'too Jewish' in his postulates and conceptions—I had almost said his prejudices—by those who approach him from the Christian standpoint. What he offers, however, has a real value for the student; and after all it is no unwholesome thing that Christian readers should see themselves (and their beliefs) as they are seen by one who certainly incurs the risk of being held 'too Christian' by less open-minded Jewish critics.

For what is Mr Montefiore's attitude to the New Testament, to the personality of Jesus? The answer shall be given, as far as possible, in his own words.

'If it is an improper ignorance not to have read some portions of Shakespeare or Milton . . . it is a much more improper ignorance not to have read the Gospels.' There is, no doubt, much in them, and the other books of the New Testament, to which, as a matter of course, the Jew will take exception. Obviously he cannot make his Bible include them. But Judaism has something to gain and absorb from them. Writings instinct with life, first-class literature, not for one age only but for all time, they should be approached and studied in a more historical, comprehensive, and impartial spirit than has hitherto prevailed in Jewish circles. 'We need both the Old Testament's imperative demand for a righteous nation, and the New Testament's insistent emphasis upon the value of the individual soul.'

And then as to the 'hero of the Gospel narrative'. The shadows mingle with the light; through the mists of miracle and legend the author discerns a character which, if noble, is by no means the acme and embodiment of every conceivable perfection. 'The true Jesus is, one hopes, better revealed in the humility of Mk. x 18 than in the self-assertion of Mt. xi 27'; he can be 'inconsistent with himself'; he 'seems to make the mistake, common to most religious reformers, of confusing disbelief in himself and his pretensions with moral obliquity'; if divinity shines out in him it is far removed from deity: 'our *adoration* will be reserved for God.' But of his 'moral grandeur and religious inspiration' there can be no question. Mr Montefiore bids his co-religionists see in him 'a star of the first magnitude'; the 'last of the prophets' whom modern Judaism should hasten to acknowledge as its own. He will do ungrudging justice to the originality of Jesus wherever he discovers it. 'Preeminence in service, greatness in humility—these were noble conceptions which he introduced to the world.' 'So far as we can tell, this pity for the sinner was a new note in religious history.' 'To follow him has been for endless noble souls to labour and renounce for the sake of truth, for the sake of man, for the sake of God.' 'The

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lesson of Gethsemane speaks to all.' In another really fine passage which accentuates the 'distinctive and moral note' of 'this following of Christ' there is a reminder of the late Sir John Seeley's words: 'Active morality took its place by the side of Passive. To the duty of not doing harm, which may be called Justice, was added the duty of doing good, which may properly receive the distinctively Christian name of Charity.'

'The future was with Jesus.' Mr Montefiore's glances range far ahead; of what are his dreams?

Scarcely of a *rapprochement* with the Christianity of the Catholic Church. Sharp is his distinction between a Christology which, deifying Jesus, has set up a barrier between man and God, and the principles enunciated by one who had, he thinks, no intention of founding a new religious community; between the Christianity of dogma and the religion of Jesus. It may come to pass that Christianity and Judaism will be able to shake hands; if so, it will be over the Sermon on the Mount, the fundamental elements in the moral and religious teaching of the 'founder of a new era'. A 'frankly Unitarian Christianity', a 'reformed or Liberal Judaism', may yet come to terms. But Mr Montefiore goes further: 'the religion of the future will be, as I believe, a developed and purified Judaism'... as for Christianity, it 'must shed the teachings which Jesus did not teach'; as for Judaism, it 'must acknowledge more fully, more frankly, than has yet been done what he did and was for religion and for the world.'

It may, I think, be said of the book that it will rank as a valuable contribution to Synoptic literature. Perhaps it owes some of its importance to the quarter from which it emanates, of its usefulness to its being so largely a compendium of Synoptic research and scholarship. That it will be heartily welcomed for its own intrinsic worth is beyond question—and here the gifted and distinguished author shall be assured that at least one Christian reader has returned to its perusal with deepened interest. Abounding as it does in good things there is, I take it, little fear that it will be found 'too dull'; on the other hand some will probably agree with Mr Montefiore when he owns to a feeling that it has turned out 'somewhat too long'. With occasional prolixity there was room for curtailment, condensation. I must remark on a superabundance of complaint and diatribe which, if now and again justified, is in painful contrast with the 'sweet reasonableness' which otherwise characterizes an illustrious representative of modern Jewish Liberalism.

In that second edition which, doubtless, will speedily be called for, 'Revelations' (p. 387) will not stand uncorrected. The Index may perhaps need revision; on p. 1118 (where the reference is to Unitarianism) li should read ci. Those who possess Deissmann's *Licht*

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vom Osten (quoted p. 340) in the 'second and third' edition should read p. 79 instead of p. 76.

H. LATIMER JACKSON.

The Gospel of the Kingdom, or The Sermon on the Mount considered in the light of contemporary Jewish thought and ideas, by H. E. SAVAGE, D.D. (Longmans, Green, & Co., 1910), consists of lectures delivered by the author when Vicar of Halifax to gatherings of clergy, and Dr Savage is to be congratulated on his decision to put them into permanent form. The sub-title explains the main purport of the work. It is a study of the Sermon on the Mount with special reference to Jewish thought contemporary with and in the years preceding the ministry of our Lord. The author complains in his Preface that it is just this aspect of the Sermon that has been most consistently neglected; and this remark is capable of far wider application. Dr Savage puts his finger upon a weakness of present-day theological study. The New Testament is approached too often by students without the necessary preliminary historical studies in Jewish history, especially the history of the times immediately preceding the Gospel events. The result is a loss of that perspective which alone gives New Testament study or criticism the background necessary for intelligent conclusions. This is partly due to the paucity of adequate books on the subject; and Dr Savage's work is the more welcome as in its own province it does much to remedy this defect.

The Sermon, Dr Savage maintains, is a statement given, under special circumstances, of the essential differences between the Kingdom and the Theocracy as popularly understood in the preconceived ideas which were entertained by the Jews concerning it. It is the manifesto of the new Spiritual Society, and must be interpreted in conformity with the special circumstances of time and locality in which it was spoken. Dr Savage gives a running commentary in which each saying or group of sayings is examined with a view to the discovery of the precise meaning that would have been conveyed to the first hearers of the Sermon.

Dr Savage states as his deliberate opinion that the Sermon as we find it in St Matthew was delivered by our Lord as a continuous whole. St Luke's account is regarded as a revision made with a view to readers of non-Jewish origin and sympathies. This conclusion is derived almost entirely from the logical sequence that in the author's opinion unites each section with the foregoing and the succeeding ones. And, conversely, some well-known difficulties find their solution in relation to what precedes or follows them. (This is notably the case in the paragraph dealing with Persistency in Prayer. St Matt. vii 7 ff.)

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Dr Savage's position is obviously one that will not commend itself to all his readers. But the solution of the problem of the origins of the Sermon is by no means his primary purpose, and this consideration should not be allowed to depreciate the merit of his work. The value of the book lies in its successful attempt to reproduce the atmosphere of thought and life in which the Son of Man moved and spoke: and not less in the applications to modern life of the eternal lessons which in the Sermon are clothed in the language of first-century Judaism.

PHILIP C. T. CRICK.

Tweede Petrus en Judas. Textuitgave met inleidende studien en textueelen commentaar (Text with introductory essays and a critical commentary on the text), by JOHANNES DE ZWAAN. (S. C. van Dresburgh, Leiden, 1909.)

THIS book was written by the author as a thesis for the degree of D.D. in the University of Leiden. Its distinguishing characteristics are great thoroughness and an extensive and accurate knowledge of English works on New Testament criticism. It is divided into two parts: (*a*) an introductory section, and (*b*) the actual text with a critical commentary on each verse.

In the introductory section, chapter i traces the history of New Testament criticism and discusses at length the theories of Tischendorf and Westcott-Hort and the new notation of Von Soden. The result reached by Dr de Zwaan is that the theory of Westcott-Hort is still, and probably for some time will continue to be, 'the' theory of New Testament criticism.

In chapter ii the author treats of cursives and endeavours to group them. He finds three clearly defined groups, 13, 27, 214, and a fourth less clearly marked out, 100. The first three groups are all derived from one branch, and often support the earlier uncials against the later. On the whole the results reached by Dr de Zwaan agree very closely with those of Griesbach, Scrivener, and Bousset.

Chapter iii is given up to a discussion of the early versions, especially the Old Latin and the Philoxenian Syriac.

In the second part of the book we get the text, together with a commentary in which the authorities for various readings are not only stated but discussed. A few instances may be given here.

On Jude 5 Dr de Zwaan gives a long and valuable note. He accepts the reading Ἰησοῦς and absolutely rejects Hort's dictum that 'the best attested reading Ἰησοῦς can only be a blunder'. Elsewhere in the verse he places ἅπαξ before λαόν and would omit τούς before μὴ πιστευσάντας.

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Jude 22, 23. Dr de Zwaan rejects the threefold division as unsatisfactory for several reasons. He reads *καὶ οὓς μὲν ἐλεᾶτε διακρινομένους, οὓς δὲ ἐκ πυρὸς ἁρπάζετε ἐν φόβῳ, μισοῦντες καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς σαρκὸς ἐσπιλωμένον χιτῶνα*; but he is inclined to regard *διακρινομένους* and *ἐν φόβῳ* as scribe's insertions.

2 Pet. ii 14. He reads *ἀκαπαπάστους* from *πάσασθαι* with meaning 'insatiable', and regards *ἀκαταπαύστους* as impossible in this context.

2 Pet. iii 10. Dr de Zwaan defends the reading *εὑρεθήσεται*. 'The earth and the works therein will be found'; i. e. will survive the catastrophe described in the earlier part of the verse.

H. H. B. Aytes.

In *The Earliest Sources for the Life of Jesus*, a volume of a new series on 'Modern Religious Problems', edited by Dr A. W. Vernon (Boston and New York; Houghton Mifflin Co., 1910), Prof. Burkitt gives us, as it seems to me, a wholly admirable account in popular form of the present state of opinion in regard to the subject on which he writes, of course from the point of view of the 'apocalyptic' school. He limits himself strictly to the three synoptic Gospels, and regards the Gospel according to St Mark as giving the true historical portrait, dissenting from those who do not find in it an adequate interpretation of our Lord. He disposes trenchantly of the view that it gives us Pauline doctrine blended with Petrine traditions. Much that he writes would please the most conservative of critics. 'What', he asks, 'if Paulinism in this respect [the doctrine of the Cross] was really "the mind of Christ"?' Prof. Burkitt writes as attractively as ever, and this little book sets forward simply and forcibly the conception of our Lord of which Schweitzer is chief champion. I venture to think that at the same time, by the way, Prof. Burkitt supplies us with at least one of the chief correctives or supplements of it that we need. He writes of the point of view of Mark as being 'already antiquated when the later synoptic Evangelists made their compilations'. But throughout his book he recognizes Q, elusive as its actual reconstruction is, as being a very early source, and he even pleads that Matthew and Luke in their use of Q may be assumed to have retained its essentials. Prof. Burkitt's distrust of Dr Harnack's attempted reconstruction of Q was indicated at once in this Journal (vol. viii pp. 454–459) and is more fully expressed in the book before us: he believes that Q contained much more than Dr Harnack imagines. In any case, in order to obtain the true historical portrait of our Lord we must at least use Q as well as Mark. 'If the work of Mark be more important to the historian, it is Q that supplies starting-points for the Christian moralist. Most important of all, it

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gives light and shade to the somewhat austere lines of the portrait of Jesus sketched in the Gospel of Mark'—these are Prof. Burkitt's own words. How can he, then, expect us to accept as complete the purely Marcan portrait which—at least as he represents it—shews us one who had no interest in the 'ethical ideas that are the essential element in the spiritual experience of the modern world'? It seems to me that, in his zeal to rescue from neglect one of the earliest sources for the life of our Lord, Prof. Burkitt practically neglects another which is at least as important for an adequate presentation of the impression which His Person and Work made on His contemporaries.

Many interesting and illuminating suggestions are made in the course of the discussion, as e. g. that Matthew is really a fresh edition of Mark, while Luke is a new historical work; that Mark's identification of the Last Supper with the paschal meal, which turned the Jewish Passover into the first Christian Eucharist, was a more or less conscious correlation of the belief already current at Rome with the historical data which the evangelist had received (a new form of Prof. Bacon's theory); and again the suggestion that Luke's narrative of the ministry of our Lord, omitting the Marcan portions of it, reads as a coherent whole and may possibly be Q itself. But the basis for the incidental suggestion that Mark 'originally extended over much of the period covered by the *first twelve chapters* of the Acts of the Apostles' will probably seem to most readers rather unsubstantial.

The experiences which Prof. Burkitt sets on one side, at least for his immediate purpose, are much more fully brought to account in Mr. J. M. Thompson's *Jesus according to St Mark* (Methuen & Co., 1909). Mr Thompson is as much concerned as Prof. Burkitt to give full weight to the Marcan portrait, he thinks nothing essential is omitted or misrepresented; but he has not 'emancipated' himself from the traditional interpretation of the eschatological or apocalyptic elements in the teaching and acts of our Lord which the Gospel according to St Mark contains. To him the Messianic kingdom, as portrayed in Mark, is a future and spiritual existence, quite outside the present order of things, entirely unworldly, simply and solely religious. Again Mr Thompson seems to reject as emphatically as Prof. Burkitt the idea that our Lord in any way intended to play the part of a social reformer. 'He accepted society as He found it, and did not seriously think of it as likely to be changed'—and that a society 'of fixed classes, the rich and the poor, or those who give charity and those who receive it': He had no interest in 'social questions'. Mr Thompson recognizes to the full all the points of contact with His contemporaries in their general outlook on the world which the Marcan narrative seems to indicate, and he is

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anxious to find 'natural' explanations of the miracles, of which he gives a careful classification and a detailed examination. I cannot do more here than attempt to state Mr Thompson's position as regards what seem to me to be the main points in his book, and as to the 'theological' questions at issue I can only say that the whole discussion seems to depend upon the thesis that God 'is most truly revealed when He is most truly man'. 'The human in [Jesus] *is* divine. When He is most truly man, then He is most truly God.' These are epigrams as ambiguous as epigrams commonly are, and for my own part I profoundly distrust them, and I do not believe that they represent fairly even the Marcan portrait, or that Mr Thompson's examination of the evidence justifies him in summing up his conclusions in such terms.

What is really significant about Sir John Hawkins's second edition of his invaluable *Horae Synopticae* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1909) is the fact that after ten years of unexampled activity in the study of the synoptic problem he has found it necessary to make so few additions to his original work and only two withdrawals of any importance. Perhaps one of the additions of most general interest is the passage in which the author expresses his 'strong opinion that at least the Second and Third Evangelists had provided themselves with written documents as their main sources, but that they often omitted to refer closely to them, partly because of the physical difficulties which there must then have been in consulting MSS, and partly because of the oral knowledge of the life and sayings of Jesus Christ which they had previously acquired as learners and used as teachers, and upon which it would be natural for them to fall back very frequently'.

Dr J. B. Mayor's edition of *The Epistle of St James* is too well known to require review in these pages. Originally published in 1892, it appeared again in a second edition in 1897, with a detailed examination of the theories of Harnack and Spitta as to the date of the Epistle (Harnack after 120, Spitta pre-Christian); and now we have a third edition (Macmillan & Co., 1910) in which the substance of Dr Mayor's papers in the *Expositor* (July, August, 1908, and Jan. 1909) is incorporated, the discussion on the Brethren of the Lord rewritten and enlarged (without, I think, any change in Dr Mayor's point of view), and the argument for the priority of St James to the Epistles of St Peter and St Paul revised. As the greater part of the book was already in stereotype before the publication of Dr Hort's Commentary Dr Mayor is obliged to refer mainly to articles in this year's *Expositor* for his defence of his own interpretations where they differ from Dr Hort's.

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Dr Schweitzer's *Von Reimarus zu Wrede* roused a storm in Germany on its appearance in 1906. The publication of the English translation under the title of *The Quest of the historical Jesus* (A. & C. Black, 1910) has already attracted wider interest in Dr Schweitzer's theories in England and the inevitable controversy has begun. In default of a full review of the book I would only here call attention, first, to its great value as the story of the various stages through which the study of the literary sources and of the historical credibility of the Gospels has passed—a story written in a brilliant style to which Mr Montgomery's translation seems to do full justice. Dr Schweitzer aims at shewing the failure of all the attempts of investigators of the last century of all schools to reconstruct the figure of 'the historical Jesus'. The record of such failures is none the less valuable if Dr Schweitzer's own attempt has to be added to the list; and Prof. Burkitt has at least done good service to the English-reading public in giving them an opportunity of judging for themselves whether after all the Catholic Church has not preserved an interpretation of the Person of her Lord more adequate to account for all the facts than any of the modern investigators, whose results are recorded here, has produced. Secondly, Dr Hague's article in this number of the JOURNAL shews that the 'apocalyptic' conception of membership of the Kingdom is not so entirely unconditioned by ethical considerations as Dr Schweitzer represents it. None the less it is certain that due weight has not been given by recent critical students of the Gospels to this apocalyptic background; and it seems also clear that some of the chief conservative opponents of Schweitzer can only escape from some of his main conclusions by more ruthless excisions in the Gospel narratives than the most ruthless of critics have commonly ventured to make. *The Hope of Catholick Judaism*, by Mr J. H. A. Hart (Parker & Co., Oxford, 1910), of which a review will appear in these pages later, and the papers read at the recent Church Congress, do much to place the whole subject in its true perspective.

The first edition (1908) of Dr A. Deissmann's *Licht vom Osten* was warmly welcomed in this JOURNAL (vol. xi p. 129), and it is unnecessary to add anything to what was then said as to its great interest and value. A second edition, revised and augmented, was issued last year; and now we have in English what is practically a third edition under the title *Light from the Ancient East* (translated by L. R. M. Strachan: Hodder & Stoughton, 1910). Mr Strachan has been in constant communication with Dr Deissmann during his work and is able to claim that the English translation is more correct than the latest German edition, and that some improvements which he has made in the text and in the indices

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present Dr Deissmann's book in a form in which it is still better adapted to the needs of the general reader and the student.

J. F. BETHUNE-BAKER.

MISCELLANEA.

Church Life and Thought in North Africa A.D. 200, by S. A. DONALDSON, D.D. (Cambridge University Press, 1909), is a very readable and interesting account of a subject which all students of the history of the Church know to be full of life. Dr Donaldson has made diligent use of the best and freshest sources of information and seems to me to have caught the spirit of the period and presented it with no little success. I can heartily endorse his hope that his book may be used by those who are entering on the serious study of early Church history, and I am sure that the wider public he has also in view would find it interesting. Candidates for the premier degree which the University confers may also be interested to know that it can be obtained by a dissertation the subject of which can be treated without display of knowledge of technical theology and is capable of being presented in popular form.

The Faith and Modern Thought, by WILLIAM TEMPLE (Macmillan & Co., 1910), is the title of six lectures delivered, under the auspices of the London Intercollegiate Christian Unions, to men and women students of the University of London. Mr Temple begins by stating the 'colossal assumption' which is 'the basis of all science' that the universe is a rational whole, that 'the truth about facts is what satisfies the mind of man', and argues that this implies a Purpose in the world and therefore a real Will behind it. Religious experience supports the demand of Reason and requires us to predicate of the Being to whom the Will belongs not only wisdom and power but also love; for 'we cannot believe in an Almighty Will which, being entirely able to determine itself, does not will the good'. And yet 'we cannot believe that the world, which it has made, is good, unless the life of Christ was actually lived, and unless, with the sacrifice in which it culminated, it was indeed the revelation of the Father'. So the demand of reason and the facts of experience are in hopeless antagonism unless we accept the whole essential fabric of Christian Theology.

This is a great thesis, and at least for the audience before him Mr Temple seems to me to have worked it out forcibly and attractively, saying many excellent things by the way: though I confess I find the

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two first lectures more satisfying than most of the later ones which deal expressly with the establishment of the facts of the life of Christ and the theological inferences that follow from them. Yet on the whole the book seems to me a useful and timely defence of the Faith.

To *North India*, by the Rev. C. F. ANDREWS, of the Cambridge Brotherhood, Delhi (A. R. Mowbray & Co., 1908), a hearty welcome may be given here, though the book does not bear much on theological studies. It is a vivid picture of the work of Anglican Missions in the North of India, of the dangers which have beset them in the past and still beset them, and of the progress which has been made. Mr Andrews is known to have intense sympathy with the Indian point of view, and his book contains a vigorous plea for the abandonment of the wholly Western setting (indeed one might say the setting conditioned by the circumstances of a single century of the life of the Church of England) in which Christianity has hitherto been presented to India by the Anglican Missions, and for a real attempt to build up a genuinely Indian Church with formularies and prayer book adapted to the special genius of the people, native bishops, and a fully constituted synod.

J. F. B-B.

The Inspiration of Prophecy: An Essay in the Psychology of Inspiration by G. C. JOYCE, D.D. (Henry Frowde, 1910), is the first volume of the 'St Deiniol's Series'. It is written by the Warden of St Deiniol's Library, Hawarden, and is, as stated in the Preface, an attempt to describe some of the phenomena of Inspiration, as observed from the point of view of the psychology of religion. After an examination of the evidence as to the practice of divination among the Hebrews, and a comparison with similar phenomena in Greece and elsewhere, the author traces the developement of divination into prophecy. He takes the view that most of the Prophets, both of the Old and of the New Testament, were men of unusual psychic powers, who saw visions and heard voices while in a condition of hypnotic trance; and he illustrates his meaning by comparison both with the phenomena recorded in such books as Myers's *Human Personality*, and with the experiences described by St Theresa. On these lines he establishes a closer parallel than is at first sight obvious between the Prophets of the Old and those of the New Testament, and this is one of the strong points in his position. He in no way overlooks the work of the Prophets of the Old Testament as statesmen and moral preachers of a more normal type; but he points out with clearness and force that too exclusive stress is often laid on that side of their work, and that it is impossible to account for the language which they use about themselves except by the supposition that they were possessed of unusual psychic

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powers. Some of the instances which he gives hardly seem to necessitate, to say the least of it, the interpretation which he puts upon them, but on the whole he certainly makes out his case. He is careful to point out that it would be contrary to all analogy to suppose that a revelation made under these abnormal conditions must necessarily be infallible, and that ample room is left for the 'discerning of spirits' mentioned by St Paul. Perhaps the most interesting part of a very interesting book is his discussion of the phenomena of 'false prophecy' from this point of view. Dr Joyce has not hesitated to apply the results of modern investigation in a difficult field to the ancient records, and the result is a valuable contribution to an obscure subject. The point of view from which he treats it may be given in his own words, 'Everything has a right to be judged by what it is in its completed state, not by what it was in some earlier stages of its physical or spiritual existence, still less by what its physical or spiritual progenitors may have been. Let prophecy be valued on its merits. The justice of its claim to be a divine message to the world is to be decided in accordance with the evidence of what it has accomplished, not by reference to a history of its origin'.

The book is an excellent inauguration to what promises to be a valuable series. Its attractiveness is much enhanced by the distinction and the charm of the style in which it is written.

G. H. Clayton.

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CHRONICLE

PATRISTICA.

Novatiani Romanae Vrbis Presbyteri De Trinitate Liber: Novatian's Treatise on the Trinity: edited by W. YORKE FAUSSET. (Cambridge University Press, 1909.)

A SEPARATE edition of Novatian *On the Trinity* is welcome; still more welcome would have been an edition of his surviving works. In default of the latter the student must use Landgraf and Weyman's edition of the *De Cibis Iudaicis* alongside of Fausset. Mr Fausset's edition follows the general plan of the series to which it belongs, but hardly reaches the standard of the best in the series. The introduction and the notes are the best parts of the book: the index also deserves our gratitude, though it might have been fuller with advantage. In the absence of manuscript authority, more attention should have been devoted to the readings of the early editions, and we fear that textually Mr Fausset has rather lost the opportunity of gathering up the work of his predecessors for all time. A chapter, also, on Novatian's Biblical Text would have been very much in place: in 1 Tim. iv 1 (p. 110, 15) the emendation *mendaciloquentium* (= Lucifer) might have been risked, especially as in the *De Cibis Iudaicis* (p. 235, 13) the same verse is read with *mendaciloquorum* (= d). It is no easy matter nowadays for an editor of a patristic text to satisfy all his readers: the present chronicler can only say he has read through Mr Fausset's volume with great pleasure: but would not *Vrbis Romanae* (in the title) have been more consonant with usage?

La Tradition des opuscules dogmatiques de Foebadius, Gregorius Illiberitanus, Faustinus. Par DOM ANDRÉ WILMART, O.S.B. (*mit 3 Tafeln*) [*Sitzungsb. d. Wien. Akad.* Bd. clix, 1. Abh.]. (Alfred Hölder, Vienna, 1908.)

THE title sufficiently explains the scope of this brief but learned treatise, which is the earnest of a forthcoming work which will be highly valued by all students of fourth-century dogma. Some ten years ago Mr C. H. Turner in the pages of the JOURNAL expressed the hope that the three works above named might yet be united in one volume. For the task of preparing such an edition Dom Wilmart, who might be called the resuscitator of Gregory of Elvira, is specially qualified. The interrelations which subsist especially between Gregory and Foebadius will be graphically indicated for the first time. The manuscript tradition of the treatises is interesting, and, as it would appear, adequate for

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the reconstruction of their texts. Assuredly the edition of Wilmart will be a great advance on preceding editions and of great interest to students of the Latin Bible as well as to students of the theology of the fourth century. The photographs are of Voss. lat. F. 58 (saec. ix) (of Foebadius), Bodl. Laud. Misc. 276 (saec. ix) (of Gregory), and of Köln xxxiii (saec. ix) (of Faustinus). It is all the more necessary to call attention to a valuable piece of work like this, as no publications issue more unobtrusively from the press than the Vienna *Sitzungsberichte*.[1]

De codicum Prudentianorum generibus et uirtute scripsit IOANNES BERGMAN. (*Adiectae sunt tres tabulae.*) [*Sitzungsb. d. Wien. Akad.* Bd. clvii, 5. Abh.] (Alfred Hölder, Vienna, 1908.)

FOR quite a generation hardly anything critical had been done on the text of Prudentius, when three workers entered the field, Stettiner, with his interesting work on the illustrated manuscripts, Winstedt, well known to readers of this JOURNAL, and Bergman, the future Vienna editor. The valuable papers of Winstedt in the *Classical Review* and elsewhere shewed how much precious and unused material existed for the restoration of the text. Bergman has been similarly comprehensive in his researches, and, as Winstedt has generously put all his own material at the disposal of the other scholar, the present pamphlet gives us as complete and as clear as possible an account of the existing documents. These are wonderfully abundant, there being over 300 manuscripts in existence, of which the last critical editor Dressel knew only sixty-six. At the head of all stands the Puteaneus (Paris B. N. lat. 8084), which is now considered to be not earlier than the sixth century. The older part of the Bobbio MS (Ambros. D 36 sup.) is not later than the seventh century, and there is a fragmentary one of the eighth. While a few belong to the ninth, a great many have survived from the tenth. Classification of the authorities is aided by the order in which the poems come, by the style of the illustrations, by the subscriptions, and by the presence or absence of interpolations. All necessary information about the manuscripts is given, and the comprehensiveness of the work done has probably never been surpassed in the case of any other author: the only rival piece of work the present writer can recall is Von Soden's *Cyprianische Briefsammlung*. The seriousness with which Dr Bergman has taken his task gives one every confidence that his text of the poet will meet all demands. The three interesting photographs are of leaves of Puteaneus, Bobiensis, and a Casinensis.[2]

[1] The name 'Phillipps' has led Dom Wilmart (p. 33), as many others, into error. On p. 31, n. 2, for 'Seek' read 'Seeck'.

[2] On p. 61, l. 9, for 'collegii' read 'uniuersitatis'.

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Sancti Aureli Augustini Scripta contra Donatistas: Pars II: Contra Litteras Petiliani Libri Tres, Epistula ad Catholicos de Secta Donatistarum, Contra Cresconium Libri Quattuor. Recensuit M. PETSCHENIG [Corpus Scr. Eccl. Lat. vol. lii] (Vindobonae et Lipsiae, 1909).—*Sancti Aureli Augustini Scripta contra Donatistas: Pars III: Liber de Unico Baptismo, Breuiculus Collationis cum Donatistis, Contra Partem Donati post Gesta, Sermo ad Caesariensis Ecclesiae Plebem, Gesta cum Emerito Donatistarum Episcopo, contra Gaudentium Donatistarum Episcopum Libri II,* Appendix, Indices. Recensuit M. PETSCHENIG [Corpus Scr. Eccl. Lat. vol. liii] (F. Tempsty, G. Freytag, Vienna & Leipzig, 1910).

HEARTIEST congratulations are due both to the editor and to the printers for the astounding rapidity with which the Vienna edition of the anti-Donatist works of St Augustine has been published. To pass nearly 1,500 octavo pages through the press in a period well under two years is a remarkable feat. With regard to the quality of the work the editor's name is sufficient guarantee.[1] Of the four manuscripts of the *Contra Litteras Petiliani* accessible to the Maurists three only can now be traced, and no fresh MSS have turned up. Two of them are of the twelfth century, one of the eleventh, and all three have been collated afresh for this edition. There is some doubt about the title of the next work. It is commonly cited as *De Unitate Ecclesiae*, but on the faith of an Orléans MS (saec. xi), one of the two coeval surviving manuscripts, Petschenig has given it the more accurate title. (In view of the fact that it is rarely possible to identify the MSS employed by the early editors, it is of interest to know that the second MS was used by Amorbach.) His study of the diction of the tractate has sufficed to remove all doubts on the subject raised by the Maurists. Time has been somewhat kindlier to the MS tradition of the *Contra Cresconium*. A study of the older surviving MSS, all of French provenance, three belonging to the ninth century and one to the tenth, renders it possible to reconstruct an archetype, probably of the Merovingian period. This archetype had the usual errors of that age, and the editor has found emendation not infrequently necessary. An extensive study of the form of the biblical quotations, an excellent test of the quality of an edition, has shewn that this new recension makes a great advance on its predecessors. There are some considerable passages quoted, for example, Acts xvii 16–23, xix 1–7, and Luke xxiv 44–53. The last I have thought it worth while to piece together, representing in capitals what is common to Augustine with Cyprian and *e* against the Vulgate, and in italics what is common to Augustine and the Vulgate.

[1] Cf. vol. xi p. 148 of the JOURNAL.

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(44) ISTI *sunt* SERMONES QUOS *locutus sum ad uos cum adhuc essem uobiscum* QUIA oportebat *impleri* (OPORTET ADIMPLERI) *omnia* (*quae*) *scripta* [*sunt*] *in lege* [*Moysi*] *et prophetis et psalmis de me* (45) *tunc aperuit* eis (*illis*) *sensum ut intellegerent scripturas et dixit eis* (ILLIS) (46) *quoniam* (QUIA) *sic scriptum est et sic oportebat Christum pati et resurgere* [*a mortuis*] [TERTIA DIE] (47) *et praedicari in nomine eius* (suo) *paenitentiam et remissionem peccatorum* per (*in*) *omnes gentes incipientibus* (INCIPIENS) *ab* HIERUSALEM.

(48) ET UOS *testes horum* (horum testes) (49) *et ego mitto* PROMISSIONEM MEAM SUPER *uos uos autem sedete in ciuitate quoad usque induamini* uirtute *ex alto* (50) PRODUXIT *autem* ILLOS usque *Bethaniam et* LEUAUIT MANUS SUAS ET *benedixit* ILLOS (51) *et factum est* CUM BENEDIXISSET ILLOS DISCESSIT *ab eis* (52) *et ipsi* REUERSI *sunt* cum gaudio magno in Hierusalem (53) *et* fuerunt *semper in templo* LAUDANTES *deum.*

This mosaic admirably illustrates Augustine's way of citing small portions of the Gospel after 400.

Some corrections may be suggested. On p. 47, ll. 12–15, the words left unspaced should be spaced, as they belonged to Petilian's Bible, which has hardly received from students the attention it deserves. On p. 122, l. 12, *saltim* should surely have been printed in the text, despite the fact that this form is repudiated in the orthographical index of vol. liii: my own impression is that I have never seen *saltem* in a good MS. On p. 123, l. 8, *Dani(h)elum* should be read. On p. 154, l. 9, space *manifesta opera carnis.* On p. 270, l. 3, *conuertimus nos* should be read with Augustine elsewhere and other Africans: *conuertimur* is Vulgate. Similarly on p. 338, l. 3, *superstitiosos* should be read, as *superstitiosiores* is Vulgate. On p. 375, ll. 3–4, the echo of Col. iii 14 should have been noted. In the index, add an asterisk to Act. ix 4–5, and delete the 5; add an asterisk also to Rom. iii 10–18, as it is not quite identical with the Vulgate; after Phil. i 18 for '322' read '332'.

Of the *De Unico Baptismo* there is a goodly crop of MSS, of which two are of the ninth century and two of the tenth. (In naming certain of the MSS Dr Petschenig has written 'Philippicus' for 'Phillippicus', and 'Durhamensis' for 'Dunelmensis'.) Of the *Breuiculus Collationis cum Donatistis* the editor has not been successful in finding a manuscript copy. Like his predecessors, therefore, he has had to depend on the *editio princeps* of Amorbach, which, however, was printed from a good MS. The *Contra Partem Donati post Gesta* (generally known as the *Ad Donatistas post Collationem*) is preserved in a sixth-century semiuncial MS, but all the MSS are descended from a defective archetype. A thirteenth-century Grenoble manuscript of indifferent worth

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is the solitary representative of the next work on the list, of which the Maurists knew no copy at all. Of the two books *Contra Gaudentium* also a solitary MS has survived (British Museum, Add. MSS 17,291 (saec. xii)), identical with the 'Parcensis' of the Louvain editors: this unfortunately is descended from an archetype which had lost a number of leaves. The appendix contains new editions of two spurious treatises which the Maurists give in their edition, namely the *Sermo de Rusticiano subdiacono*, first published in the middle of the seventeenth century from a MS now lost, and the much more interesting, if rather stupid, *Libellus aduersus Fulgentium Donatistam*. Of the first no MS is now known, but the text of the second has been signally improved by the advent of the Reichenau MS xcv (saec. x). Its Biblical text is of some importance: for instance, its text of Matt. xxiv 41 agrees with *e* in the striking rendering *molendino*. On p. 101, l. 2, *Laudociae* is surely nothing more than an unconscious assimilation to *Cappadociae*: a MS tradition which could preserve *Zmyrnae* can hardly have exhibited *Laudociae* in its archetype. The text of Act. i 6–9 (pp. 219–220) could have been safely devulgatized from other parts of Augustine. On p. 298, l. 21, I should read *resisterunt* with the better MSS.

The plan of the Vienna *Corpus* provides for an index of scripture references at the end of each volume, but other indexes are reserved for the ends of sections, in cases where the authors are voluminous. Thus it happens that, whereas the *Corpus* in all now contains fifteen volumes of Augustine apart from the anti-Donatist works, this is the first section to be completed. Volume liii contains, therefore, in addition to the scripture index, an index 'nominum et rerum', twenty-nine pages long, which all students of the Donatist movement will find invaluable, and also an index 'uerborum et elocutionum' of ninety-eight pages, which from the point of view of other students is equally, if not more, valuable. In fact the last has a very special significance. It happens to be the best and fullest guide published to the language of Augustine, and is quite indispensable to the serious student of that author. An index of orthography at the end appeals to a smaller circle, but is very welcome. In the way of surprises it can hardly be said to contain much: but the absence of *cottidie*, *saltim*, and *scisma*, is significant. With regard to the form *tritticum*, Petschenig mentions that it occurs in the great semi-uncial Hilary of St Peter's (saec. vi), but it is found also in such MSS as *b* and *ff*^{2} of the Gospels, Buchanan having shewn that Bianchini and others ignored it. Examples are Matt. iii 12 (*b*), xiii 25 (*b*), 29 (*b*, *ff*^{2}), 30 (*b*, *ff*^{2}), Ioh. xii 24 (*b*), Lc. iii 17 (*b*), xvi 7 (*b*), xxii 31 (*b*), Mc. iv 28 (*b*).[1] Doubtless the evidence for this form will accumulate as time goes on.

[1] In the case of *b*, I am beholden to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press for a copy of the sheets of *Old-Latin Biblical Texts* vi.

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Now that Dr Petschenig has completed his task, which has often been one of great difficulty, it is no more than his due to express our sense of the thoroughly able and satisfactory manner in which he has performed it, and to wish him an equal success with those works of Hilary and Ambrose, of which he is preparing editions.

ALEX. SOUTER.

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON THE APOCALYPSE OF PETER.

PAGE 49.

Thanks to the kindness of Dr A. E. Cowley and Mr E. O. Winstedt, I am able to add a small portion of another Greek text of the Apocalypse, which is contained on a vellum fragment assigned to the fifth century, acquired in 1895 from Egypt by the Bodleian Library, and now classed as MS Gr. theol. f. 4 (P) (no. 31810 in Madan's Summary Catalogue). It had been conjecturally assigned to the Apocalypse, and on comparison with the Ethiopic it proves to contain a passage corresponding to that on p. 49 descriptive of the punishment of idolaters. The fragment is a leaf of a tiny vellum book which contained a single column of thirteen lines of eight to ten letters each on each page. The recto, so far as Mr Winstedt has been able to decipher it, reads: *⟨γυ⟩ναῖκες κ . | . . υντες ἀλύ|⟨σ⟩εις καὶ μα|⟨στ⟩ιγοῦντε⟨ς⟩ | ⟨ἓα⟩υτοὺς ἐμ|⟨πρ⟩οσθεν τ⟨ού⟩|⟨τ⟩ων εἰδώλ⟨ων⟩ | ⟨τ⟩ῶν πλάν⟨ων⟩ | καὶ ἀναν⟨α⟩|παύστως ⟨ἕ⟩|ξουσιν τ⟨ὴ⟩ν | κόλασιν. | καὶ ἔγγυς . .*

Missing or doubtful letters are placed between ⟨ ⟩. The writing on the verso is very faint. It ends with a passage analogous to *οἱ ἀφέντες τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ θεοῦ* (the last words of the Akhmim text), but in different phraseology.

We seem to have here a relic of another shortened text of the Apocalypse, —shortened, that is, by comparison with the Ethiopic, which, we have seen reason to believe, gives a text nearer to that which was in the hands of Clement of Alexandria and Methodius.

At the beginning we must supply something like *ἄλλοι ἄνδρες καὶ ⟨γυναῖκες⟩*: the participle that follows ought to be, one imagines, some such word as *φοροῦντες, ἕλκοντες, σύροντες*: but the initial *κ* seems plain. A *τῶν* has probably slipped out before *εἰδώλων*: there is no room for it in the manuscript.

The employment of the future tense (*ἕξουσιν*) is noteworthy as agreeing with the Ethiopic: on the verso Mr Winstedt reads *ἔσονται ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες.*

PAGE 53.

M. Grébaut has had the great kindness to lend me the proofs of a further instalment of his translation of the Ethiopic text. It begins with a section corresponding pretty closely to §§ 2–4 James 4–14 Preuschen. Then follow traces of § 5 James 15–20 Preuschen. After this is a somewhat obscure narrative introducing most of the elements of the Transfiguration. The section ends: 'We prayed and came down from the mountain, glorifying the Lord because He had written the names of the righteous in the book of life which is in the heavens.' Peter then addresses Clement. The substance of what he says has been given very shortly in the analysis. It is noteworthy that twice over there occur portions of the description of the righteous in glory, borrowed from the Apocalypse. But, speaking generally, this address to Clement is of late complexion and very diffuse and evasive. I cannot as yet pronounce with any confidence as to the amount of old material which is worked up in it. For one thing, M. Grébaut's translation does not extend to the end of the tract. The impression remains on my mind that the old Apocalypse contained some teaching as to the possibility of ultimate salvation of sinners. The Ethiopic writer is constantly leading up to this and then retreating. There are repeated injunctions to Peter not to reveal the mystery of the mercy of God to sinners, because they will defer their repentance: but what form that mercy will take is never (or not as yet) clearly stated. I am reluctantly obliged to withhold for the present a more detailed account of this portion of M. Grébaut's work.

M. R. J.

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RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, July 1910 (Vol. lxx, No. 140: Spottiswoode & Co.). King Edward the Seventh—G. C. RICHARDS Reunion and the Churches of Scandinavia—A. G. B. WEST Education in Australia—The modern conception of the Kingdom of Heaven—T. B. STRONG, W. H. FRERE, A. J. TAIT, H. KELLY The training and examination of candidates for Orders—The Women's Charter—The rating of tithe rent-charge attached to a benefice—The novels of Mr Henry James—J. P. WHITNEY Pope Gregory VII and the Hildebrandine ideal—Short notices.

The Hibbert Journal, July 1910 (Vol. viii, No. 4: Williams & Norgate). PARS MINIMA An open letter to English gentlemen—W. M. CHILDS Woman Suffrage: a review and a conclusion — W. JAMES A pluralistic mystic—J. BROWN The message of anarchy—C. CLEMEN Professor Harnack on Acts—L. T. MORE The metaphysical tendencies of modern physics—A. K. ROGERS Mr Bernard Shaw's philosophy—E. ARMITAGE Why Athanasius won at Nicaea — C. J. WHITBY Is punishment a crime?—J. J. CHAPMAN The comic—H. W. CARR The philosophy of Henri Bergson—B. P. BOWNE Gains for religious thought in the last generation—Discussions—Reviews—Recent books and articles.

The Expositor, July 1910 (Seventh Series, No. 55: Hodder & Stoughton). W. M. CALDER Zeus and Hermes at Lystra—J. ORR Sin as a problem of to-day: 6. Sin and evolutionary theory—the origins—S. R. DRIVER Psalm xvi—E. H. ASKWITH Historical value of the Fourth Gospel: 11. The ministry of Jesus according to the fourth evangelist—W. E. BARNES An ancient Christian Hymn Book—K. LAKE The early Christian treatment of sin after baptism—T. H. WEIR Some fresh Bible parallels—J. H. MOULTON and G. MILLIGAN Lexical notes from the papyri.

August 1910 (Seventh Series: No. 56). G. W. STEWART The place of rewards in the teaching of Christ—S. A. COOK Notes on the old Canaanite religion—S. LANGDON Relation between Canaan and Babylonia in the Hammurabi epoch—W. M. CALDER The 'priest' of Zeus at Lystra—J. ORR Sin as a problem of to-day: 7. Sin and heredity—the racial aspect—J. R. CAMERON The Lamb of God—J. R. WILKINSON A play on words in the Logia.

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September 1910 (Seventh Series: No. 57). E. KÖNIG The significance of the Patriarchs in the history of Religion—J. ORR Sin as a problem of to-day: 8. Sin original and actual—the depraved state—G. W. STEWART The place of rewards in the teaching of Christ—A. R. GORDON Skinner's 'Genesis'—E. H. ASKWITH Historical value of the Fourth Gospel: 12. Some objections to the historicity of the Fourth Gospel considered—J. R. CAMERON The Lamb of God—J. H. MOULTON and G. MILLIGAN Lexical notes from the papyri.

(2) AMERICAN.

The American Journal of Theology, July 1910 (Vol. xiv, No. 3: Chicago University Press). H. P. SMITH The origin of the Messianic hope in Israel—D. C. MACINTOSH The pragmatic element in the teaching of Paul—J. J. MARTIN The nature of the Atonement—A. H. LLOYD The possible idealism of a pluralist—Estimates and comments —Recent theological literature.

The Princeton Theological Review, July 1910 (Vol. viii, No. 3: Princeton University Press)—L. F. BENSON English hymnody: its later developments—J. R. MACKAY The Westminster promise and vow—C. R. MOREY The origin of the fish-symbol—H. BAVINCK The reformed Churches in the Netherlands—Reviews of recent literature.

(3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

Revue Bénédictine, July 1910 (Vol. xxvii, No. 3: Abbaye de Maredsous). D. DE BRUYNE Quelques documents nouveaux pour l'histoire du texte africain des Évangiles.—J. CHAPMAN The controverted Letters of Pope Liberius (*suite et fin*)—G. MORIN Un Commentaire romain sur S. Marc, de la première moitié du Ve siècle—I. SCHUSTER Martyrologium Pharphense, ex apographo Card. Tamburini codicis saeculi XI (*suite et fin*)—J. DE GHELLINCK La diffusion des œuvres de Gandulphe de Bologne au moyen âge—G. MORIN Notes liturgiques—A. WILMART Extraits d'*Acta Pauli*—G. MORIN Un épisode inédit du passage de l'empereur Henri IV à Liège, en MCIII—Comptes rendus—Notes bibliographiques.

Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses, July–Aug. 1910 (New Series, Vol. i, No. 4: Paris, 14 Rue de Notre-Dame-de-Lorette). E. C. BABUT Remarques sur les deux lettres de Pline et de Trajan, relatives aux chrétiens de Bithynie—A. LOISY Le récit du déluge dans la tradition de Nippour—L. COULANGE Jésus prédicateur du royaume—A. LOISY Le sacrifice humain dans l'antiquité israélite—Lettre de M. Salomon Reinach au Directeur de la Revue—Note de la Rédaction —Chronique bibliographique: X Littérature du Nouveau-Testament: XI Origines chrétiennes—Faits et documents religieux contemporains.

Sept.-Oct. 1910 (Vol. i, No. 5). A. LOISY Le mythe du Christ —A. VANBECK La Pénitence dans les écrits des premières générations chrétiennes—E. C. BABUT Saint Martin de Tours—Chronique bibliographique: XI Origines chrétiennes: XII Histoire de l'Église: XIII

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Histoire des dogmes chrétiens—Faits et documents religieux contemporains.

Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, July 1910 (Vol. xi, No. 3: Louvain, 40 Rue de Namur). J. FLAMION Les actes apocryphes de Pierre (*suite, à suivre*)—C. MOHLBERG Fragments palimpsestes d'un sacramentaire gélasien de Reichenau—F. CALLAEY Les idées mystico-politiques d'un franciscain spirituel: étude sur l'*Arbor vitae* d'Ubertin de Casale—P. RICHARD Origines et développement de la Secrétairerie d'État apostolique (1417–1823)—Comptes rendus—Chronique—Bibliographie.

Revue de l'Orient Chrétien, April 1910 (New Series, Vol. v, No. 2: Paris, Rue du Regard 20). F. NAU Le texte grec de trois homélies de Nestorius et d'une homélie inédite sur le Psaume 96—F. NAU La version syriaque de la vision de Théophile sur le séjour de la Vierge en Égypte—L. DELAPORTE Catalogue sommaire des manuscrits coptes de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris—P. DIB Deux discours de Cyriaque évêque de Behnésâ sur la fuite en Égypte—L. LEROY La dormition de la Vierge (traduction de manuscrit arabe de Paris nº 150, fol. 157)—F. NAU Hagiographie syriaque: Saint Alexis; Jean et Paul; Daniel de Galas; Kannina; Euphémie; Sahda; Récits de Mélèce sur le vendredi, sur Marc et Gaspar, et sur un homme riche qui perdit tous ses enfants; Légendes de Pierre le publicain, d'une veuve et d'une vierge de Jérusalem, de Jean, moine d'Antioche (*fin*)—S. GREBAUT Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-Clémentine: texte et traduction du traité *La seconde venue du Christ et la résurrection des morts.*

(4) GERMAN.

Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums, August 1910 (Vol. xi, No. 3: Giessen, A. Töpelmann). R. SCHÜTZ Ιερουσαλημ und Ιεροσολυμα im Neuen Testament—F. DIBELIUS Zwei Worte Jesu—F. SPITTA Zum Verständnis der Oden Salomos—C. CLEMEN Nochmals die Zahl des Tieres Apc. 13, 18—O. HOLTZMANN Die Schafe werden sich in Wölfe verwandeln—F. C. CONYBEARE The Georgian version of the N.T.—Miszellen.

Theologische Quartalschrift (Vol. xcii, No. 3: Tübingen, H. Laupp). WEBER Abfassungszeit und Leserkreis des Galaterbriefes—EURINGER Abessinien und der hl. Stuhl—PFÄTTISCH Platos Einfluss auf die Rede Konstantins—WECKER Christlicher Einfluss auf den Buddhismus?—Rezensionen—Analekten.

Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, August 1910 (Vol. xxxi, No. 3: Gotha, F. A. Perthes). ASMUS Die Invektiven des Gregorius von Nazianz im Lichte der Werke des Kaisers Julian—KALKOFF Zu Luthers römischem Prozess—SPITTA Die ältesten evangelischen Liederbücher aus Königsberg (2. Teil)—Miszelle—Nachrichten.

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The Journal
of
Theological Studies

JANUARY, 1911

L'ORIGINE DU SYMBOLE D'ATHANASE.[1]

I

Pourquoi l'on n'a pu s'entendre jusqu'à présent sur l'origine du *Quicumque*: insuffisance de l'évidence interne: sur quoi il faut être fixé en premier lieu.

Relativement à l'origine du *Quicumque* ou Symbole d'Athanase, trois données sont désormais acquises, sur lesquelles tous les critiques sont d'accord:

En premier lieu, la pièce n'est point de S. Athanase, bien qu'elle porte son nom dans de nombreux manuscrits comme dans l'usage officiel;

Secondement, elle a été rédigée, non en grec, mais en latin;

Troisièmement enfin, elle est pour sûr antérieure à l'époque carolingienne. Swainson, de nos jours, a émis une théorie d'après laquelle le *Quicumque* n'aurait été constitué qu'au cours du IXe siècle, au moyen de deux parties distinctes qu'on aurait alors soudées l'une à l'autre. Cette théorie est de tout point insoutenable, un seul fait suffit à le prouver: nous possédons plusieurs copies du texte complet du *Quicumque*, remontant au VIIIe siècle; l'une d'elles peut même être datée de l'an 700 environ, plutôt avant qu'après.[2]

En dehors de ces trois points, c'est l'incertitude la plus déconcertante, une divergence d'opinions tout à fait extraordinaire. Par exemple, pour ce qui est du pays d'origine, les meilleurs juges, en Angleterre surtout, ont opiné pour la Gaule méridionale, la vallée du Rhône et la Provence, en tout cas, pour la sphère

[1] Four Lectures delivered in Oxford in October 1910.

[2] Celle du ms. de Bobbio, Ambrosian. O 212 sup. 'It may be earlier, while it cannot well be later, than 700 A.D.' (Turner *Journal of Theol. Studies* xi 401). Telle était aussi l'opinion d'A. Ceriani, lorsque je l'interrogeai sur ce sujet, il y a dix ans. Cf. A. E. Burn *Facsimiles of the Creeds from Early Manuscripts* (London 1909) p. 22.

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d'influence de l'école de Lérins : c'est même là, on peut le dire, le sentiment qui tend à prévaloir de plus en plus à notre époque. Cependant, des érudits très compétents ont soutenu la possibilité d'une provenance espagnole ou africaine ; tout dernièrement, même, une voix s'est élevée en faveur de Milan.

Encore moins est-on près de s'entendre au sujet de la date. Le jésuite Brewer[1] croit pouvoir la fixer entre l'automne de 382 et l'hiver de l'année suivante. Künstle[2] est également d'avis qu'elle peut remonter jusqu'au déclin du IVe siècle ; Kattenbusch,[3] au second décennium du Ve. Waterland, Ommanney, Burn, placent la composition du Symbole à des dates qui vont s'échelonnant entre 427 et 450, tandis que Caspari et Kraus n'ont pas hésité à l'abaisser jusqu'au VIe siècle. Moi-même, il y a neuf ans,[4] j'essayais de montrer que, si véritablement le *Quicumque* est originaire du sud de la Gaule, rien n'empêche de descendre jusqu'à la première moitié du VIe siècle, plusieurs motifs semblent même y inviter ; mais il n'est guère possible de dépasser cette date, sans quoi l'on tombe en pleine décadence et barbarie. C'est à cette solution que s'est rallié, provisoirement du moins, l'un des 'hommes d'Oxford' qui contribuent le plus, présentement, au renom de cette Université, Mr Turner.[5] Le Dr Loofs,[6] au contraire, examen fait des différentes hypothèses émises jusqu'à ce jour, persiste à prétendre que le *Quicumque* est le résultat d'un long travail d'élucubration et d'accrétions successives qui ont pu se produire de 450 à l'an 600.

Ainsi, désaccord complet entre les savants : les uns voient dans le *Quicumque* un produit de l'âge d'or de la patristique, d'une époque où 'l'originalité de la pensée' était encore un don commun des théologiens[7] ; les autres y reconnaissent plutôt l'œuvre d'un compilateur — d'un compilateur de premier ordre, évidemment — plus voisin, toutefois, des Césaire et des Isidore que des Augustin et des Ambroise.

[1] *Das sog. Athanasianische Glaubensbekenntnis ein Werk des hl. Ambrosius* (Paderborn 1909) p. 89 sq.

[2] *Antipriscilliana* (Freiburg i. B. 1905) p. 241.

[3] *Theolog. Literaturzeitung* an. xxii (1897) col. 144.

[4] *Rev. Bénédictine* xviii (1901) p. 337 sqq.

[5] *The History and Use of Creeds and Anathemas in the Early Centuries of the Church* (1906) p. 75.

[6] Art. *Athanasianum*, dans la *Realencyklopädie f. prot. Theologie*, 3e édit., ii 177 sqq.

[7] Burn *An Introduction to the Creeds* (London 1899) p. 182.

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D'où vient cet écart d'opinion si prononcé?

En premier lieu, de la pénurie exceptionnelle de témoignages externes: il existe peu de documents au sujet desquels elle se fasse sentir à un tel degré. Prenons, par exemple, le *Te Deum*, dont l'origine aussi donna lieu, jusqu'à nos jours, à d'interminables discussions: la difficulté, en ce cas, venait précisément de la multitude d'attributions différentes suggérées par les manuscrits, et d'ailleurs, l'existence de cet hymne fameux, sa diffusion dans toute l'Église d'Occident, étaient clairement attestées dès le commencement du VIe siècle. Ici, rien de pareil: aucun nom qui puisse passer pour traditionnel, à part celui de l'inacceptable 'Athanase d'Alexandrie'; pas la moindre attestation précise, pas ombre d'indice vraiment significatif, durant toute la période à laquelle la majorité des critiques rattache jusqu'ici l'origine du *Quicumque*.

Autre cause de désaccord, la nature de la pièce elle-même: elle est si courte, si impersonnelle surtout, qu'ici ce qu'on est convenu d'appeler 'l'évidence interne' ne pouvait aboutir qu'à des résultats incertains et, pour la plupart, très subjectifs. Par exemple, on s'est efforcé de discerner quelles étaient les erreurs dogmatiques spécialement visées dans le *Quicumque*, et à quelle école théologique se rattachait sa terminologie: on espérait, d'après cela, être en état de lui assigner une date, une patrie.

Mais avant de se livrer à un semblable examen, il eût fallu d'abord envisager cette question préliminaire: le *Quicumque* rentre-t-il, oui ou non, dans la catégorie des écrits de polémique qu'on puisse rapporter à une phase nettement déterminée du développement de la théologie? Le professeur Kattenbusch l'a cru, et n'a pas craint d'écrire[1] que 'la prédominance de la polémique est pour lui réellement la caractéristique de l'Athanasianum'. En quoi le prof. K. Künstle et le Dr Burn lui donnent pleinement raison, acceptant son principe, que les Expositions de foi peuvent être généralement datées d'après la plus récente des hérésies contre lesquelles elles sont dirigées. Au contraire, Mr Turner, sans vouloir nier que ce principe ne soit fondé dans la plupart des cas, croit reconnaître — et avec raison, selon moi — que son application indiscrète, dans la question qui nous occupe, a été pour une grande part dans l'insuccès des érudits à se mettre

[1] *Das apost. Symbol* ii 401.

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d'accord sur la date du *Quicumque*. On a voulu y voir des allusions à telle ou telle hérésie, par exemple à celles d'Apollinaire ou de Priscillien, mais aucune encore au Nestorianisme ; conclusion : donc la formule doit être antérieure à l'année 430. Je ne conteste pas qu'il ne puisse y avoir çà et là de ces allusions, de ces comparaisons, de ces termes, qui se rattachent à un étage spécial de l'activité théologique ; je soutiens seulement que, dans le cas présent, il est impossible de les découvrir et démontrer tels *a priori*. Au point de vue doctrinal, le *Quicumque* ne contient rien qui ne soit un peu de tous les temps : il contredit l'une après l'autre, et avec une égale vigueur, chacune des principales erreurs qui ont surgi à partir du IVe siècle contre la Trinité et l'Incarnation. Que si quelqu'une de ces grandes luttes dogmatiques semble n'y avoir suscité aucun écho, il ne faut pas trop se hâter d'en conclure que la rédaction de la pièce est antérieure à cet épisode de la controverse : une explication tout aussi naturelle serait que la controverse pouvait n'avoir plus dès lors qu'un intérêt secondaire, ou même plus d'intérêt du tout, pour le but pratique que se proposait l'auteur. Et je me trompe bien, ou ce but n'était nullement en premier lieu polémique : il s'agissait surtout de mettre à la portée des plus simples fidèles un sommaire très précis et facile à retenir de la croyance catholique,[1] à l'aide des expressions opposées successivement par les Pères et les théologiens aux grandes hérésies des premiers siècles. Encore une fois, il n'est rien, dans tout ce matériel théologique, qui puisse, *a priori*, être revendiqué pour les environs de l'an 400 plutôt que pour ceux de l'an 600. La vraie, la seule particularité caractéristique du *Quicumque*, c'est la façon dont il se présente, sa structure extérieure : quant au fond lui-même, c'est peine perdue, selon moi, que d'y vouloir chercher de prime abord des indices chronologiques quelconques.

Il me faut justifier cette assertion, qui ruine par la base la méthode d'investigation généralement suivie jusqu'ici.

Commençons par la première partie (versets 1–26), qui contient l'exposé du dogme de la Trinité. Qu'y a-t-il là, en fait de

[1] Burn a fini par le reconnaître dernièrement, dans son introduction aux *Facsimiles* p. 25 : 'The trend of evidence in these early MSS does confirm another historical conclusion, that the early use of the creed was rather as an instruction on the faith than a canticle.'

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concept théologique, qui soit particulier à notre *Quicumque*? Burn lui-même[1] est obligé d'avouer que chacune des formules qui la composent était entrée depuis S. Augustin dans le domaine commun de la pensée chrétienne: même l'emploi du mot *substantia* pour signifier l'essence de la Divinité, même cette procession de l'Esprit Saint *a Patre et Filio*, affirmée dès le IVe siècle depuis Milan[2] jusqu'à l'Espagne.

L'insertion des mots *et deum et dominum* (℣ 19) a paru à M. Paul Lejay[3] trahir ce qu'il appelle une 'préoccupation spéciale'. Alors, il faut reconnaître que cette préoccupation s'est fait jour et très tôt et très tard, et un peu dans tout l'Occident: car la dite expression se retrouve à peu près partout, à partir de Tertullien, d'Hilaire et de S. Ambroise; elle a été, notamment, admise de bonne heure dans les formules officielles de l'Église d'Espagne, de même qu'elle était d'usage courant en Gaule aux VIe et VIIe siècles.[4]

On a espéré pouvoir tirer davantage des versets (27–35) qui traitent du mystère de l'Incarnation: par exemple, du manque d'affirmations explicites concernant, soit la maternité divine de Marie, soit la consubstantialité de la chair du Christ avec la nôtre, soit enfin la qualité de 'fils unique de Dieu'. On a relevé également la comparaison entre l'union des deux natures dans le Christ et celle du corps et de l'âme dans l'homme. Il n'y a pas jusqu'à ces ablatifs *non conversione divinitatis* IN CARNE, *sed assumptione humanitatis* IN DEO, leçon primitive, semble-t-il, au lieu du texte reçu, *in carnem, in deum*, dont on n'ait cherché à se prévaloir pour y découvrir un indice chronologique quelconque. Ceci doit être contemporain de la crise nestorienne; cela semble indiquer que la controverse contre Eutychès n'est pas encore ouverte: donc . . . Mais combien tout cela est caduc, quand on y regarde de près! Ainsi, la maternité divine est assez ordinairement exprimée dans les formules orientales postérieures au Nestorianisme, mais elle n'apparaît guère qu'à titre exceptionnel et pour des motifs de circonstance dans les formules occidentales; elle se rencontre dans le *Constitutum* du pape

[1] *An Introduction to the Creeds* p. 138 sq.

[2] Cf. Brewer *op. cit.* pp. 38 et 57 sq.

[3] *Le rôle théologique de Césaire d'Arles* (Paris 1906) p. 54 note 1.

[4] Cf. Hahn *Bibliothek der Symbole*, 3e édit., aux endroits indiqués dans la table, p. 396, ainsi que mon étude déjà citée de 1901, p. 351 sq.

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Vigile[1] et dans la profession de foi de Pélage Ier,[2] mais elle fait défaut dans l'immense majorité des autres documents analogues que nous possédons, depuis le *Libellus* de l'évêque espagnol Pastor[3] du milieu du Ve siècle, jusqu'à la profession de foi de Grégoire le Grand,[4] à l'approche de l'an 600. Il en est de même du manque d'insistance sur l'*unus dei filius*: si elle se trouve dans la rétractation de Leporius[5] vers 418, c'est en vain qu'on la chercherait dans la plupart des autres Expositions de foi, même après la condamnation de Nestorius. Et puis, n'y a-t-il pas quelque impertinence à exiger que l'auteur du *Quicumque* ait dû dire absolument tout ce qu'il fallait dire, et ce, avec toute la précision imaginable? On trouve étrange, dans le cas où il serait postérieur à Eutychès, qu'il ait continué à emprunter à S. Augustin et à Vincent de Lérins cette comparaison défectueuse tirée de la constitution de la personnalité humaine: et l'on oublie que Fauste de Riez, Mamert Claudien, Vigile de Thapse, Jean Maxence, d'autres encore, n'ont éprouvé aucun scrupule à en faire autant.[6] On ne comprend pas qu'il ait pu omettre d'insérer 'que le Christ nous était consubstantiel selon sa nature humaine, comme il était consubstantiel au Père selon sa nature divine'. Peut-être a-t-il compris, lui, que l'application du fameux ὁμοούσιον à l'Incarnation ne suggérerait rien de particulièrement précis à l'esprit des simples fidèles, qu'il s'était, du reste, exprimé là-dessus assez clairement au ℣ 29: *Deus est* EX SUBSTANTIA PATRIS . . . *homo est* EX SUBSTANTIA *matris*. Et quant aux ablatifs incorrects *in carne, in deo*, qui ne voit qu'ils équivalent, évidemment, à des accusatifs, et ne tirent pas plus à conséquence que le *Credo in deo . . . et in Christo Iesu . . . et in Spiritu sancto* attestés par divers témoins excellents de la forme la plus ancienne du symbole apostolique?[7]

Passons à la finale, relative à l'œuvre de la rédemption et aux fins dernières. Plusieurs des passages précédents avaient été allégués comme preuves que le *Quicumque* était antérieur à

[1] Hahn *op. cit.* p. 333.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 334. Les deux formules sont en connexion étroite avec les synodes œcuméniques tenus en Orient.

[3] Künstle *op. cit.* p. 43. [4] Hahn, p. 337. [5] *Ibid.* p. 299.

[6] Cf. la récente étude de L. Tonetti sur l'' âme du Christ dans la théologie du N.T. et des Pères', dans la *Rivista storico-critica delle scienze teologiche* vi (1910) p. 561 sqq. [7] Cf. Hahn, §§ 20, 36, 38, 46, 60, 67 (note 193), 90, 92.

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l'Eutychianisme, voire même au Nestorianisme ; ici, au contraire, et particulièrement dans les versets 36-37, certains théologiens, entre autres le prof. Harnack,[1] ont cru distinguer des indices d'une époque assez basse. Ce qui les porte à en juger ainsi, c'est que plusieurs des expressions qui font partie de cette citation évidente du symbole apostolique appartiennent à une forme postérieure de celui-ci, non à la rédaction attestée aux IVe et Ve siècles. Voyons ce qu'il en est. Les mots *dei omnipotentis* ajoutés à l'article de l'Ascension ? Ils constituent une interpolation : le texte primitif du *Quicumque* porte simplement *sedit ad dexteram patris.*[2] Le *descendit ad inferos* ? Dans nos contrées, il est vrai, il n'a guère trouvé place dans le symbole que vers l'époque de Fortunat,[3] à la fin du VIe siècle ; mais à Aquilée et dans l'Illyricum il était officiellement reçu au moins deux cents ans auparavant.[4] Il figure également dans ce curieux symbole du soi-disant Jérôme que j'ai publié il y a six ans,[5] et que dom Wilmart[6] croit pouvoir revendiquer pour l'évêque espagnol Grégoire d'Elvire, du IVe siècle. J'en dirai autant de *passus* : antérieurement aux formules des sacramentaires du VIIe siècle, nous trouvons ce terme inséré, à partir du IVe, dans les symboles dont se servent, en Gaule, Victricius de Rouen,[7] en Illyrie, Niceta de Remesiana,[8] en Espagne, Grégoire d'Elvire[9] et Martin de Braga.[10] On a parfois prétendu que la connexion des mots *pro salute nostra* avec la Passion, au lieu de l'Incarnation, est une particularité que l'on constate rarement, en dehors du *Quicumque*[11] : il n'en existerait qu'un ou deux exemples du VIe et du VIIe siècle ; encore le second est-il fourni par le IVe concile de Tolède,

[1] *Dogmengeschichte*, 3e édit., iii 279 sq.

[2] Cf. Turner *A Critical Text of the Quicumque vult*, dans *J.T.S.* xi (1910) pp. 401-411.

[3] Hahn, §§ 38, 65, 66, 67, et 54, 55, et *Rev. Bénéd.* xviii 358 sq.

[4] *Ibid.* § 36 (note 63).

[5] *Anecdota Maredsolana* iii 3 p. 199 et *Rev. Bénéd.* xxi (1904) p. 3.

[6] *La tradition des opuscules dogmatiques de Foebadius, Gregorius Illiberitanus, Faustinus* dans les *Sitzungsberichte* de l'Académie de Vienne (23 oct. 1907) p. 18 note 2, du tir. à part.

[7] Hahn, § 60. [8] Burn *Niceta of Remesiana* p. 43, et introd. p. lxxiv.

[9] Le Pseudo-Phébade, Hahn, § 59 (cf. Wilmart, dans le *Bulletin de littérat. ecclés.* de Toulouse, oct.-nov. 1906, p. 297 note 1) ; le Pseudo-Jérôme, dans les *Anecd. Mareds.* iii 3 p. 199.

[10] Hahn, § 54.

[11] Ommanney *A Critical Dissertation on the Athanasian Creed* (Oxford 1897) p. 368.

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dans un passage emprunté, comme nous le verrons, au symbole d'Athanase. Le P. Brewer[1] a fait dernièrement observer que, dès les environs de l'an 400, Rufin d'Aquilée avait adopté à deux reprises la même terminologie, là même où il décrit la profession de foi baptismale. Il a aussi rappelé[2] que la formule de la Consécration, au canon de la messe ambrosienne, débute par ces mots: *Qui pridie quam* PRO NOSTRA *et omnium* SALUTE *pateretur*. Et j'ajouterai que cette rédaction devait faire partie du canon romain à l'époque où l'adopta l'Église de Milan: car elle a été conservée, même à Rome, jusqu'à nos jours dans la messe du Jeudi saint: *Qui pridie quam pro nostra omniumque salute pateretur, hoc est, hodie* . . . Le *Missale gothicum* l'a aussi, avec une légère variante: *Qui pridie quam pro nostra omnium salute pateretur*.[3] Nous trouvons pareillement, au commencement du Ve siècle, dans une profession de foi pélagienne attribuée à Julien d'Éclanum[4]: *Hunc igitur credimus* OB NOSTRAM SALUTEM *secundum carnem* PASSUM *et sepultum*.

On le voit, il n'est aucune de ces expressions qui ne soit attestée quelque part, du IVe au VIIe siècle. Si nous étions fixés sur la patrie du *Quicumque*, elles nous aideraient peut-être à déterminer la date de celui-ci; et réciproquement, si nous savions la date, il y aurait espoir d'arriver par elles à découvrir le pays d'origine. Mais l'une et l'autre de ces deux données nous faisant également défaut, la présence dans le symbole des expressions en question demeure pour nous, provisoirement du moins, un élément inutilisable, un fait dénué de toute signification.

Il en est de même de ces traits semipélagiens, selon les uns,[5] antipriscillianistes, selon d'autres,[6] qu'on a découverts dans les mots *Quicumque* VULT *salvus esse* . . . *resurgere habent* CUM CORPORIBUS SUIS, *et reddituri sunt* DE FACTIS PROPRIIS *rationem*. D'abord, l'assertion de la réalité du libre arbitre et de la responsabilité des actes humains, pas plus que celle de la résurrection des

[1] *op. cit.* p. 190.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 65.

[3] Cf. 'Une particularité inaperçue du *Qui pridie* de la messe romaine aux environs de l'an DC' dans *Rev. Bénéd.* d'octobre 1910.

[4] Hahn, § 211.

[5] Par ex. Harnack, vers la fin de la note citée plus haut.

[6] Burn *An Introduction to the Creeds* pp. 142–145; Künstle *Antipriscilliana* p. 229.

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corps, ne dénotent précisément ce qu'on peut appeler des 'préoccupations spéciales'. Mais admettons qu'il s'agit ici, par exemple, du Priscillianisme: que tirer, encore une fois, d'une pareille donnée? Tout au plus, une certaine probabilité en faveur de l'Espagne comme patrie du *Quicumque*. Encore ne faut-il pas oublier que le Priscillianisme a été combattu même en dehors de l'Espagne, et, quant à la date, cette erreur a sévi, elle aussi, du IVe au VIIe siècle.

Non, comme je le disais, ce n'est pas telle ou telle tendance doctrinale qui caractérise proprement le *Quicumque*, mais bien la façon plutôt rare et nouvelle dont la doctrine est formulée.[1] Et cette nouveauté elle-même ne s'accuse pas tant dans la terminologie théologique — laquelle, au fond, n'offre rien de particulièrement frappant — que dans l'ensemble de la pièce, dans la manière dont elle se présente, dans sa structure générale. On pourra, en cherchant bien, extraire, soit de S. Ambroise, soit d'autres écrivains ecclésiastiques, la plupart des termes qui sont entrés dans la composition du *Quicumque*; mais ce qu'on ne trouvera nulle part avant lui — sauf dans le *Te Deum*, cet 'hymne de foi' d'un autre genre — c'est cette succession ininterrompue de propositions serrées, cet alignement de formules simples, lucides, presque sèches dans leur majestueuse sévérité, qui excluent toute superfluité oratoire, et pourtant se balancent si harmonieusement sur un rythme plein de charme: ce quelque chose d'artistique et autoritaire tout ensemble, auquel on reconnaît le maître admirablement au courant de la tradition doctrinale, mais aussi habitué à vivre en contact avec les classiques, et façonnant naturellement d'après ceux-ci le moule où il jettera la quintessence de celle-là. Car on peut dire que le *Quicumque* est vraiment de facture classique, dans sa noble et sculpturale concision; et pourtant, cette concision s'y trouve alliée à une telle clarté, que la plupart des simples fidèles devaient être à même de le comprendre et d'en retenir le texte, du moins à l'époque où il fut composé.[2]

[1] Kattenbusch, qui avait d'abord cru découvrir dans la polémique la vraie caractéristique de l'Athanasianum, a depuis lors admis que 'das Charakteristische an der Formel ist ihre eigenthümlich kunstmässige Gestalt' (*Theol. Literaturz.* xxii 144).

[2] On pourrait même dire jusqu'à l'époque moderne, le *Quicumque* ou sa traduction ayant trouvé place dans presque tous les Livres d'Heures à l'usage des laïques. Cranmer n'a donc pas tant innové en l'admettant dans le Prayer Book à l'usage de l'Église Anglicane; c'est grâce à cela que les membres de cette Église sont

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On dira que tout cela est encore assez vague; qu'il n'y a guère là, en somme, qu'une sorte d'impression esthétique, et partant plus ou moins entachée de subjectivisme. Je ne contesterai point cette part d'élément subjectif, mais aussi il me paraît évident qu'il y a ici davantage. Je pose en fait, que tout esprit vraiment critique, qui possède à fond la littérature chrétienne d'Occident du IVe au IXe siècle, se sentira nécessairement porté à formuler ce triple jugement au sujet du *Quicumque*: 1° cette pièce détonne, au premier aspect, entre toutes celles du même genre qu'ont produites les IVe et Ve siècles[1]; 2° elle se rattache déjà, malgré sa brièveté, à ce genre didactique, encyclopédique, qui a été particulièrement cultivé depuis Boèce et Cassiodore jusqu'à Isidore et Alcuin, et qui devait trouver plus tard dans la Scolastique sa plus parfaite expression; 3° certaines particularités de langage semblent aussi trahir, *a priori*, une époque plutôt tardive, telle que le VIe siècle.

Je dois me contenter d'énoncer ici les deux premières de ces conclusions: elles supposent de longues lectures, un commerce assidu avec les anciens auteurs ecclésiastiques, une revue générale de tout le moyen âge littéraire; à ceux qui ne sont pas en état de s'y livrer par eux-mêmes il servirait peu d'en entendre ici la démonstration, laquelle exigerait d'ailleurs des développements hors de toute mesure. Il n'en est pas de même pour le troisième point, les particularités de langage qui paraissent l'indice d'une époque assez basse: le prof. Harnack en a déjà signalé quelques-unes,[2] et je me suis moi-même étendu jadis plus encore sur le sujet. Voici les principales:

Le début, d'abord, *Quicumque vult salvus esse*, qui diffère de celui de toutes les anciennes formules de foi; puis *ante omnia, ut teneat catholicam fidem, quam nisi quisque integram inviolatamque servaverit, absque dubio in aeternum peribit . . . singillatim unamquanque personam . . . catholica religione . . . ita de trinitate*

aujourd'hui encore familiarisés avec le symbole d'Athanase, au lieu que chez nous cette formule n'est guère connue que des ecclésiastiques, et la plupart des fidèles, même les plus instruits, ignorent jusqu'à son existence.

[1] Cf. Turner *History and Use of Creeds* &c. p. 66. Je ne puis mentionner, pour cette époque, que deux ou trois productions qui s'en rapprochent par endroits: la *Fides* du juif converti Isaac, les *Regulae definitionum* de l'évêque Syagrius, et le *De trinitate* en sept livres du Pseudo-Athanase ou Pseudo-Vigile.

[2] Dans la note déjà plusieurs fois citée de sa *Dogmengeschichte*.

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sentiat . . . necessarium est ad aeternam salutem ut incarnationem . . . fideliter credat . . . fides recta . . . ex anima rationabili . . . sicut anima rationabilis . . . unus omnino non . . . omnes homines resurgere habent cum corporibus suis, et reddituri sunt de factis propriis rationem . . . fides catholica, quam nisi quisque fideliter firmiterque crediderit, salvus esse non poterit.

Je le répète, beaucoup de ces manières de dire se rencontrent également dans nombre d'auteurs du IVe et du Ve siècle ; mais, là, elles sont comme isolées au milieu de périodes d'un genre tout différent de celles du *Quicumque* : ici, elles se suivent pressées, accumulées, au cours de quelques lignes. Pour trouver un langage habituellement tissu d'expressions analogues, il est presque nécessaire de descendre jusqu'à Césaire d'Arles, ou du moins jusqu'à son époque. La tradition du rythme n'est pas encore perdue, les cadences finales continuent à se succéder avec une incontestable harmonie ; mais les phrases tendent à devenir plus brèves, les répétitions plus fréquentes et plus prolongées, comme c'est ici le cas dans cette suite de versets 8–18, où les différents attributs sont appliqués en termes identiques aux personnes de la Trinité. L'utilité pratique de ce qu'on appelle la ' recapitulatio ' n'est pas non plus négligée : les versets 25–26 *Ita ut per omnia* . . . nous en fournissent un exemple. Bref, on sent le besoin qu'éprouve le compositeur, de se mettre à la portée d'intelligences dont le niveau tend à baisser de plus en plus, au contact immédiat de la barbarie.

On ne s'étonne pas, après cela, de le voir employer certains termes, certaines tournures, dont l'incorrection contraste avec les qualités réelles de l'ensemble de la pièce : par exemple, *anima rationabilis*, pour *rationalis*, *credere incarnationem*, *credere fidem*, *resurgere* CUM [1] *corporibus*, &c.

D'autres expressions méritent d'attirer l'attention, non qu'elles soient particulières à l'auteur du *Quicumque*, mais parce qu'elles

[1] Sur la foi du seul ms. B, Mr Turner a adopté la leçon, plus satisfaisante en apparence : IN *corporibus*. C'est un des cas où sa critique m'a semblé pécher par excès de hardiesse. L'une et l'autre manière de dire peuvent avoir été en usage au VIe–VIIe siècle. Le Clm. 14470 fol. 109^v^ sq., dans la pièce sur la résurrection qui précède ce qui reste du sermon 244 de l'*Append.* d'Augustin, offre à trois reprises l'expression *in corporibus* ; puis, fol. 110^v^ : ' Ac sic animae CUM CORPORIBUS SUIS in quibus gesserunt opera uel bona uel mala, pro qualitate factorum sortiantur aeterna tormenta uel praemia.'

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se rencontrent surtout dans certains milieux assez nettement déterminés. Parmi elles, je signalerai surtout la phrase : *reddituri sunt de factis propriis rationem. Reddere rationem* est, il est vrai, une locution à la fois classique et biblique des plus communes : *facta* pour *actus*, *proprius* pour *suus* n'ont rien non plus de fort rare en soi. Ce n'est pourtant pas tous les jours qu'on rencontrera, comme dans Césaire,[1] *nec redditurum de factis propriis rationem*, ou seulement, comme dans les actes du Xe concile de Tolède,[2] *de factis propriis*. Rien de plus fréquent que le retour de la phrase *redditurus est deo rationem* dans la règle de S. Benoît, contemporain de Césaire. Il faut croire que cette locution était tout à fait familière aux auteurs ecclésiastiques du VIe–VIIe siècle.

On a dit, d'autre part, que 'la chose la plus intéressante qu'il y ait dans le *Quicumque*, au point de vue linguistique, est probablement l'emploi de *totae tres personae*' (℣ 24).[3] Brewer répond que cette particularité n'offre rien d'extraordinaire, et il cite nombre d'exemples, notamment chez S. Ambroise, de *totus*, équivalant à *omnis*.[4] Mais ni lui, ni Roensch, ni Goelzer, auxquels il renvoie, ne mentionnent aucun cas où *toti* soit joint à un adjectif numéral. Or, j'en ai produit jusqu'à quatre empruntés à S. Césaire, l'un d'eux, tout comme ici, à propos de la sainte Trinité : *et totae tres* (*personae*).[5] Dans Avit de Vienne, un autre contemporain de Césaire, nous trouvons : *totis tribus personis*.[6] Au déclin du siècle, l'évêque Martin de Braga dira de même : *si fuissemus toti tres*.[7] Antérieurement à l'an 500, je n'ai constaté cette locution qu'une fois dans Niceta de Remesiana[8] et trois fois dans Arnobe le Jeune[9] ; puis, une autre fois, dans les *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua*,[10] rédigés presque sûrement dans la péninsule

[1] Append. August. *serm.* 53 note 1.
[2] Migne, 130, 530 D.
[3] Turner *History and Use of Creeds* p. 75 note 1.
[4] *Das sog. Athanasianische Glaubensbekenntnis* p. 82.
[5] *Rev. Bénéd.* xviii (1901) p. 351.
[6] *Epist.* 57, édit. Peiper, p. 86 l. 20.
[7] *Aegyptiorum patrum sententiae* num. 9 : Migne, 74, 384 C.
[8] 'In totis quinque ciuitatibus' *De lapsu uirg.* num. 41, édit. Burn, p. 126 l. 24.
[9] 'Toti tres augusti sunt, toti tres primi sunt' *Conflictus* ap. Migne 53, 254 A ; 'totos tres lapides' *ibid.* 252 A ; 'totae autem tres istae librae' *ibid.* 262 B.
[10] 'totas tres personas unum deum', Migne, 56, 879 B.

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ibérique, et qui ont été surtout utilisés au VIe siècle, en Gaule aussi bien qu'en Espagne.[1]

C'est là, si je ne me trompe, à peu près tout ce qu'une étude minutieuse de *Quicumque* peut fournir en fait d'« évidence interne » : pour ce qui est de la doctrine, rien de particulièrement caractéristique, du moins *a priori* ; au point de vue du style, de la facture extérieure, l'impression que la pièce ne doit guère remonter beaucoup plus haut que le VIe siècle ; quant au pays d'origine, aucun indice intrinsèque qui semble de nature à nous le révéler.

Autant dire que la critique interne est, dans l'espèce, d'assez mince utilité, et qu'il y a lieu, si l'on veut arriver à quelque résultat, d'adopter une autre méthode que celle qui a été généralement suivie jusqu'ici. A défaut d'une découverte inespérée qui trancherait tout à fait la question, je crois donc que la meilleure ligne de conduite à suivre est de procéder à un examen plus sérieux, plus approfondi, des témoignages externes, quelque rares et insignifiants qu'ils puissent paraître à première vue. Par exemple, j'estime qu'il est d'une souveraine importance d'être fixé une bonne fois sur ceci : à quelle date, en quel pays, trouvons-nous la première attestation tout à fait certaine, au sujet de l'existence du *Quicumque* ? Évidemment, nous ne pouvons nous flatter d'obtenir par là du même coup la clef de l'énigme, mais du moins nous aurons pris comme point de départ quelque chose d'éminemment solide et objectif ; et de là, peut-être, il sera possible de nous orienter plus sûrement vers la solution du problème.

[1] Pour la Gaule, voir Malnory *Saint Césaire* pp. 50-62 ; pour l'Espagne, S. Isidore *De eccles. offic.* passim, et Caspari *Martin von Bracara's Schrift 'De correctione rusticorum'* p. xl note 2. Je dirai dans la suite pourquoi j'ai renoncé à suivre l'opinion des hommes éminents qui ont vu dans les *Statuta* l'œuvre personnelle de Césaire.

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II

L'existence du *Quicumque* attestée pour la première fois au concile de Tolède de 633 : Césaire d'Arles lui-même ne l'a point connu : de la diffusion de la formule vers 663–700 il résulte qu'on peut lui assigner comme date approximative la seconde moitié du VIe siècle.

Il s'agit donc, avant toutes choses, de déterminer le moment précis où l'existence du *Quicumque* est, pour la première fois, nettement attestée dans l'histoire.

Ce moment, à vrai dire, n'est pas douteux : le premier témoignage se rencontre dans la profession de foi du IVe concile de Tolède (décembre 633) ; vient ensuite, à trente années d'intervalle, le décret d'un synode tenu à Autun sous S. Léger, entre 663 et 680.

Il serait superflu de nous attarder à démontrer que cette profession de foi de Tolède est réellement un document conciliaire de la première moitié du VIIe siècle, et non une formule de l'an 400, comme l'a prétendu, sous l'empire d'une idée fixe, et sans la moindre autorité à l'appui, le Dr Künstle.[1] Presque aussi étrange est l'attitude sceptique du prof. Loofs,[2] relativement à l'utilisation du *Quicumque* par le concile espagnol de 633. La simple lecture de deux passages de la formule du *Toletanum* mettra à même de juger s'il y a là, oui ou non, un emprunt au symbole d'Athanase :

in personarum diversitate trinitatem credentes, in divinitate unitatem praedicantes *nec personas confundimus, nec substantiam separamus. Patrem a nullo factum uel genitum* dicimus : *Filium a Patre non factum sed genitum* asserimus : *Spiritum* vero *Sanctum nec creatum nec genitum sed procedentem ex Patre et Filio* profitemur. Ipsum autem *Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum dei Filium* et creatorem omnium *ex substantia Patris ante saecula genitum.*

[1] *Antipriscilliana* p. 68 sqq. Comment l'auteur a pu traiter de 'synode provincial insignifiant' ce grand concile national présidé par S. Isidore, et que le Bréviaire romain appelle avec raison 'le plus célèbre de tous ceux qui furent tenus en Espagne', c'est ce que je ne parviens pas à comprendre. Mais voici un autre spécimen de critique boiteuse : Künstle ne trouve pas digne d'Isidore la profession de foi du *Toletanum IV*, parce que le symbole d'Athanase et la soi-disant formule de Damase y sont utilisés ; le Dr Loofs ne veut point qu'Isidore ait connu le *Quicumque*, parce que, dans une autre occasion, il a pris la peine de composer une règle de foi originale, sans emprunts textuels aux formules antérieures !

[2] *Realencyklopädie* ii 191 sq.

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Puis, un peu plus loin :

Aequalis Patri secundum divinitatem, minor Patre secundum humanitatem . . . Deus et homo, non autem duo Filii et dei duo . . . praeferens passionem et mortem *pro salute nostra . . . descendit ad inferos . . . Haec est catholicae* ecclesiae fides . . . *quam quis*quis *firm*issime custodierit, perpetuam salutem habebit.

Tout ce qu'on a à opposer à la dépendance du concile de Tolède par rapport au *Quicumque*, c'est que le président de l'assemblée, Isidore de Séville, voulant donner, dans son *De ecclesiasticis officiis* (ii 24), un résumé du dogme catholique, le fait en termes qui lui sont propres, sans allusion aucune au symbole d'Athanase. Le Dr Burn[1] a montré combien il était imprudent d'arguer de ce fait, que notre formule était inconnue à Isidore. Il a, de plus, fait observer que la règle de foi de 633 est empruntée, partie au *Quicumque*, partie à la soi-disant *Fides Damasi* : que les emprunts faits au *Quicumque* s'y suivent dans l'ordre même des versets dont cette pièce est composée : enfin qu'il est aisé de reconnaître à quel endroit précis, et pour quel motif, les Pères de Tolède s'éloignent du *Quicumque*, par exemple, dans le passage relatif à l'Incarnation, où ils donnent la préférence au 'suscipiens hominem' de la *Fides Damasi* sur l''assumptio humanitatis' du symbole d'Athanase. Après la mention des 'vivants et des morts', celui-ci passait tout de suite au dogme de la résurrection : *Ad cuius aduentum omnes homines resurgere habent.* Les évêques espagnols ont cru devoir faire mention expresse, à cet endroit, de la rémission des péchés, et ils ont encore recouru pour cela à la formule pseudo-damasienne, mais avec une réminiscence manifeste de la transition du *Quicumque* : '. . . ad iudicium *vivorum et mortuorum : cuius* nos morte et sanguine mundati remissionem peccatorum consecuti sumus, resuscitandi ab eo in die novissimo . . .' Je pense que, pour tout esprit impartial, la chose ne peut faire désormais aucun doute : les évêques assemblés à Tolède en 633 ont sûrement connu et mis à profit le *Quicumque.*

Nous avons, après cela, le premier canon d'un synode tenu à Autun sous S. Léger (après 663) :

Si quis presbyter aut diaconus subdiaconus clericus symbolum, quod

[1] *An Introduction* &c. p. 155 sq.

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sancto inspirante Spiritu apostoli tradiderunt, et fidem sancti Athanasii praesulis irreprehensibiliter non recensuerit, ab episcopo condemnetur.

Ainsi, au centre de la France, peu après le milieu du VIIe siècle, 'la foi du saint pontife Athanase' était déjà tellement répandue, et jouissait d'une si grande autorité, qu'elle prenait rang aussitôt après le symbole des apôtres: tout ecclésiastique, qu'il fût prêtre ou simple clerc, était obligé de la savoir par cœur, sous peine d'encourir la condamnation de l'évêque. Ici encore, le Dr Burn a montré qu'il s'agit bien de notre *Quicumque*, et non pas du *Libellus fidei* compté parfois comme livre IXe du *De Trinitate* du Pseudo-Vigile,[1] *libellus* que Hincmar de Reims,[2] à la suite de Ratramne,[3] a cité sous le nom d'Athanase. Tout concourt d'ailleurs à rendre évidente cette interprétation, que le prof. Loofs lui-même accepte sans difficulté.

En dehors de ces deux témoignages, en existe-t-il d'autres qui aient quelque chance d'appartenir à une date antérieure? On l'a souvent prétendu, et cette prétention s'appuie sur une série de documents divers dont il nous faudra discuter ici successivement les titres.

Ce sont, en premier lieu, deux lettres attribuées à Isidore de Séville. Dans la première, adressée au duc Claudius, il est dit que les Grecs, adversaires du *Filioque*, alléguaient un décret d'un synode œcuménique défendant de retrancher et d'ajouter quoi que ce soit 'au Symbole ainsi qu'au *De fide catholica* de S. Athanase'.[4] La seconde, à l'évêque Eugène, renferme une citation expresse du verset final du *Quicumque*, sous le titre *sancti Athanasii de fide sanctae Trinitatis*[5]; l'auteur affirme que cette formule est approuvée et reçue par la sainte Église. Il suffira de dire que l'authenticité de ces deux lettres, déjà douteuse au jugement d'Arevalo,[6] est aujourd'hui universellement rejetée.[7]

[1] Migne, 62, 287 sq.

[2] *De praedestinat.* c. 35 'Et Athanasius in symbolo dicens se credere in Christum, praemissis aliis assumptum in caelis' &c.: Migne, 125, 374 B, C.

[3] *Contra Graec. opposita* l. 3 c. 6 'Item in Libello fidei sic ait (Athanasius): Pater uerus genuit filium uerum' &c.: Migne, 121, 300 C.

[4] Migne, 83, 903 B, C.

[5] *Ibid.* 908 C.

[6] Cf. la note, *ibid.* col. 907 sq.

[7] 'Ihre Echtheit ist ganz undenkbar,' Loofs, art. cit. p. 191. Un autre document, également espagnol, mais tout aussi dépourvu d'autorité, est la *Passio* de l'abbé martyr S. Vincent de Léon (en 555?), qui renferme les passages suivants:

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Lors même qu'elles seraient véritablement d'Isidore, elles ne constitueraient point un témoignage sensiblement antérieur à celui de Tolède: mais il n'y a point de doute qu'elles ne soient apocryphes.

Il y a ensuite ce qu'on est convenu d'appeler 'le fragment de Trèves'. C'est, comme chacun sait, un bout de sermon dans lequel est entrée, en partie sous forme de paraphrase, presque tout le dernier tiers du *Quicumque* (vers. 27–34 et 36–40). Il a été transcrit dans un exemplaire du VIIIe siècle de la collection canonique dite de Saint-Blaise, entre les actes du concile de Chalcédoine et la lettre du pape Damase à l'évêque Paulin d'Antioche: le manuscrit, conservé aujourd'hui à Paris (Bibl. Nation. lat. 3836), provient de l'abbaye de Corbie. Le copiste dit avoir trouvé ce fragment à Trèves dans un livre; et déjà son modèle était fruste du début, car il commençait au milieu du verset 27 du *Quicumque* par ces mots: 'domini nostri Iesu Christi fideliter credat.' On a beaucoup discuté sur la date de ce débris de sermon, et sur la nature de ses rapports avec le symbole d'Athanase. Harnack et Loofs continuent à tenir cette opinion singulière, que le sermon a fourni la dernière moitié des éléments dont s'est constitué le symbole, et que la date de l'un dépend de celle de l'autre. Je pense qu'il est impossible de méconnaître, surtout après les travaux de Ommanney et de Burn, la dépendance manifeste du fragment par rapport au symbole.[1] Et je m'étonne, en vérité, que ce lambeau d'homélie ait à ce point attiré l'attention: il n'a pas plus de signification que le sermon 244 de l'Appendice de S. Augustin, pas plus que l'opuscule pseudo-isidorien du manuscrit de Murbach dont je parlerai dans la suite. Comme eux, il peut remonter aux environs de l'an 700, et se rattache, selon toute vraisemblance,

'S. Vincentius dixit: ... Illam assero et confirmo perfectam fidem, quam b. Athanasius episcopus sic docuit dicens: *Patris et filii et spiritus sancti una est diuinitas, aequalis gloria, coaeterna maiestas.*' Et un peu plus loin: 'Cum percuteretur s. Vincentius aperuit os suum, et exaltauit uocem suam coram cunctis, loquens sic de Trinitate: *Nihil prius aut posterius, nihil maius aut minus, sed totae tres personae coaeternae sunt et coaequales,*' Florez *España sagrada* t. xxxiv (1784) p. 418 sq.

[1] On peut du moins considérer comme certain: 1° que le texte auquel a appartenu le fragment comportait aussi les deux premiers tiers du *Quicumque*; 2° que les variantes par lesquelles il s'écarte du texte usuel du Symbole s'expliquent au mieux par le fait que celui-ci y est librement cité, parfois même corrigé intentionnellement.

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au cycle catéchétique des missionnaires gallo-romains et insulaires en pays germanique.

Un autre opuscule, dont sa nature même atteste la dépendance, c'est le Commentaire du *Quicumque*, appelé communément 'de Fortunat'. Il a été de bonne heure extrêmement répandu, et contient certains indices d'une assez haute antiquité. Par exemple, il est le seul, avec le 'Commentaire de Troyes' imité de lui, à donner un texte du *Quicumque* qui s'éloigne en certains endroits du texte communément reçu à partir de l'époque carolingienne. S'il était vraiment l'œuvre de Venance Fortunat, nous aurions en lui un témoin plus ancien d'une trentaine d'années que le IVe concile de Tolède ; mais la valeur paléographique de cette attribution est des plus difficiles à vérifier. Néanmoins il n'est pas impossible que ce Commentaire soit de l'époque et du milieu de Fortunat, sinon de Fortunat lui-même [1] ; l'auteur, bien informé d'ailleurs, ne semble pas avoir connu, du moins n'a sûrement pas utilisé, les Étymologies d'Isidore.[2] Et les qualités dont son style porte l'empreinte,[3] encore assez communes en Espagne au cours du VIIe siècle, sont presque inimaginables chez un écrivain de la France mérovingienne, une fois l'Italien Fortunat disparu de la scène. D'autre part, les motifs qu'on a parfois invoqués [4] pour dater le Commentaire en question du VIe siècle au plus tard, sinon du Ve, sont de la dernière faiblesse. En somme, ce document n'ajoute aucune donnée chronologique sûrement antérieure à celle que nous a fournie le synode espagnol de 633.

Rien non plus à tirer du fait qu'une *Epistula canonica*, petit recueil de prescriptions relatives au clergé, originaire de la Haute-

[1] Il contient sûrement des traits frappants de ressemblance avec les Expositions authentiques de Fortunat sur l'Oraison dominicale et le Symbole des apôtres. Et, quant à l'insuffisance de la tradition paléographique, l'*Expositio orationis dominicae* a été traitée plus mal encore peut-être, puisque la dernière partie du texte lui-même a péri. Cf. l'édition de F. Leo, dans les MG. in-4°, p. 229.

[2] Par ex., l'auteur du Commentaire donne, à propos des mots *dei filius*, cette curieuse étymologie : 'Filius a felicitate parentum dicitur.' Isidore en adopte une tout autre, *Etymol.* IX v. 11 : 'Filius et filia a familia dicti.'

[3] Le principal argument contre l'authenticité du Commentaire est précisément, d'après Luchi, que le style semble plus limpide et plus élégant que ne l'est en général la prose de Fortunat.

[4] Cf. Künstle *Antipriscill.* p. 213 sq. ; Ommanney *A critical dissertation* &c. p. 175 sq.

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Italie, et faisant partie d'une collection de canons qui remonte, dit-on, aux premières années du VIe siècle, enjoint premièrement à tous les ecclésiastiques de savoir par cœur la *Fides catholica*, sous peine de se voir privés de l'usage du vin pendant quarante jours.[1] A l'inverse de la plupart des érudits, je serais assez enclin, pour ma part, à identifier cette *Fides catholica* avec le *Quicumque*, et à reconnaître dans ce décret le pendant de celui d'Autun[2]; mais je ne suis nullement convaincu que l'âge assigné à la collection canonique en question vaille également pour toutes et chacune de ses parties, dans l'état où nous l'ont transmise les manuscrits de l'époque carolingienne.[3] L'*Epistula canonica*, en particulier, me semblerait plutôt, si elle est de provenance italienne, appartenir au milieu lombard du VIIe–VIIIe siècle.[4]

Encore un autre témoin prétendu du *Quicumque* au début du VIe siècle : S. Avit, évêque de Vienne ; il serait, d'après Burn et Kattenbusch,[5] le premier qui aurait cité expressément notre Symbole. Rien de surprenant à ce que Kattenbusch croie à la réalité de cette citation, puisque, selon lui, il y en aurait déjà une au moins dans S. Augustin ; mais je m'étonne que le Dr Burn ne se soit pas montré ici plus réservé.[6] Il faut bien avouer, en effet, que, parmi tous les passages d'Avitus parallèles au *Quicumque*, il n'en est pas un seul qui constitue ce qu'on peut appeler une citation proprement dite : le plus frappant en apparence, à propos du Saint-Esprit, *quem nec factum legimus nec genitum nec creatum*,

[1] ' Primo omnium fidem catholicam omnes presbyteri et diaconi seu subdiaconi memoriter teneant ; et si quis hoc faciendum praetermittat, quadraginta dierum a uino abstineat. Et si post abstinentiam neglexerit commendandum, replicetur in eo sententia.' Migne, 56, 890 A.

[2] Turner *History and use of creeds* p. 85 sq., constate aussi l'exacte similitude qu'offrent entre elles ces deux prescriptions ; mais il convient, d'autre part, qu'il faut descendre bien après le VIe siècle pour trouver les premières traces de l'usage du *Quicumque* en Italie.

[3] Les plus anciens sont du IXe–Xe siècle. Cf. Maassen *Gesch. der Quellen . . . des canon. Rechts* pp. 394 et 512 sq.

[4] Je le conclus du style, déjà très barbare, et de certaines expressions dont on ne trouve guère d'exemples en dehors de la *Lex Langobard* et des documents lombards et bénéventains, comme *infiduciandum, uigariandum* (n. 9). Cf. Ducange, aux mots *fiducia* et *uicariare*.

[5] Dans l'article déjà cité de la *Theolog. Literaturzeitung* xxii (1897) col. 144.

[6] Il faut cependant noter que, dans son introduction aux *Facsimiles of the creeds*, p. 25, il ne donne déjà plus la citation que comme simplement ' probable ' ; or, nous sommes ici en quête de témoignages absolument sûrs.

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n'est que la répétition d'une formule reçue dans le langage théologique à partir du IVe siècle.[1]

J'arrive maintenant à ce qui restera, je l'espère, l'un des résultats les plus importants de ce travail d'investigation: à démontrer que S. Césaire d'Arles lui-même n'a point encore connu ni utilisé le *Quicumque*. Voilà qui va remplir bien des gens d'étonnement, surtout parmi ceux qui ont lu mon étude d'il y a neuf ans: *Le symbole d'Athanase et son premier témoin, S. Césaire d'Arles*. Dans cette étude, j'ai essayé de mettre en évidence ces trois points:

1° De tous les textes antérieurs à Césaire, allégués jusqu'ici dans le débat, il n'en est pas un seul qui fournisse un témoignage irrécusable en faveur de l'existence du *Quicumque*;

2° Par contre, un premier témoignage se rencontre sûrement dans S. Césaire, supposé toutefois que, selon l'opinion couramment admise depuis les Mauristes, il soit le véritable auteur du sermon 244 de l'Appendice de S. Augustin;

3° Il y a plus. Attendu que le *Quicumque* est, d'après la croyance commune, d'origine gallicane, et qu'après Césaire l'absence à peu près complète de culture littéraire a dû rendre impossible la composition d'une pièce d'un tel mérite: étant donnée, d'autre part, la remarquable similitude de pensée, d'expression et de rythme qui résulte d'une comparaison minutieuse entre les moindres particularités linguistiques du *Quicumque* et ce qui nous reste de S. Césaire, similitude si frappante qu'on ne saurait lire une homélie quelconque de l'évêque d'Arles sans sentir aussitôt son esprit reporté vers un certain nombre de passages parallèles du symbole d'Athanase — il ne paraît pas impossible, *a priori*, que celui-ci ait été rédigé par lui, ou dans son milieu, ou du moins par quelqu'un qui avait lu ses œuvres et s'était approprié son langage; il est du moins incontestable qu'aucun autre ancien écrivain ne donne lieu, dans l'ensemble, à autant de rapprochements caractéristiques avec notre formule. Quelques indices externes sembleraient même favoriser une telle présomption: par exemple, le nom d'Athanase mis en tête du Symbole, comme aussi la présence du *Quicumque* dans plusieurs collections, soit homilétiques, soit canoniques, qui peuvent, à un titre quelconque, se réclamer de S. Césaire.

[1] Voir ce que j'ai écrit à ce sujet dans la *Rev. Bénéd.* xviii 340.

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Ces conclusions trouvèrent un accueil favorable—plus favorable que je ne m'y attendais—auprès des érudits contemporains : d'aucuns allèrent jusqu'à trouver mes conclusions modérées à l'excès. C'est ainsi que, dès 1903, Mr Cooper-Marsdin faisait paraître un livre[1] dans lequel les droits de Césaire à la paternité du *Quicumque* étaient exposés, affirmés, revendiqués, avec une assurance vraiment étonnante. Et dans sa substantielle étude sur *Le rôle théologique de Césaire d'Arles*, publiée à Paris en 1906, M. le prof. Paul Lejay déclarait ouvertement que 'la question lui paraissait résolue' : l'*Athanasianum* se plaçait à la fin d'une série de documents représentant des états successifs d'une composition de Césaire.[2] Avec son bon sens et sa prudence habituelle, Mr Turner[3] a dit tout juste ce qu'il fallait, et rien de plus : les parallèles dont j'avais dressé la liste, sans constituer encore une preuve proprement dite de l'identité d'auteur, conféraient du moins à mon hypothèse le droit d'occuper le terrain jusqu'à ce qu'on en trouvât une meilleure pour la remplacer. 'Et, continue-t-il, il existe peut-être peu d'hypothèses qui aient à satisfaire à autant de données, et qui satisfassent aussi complètement à toutes.' Le Dr Burn[4] lui-même, quoique dès l'origine et maintenant encore partisan d'une tout autre solution, reconnaît cependant qu'il y a des raisons à faire valoir à l'appui de ma suggestion, et qu'en tout cas il est hors de doute que Césaire a connu et utilisé le *Quicumque*.

S'il me fallait dire présentement ce que je pense de mon travail d'antan, voici comment je m'exprimerais :

Il demeure toujours vrai qu'il faut renoncer à produire un témoin du *Quicumque* antérieur à Césaire. Il n'est pas non plus douteux que l'évêque d'Arles n'ait été l'homme fait pour rédiger une semblable formule : au moment précis où il paraît, tout était mûr pour cela, le travail de la pensée comme celui du langage théologique, tandis qu'après lui il n'y a plus, en Gaule

[1] *Caesarius, bishop of Arles, claimed as author of the Athanasian creed* (Rochester ; sans date, mais avec préface datée d'oct. 1903). C'est M. le Dr Souter qui m'a, le premier, signalé cette publication.

[2] P. 56 du tirage à part ; dans la *Revue d'hist. et de littér. relig.* x (1905) p. 182.

[3] *op. cit.* p. 75.

[4] *Facsimiles* p. 25. A l'apparition de mon article, il avait écrit dans le *Guardian* du 13 nov. 1901, p. 1583 : 'Few writers would be content with so modest a conclusion.'

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du moins, que barbarie et impuissance. Tout cela est exact. Mais, quant à la question principale de savoir si Césaire peut être considéré comme un témoin tout à fait sûr de l'existence du *Quicumque*, je n'hésite pas à répondre : non. Et je vais produire les motifs de cette attitude négative.

Sur quoi, en somme, est fondée cette persuasion si commune, que Césaire a connu et cité le *Quicumque*? Je l'ai dit : sur le fait qu'on lui a attribué, à partir du XVIIe siècle, le sermon 244 de l'Appendice de S. Augustin. Or, ce sermon débute de la façon suivante :

Rogo et admoneo vos, fratres carissimi, ut quicumque vult salvus esse, fidem rectam ac catholicam discat, firmiter teneat, inviolatamque conservet. Ita ergo oportet unicuique observare, ut credat Patrem, credat Filium, credat Spiritum sanctum. Deus Pater, deus Filius, deus et Spiritus sanctus : sed tamen non tres dii, sed unus deus. Qualis Pater, talis Filius, talis et Spiritus sanctus. Attamen credat unusquisque fidelis, quod Filius aequalis est Patri secundum divinitatem, et minor est Patre secundum humanitatem carnis, quam de nostro adsumpsit ; Spiritus vero sanctus ab utroque procedens.

Il est impossible de méconnaître à cet endroit plusieurs citations formelles du *Quicumque*, notamment des versets 1, 15, 16, 7, 31 : cette fois encore, la supposition de Loofs,[1] que le sermon est antérieur au Symbole, et a fourni à celui-ci une partie de ses éléments, me paraît de tout point insoutenable. Seulement, reste à savoir si le sermon qui contient ces citations est véritablement l'œuvre de S. Césaire. Les bénédictins l'ont cru, et l'ont compté comme le LIVe de ceux qui lui appartiennent dans l'Appendice de S. Augustin, sans en donner d'autre motif que celui-ci : 'Caesarium re vera sapit, non Augustinum.' Généralement, on s'est contenté jusqu'ici de les en croire sur parole : Caspari ne voit guère de doute possible touchant la légitimité de l'attribution,[2] P. Lejay l'admet aussi dans sa liste des sermons authentiques de Césaire,[3] et Kattenbusch a consacré de longues pages à mettre hors de conteste cette authenticité.[4] Bref, à en croire le Dr Burn,

[1] *Realencykl.* ii 192.

[2] 'Dem, wie kaum zu bezweifeln, Caesarius von Arelate angehörigen pseudo-augustinischen Sermo CCXLIV' : *Kirchenhistor. Anekdota* i (Christiania 1883) préf. p. xvi.

[3] *Les sermons de Césaire d'Arles*, dans la *Revue biblique* iv (oct. 1895) p. 594 ; *Le rôle théologique de Césaire d'Arles* p. 2.

[4] *Das apostolische Symbol* i (1894) p. 164 sqq.

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celle-ci serait à présent 'unanimement' reconnue par les critiques.[1] Il est toutefois à remarquer que le prof. Wilh. Bergmann et moi, qui depuis un quart de siècle nous sommes trouvés dans la nécessité d'étudier sous toutes ses faces l'œuvre de l'évêque d'Arles, nous avons cru devoir nous tenir constamment sur la réserve au sujet de l'origine de ce sermon.[2] Bergmann, dès 1893, l'avait classé parmi les pièces 'qui lui paraissaient douteuses'.[3] J'ignore quelle serait aujourd'hui son opinion. Quant à moi, après avoir longtemps penché en faveur de l'authenticité par respect pour le jugement des Mauristes, je me suis vu finalement obligé d'y renoncer.

Ce n'est pas qu'il n'y ait réellement, dans cette courte homélie, certains traits caractéristiques de la façon de Césaire. Kattenbusch les a très bien fait ressortir; ce sont d'abord les premiers mots *Rogo et admoneo vos, fratres carissimi,* puis le dernier alinéa presque entier, notamment ces passages: *qui fuit latro sit idoneus, qui fuit bilinguis sit boniloquus. . . . qui positi sunt in carcere requirite . . . pedes eorum lavate . . . et lecta ipsorum praeparate . . . si haec quae suggessi, fratres, implere volueritis . . . praestante domino.* Mais, comme l'a remarqué Bergmann, le reste de la pièce contient plusieurs autres traits qui contrastent avec la manière habituelle de Césaire. C'est donc apparemment un centon, où même les citations expresses du *Quicumque* introduites par les mots *Ita ergo oportet unicuique observare ut . . . Attamen credat unusquisque fidelis, quod . . .* trahissent au premier coup d'œil leur caractère d'interpolations: elles sont absentes de deux textes parallèles découverts par Caspari[4] et le Dr Burn,[5]

[1] *An introduction* &c. p. 151.

[2] Künstle également qualifie l'attribution à Césaire de 'ganz unsichere Annahme', dans un article de la *Theologische Revue* v (1906) col. 202.

[3] Le Dr W. Bergmann, auteur d'une remarquable étude sur les sermons de Fauste de Riez (*Studien zu einer kritischen Sichtung der südgallischen Predigtliteratur des 5. und 6. Jahrh.* T. i: *Faustus von Reji*, Leipzig 1898), n'a encore rien publié sur ceux de S. Césaire; mais, dès 1893, il présenta à la faculté de théologie de Dorpat un travail manuscrit sur ce sujet, lequel lui valut une médaille d'or. Il a bien voulu depuis me le communiquer, et j'ai pu constater que j'étais d'accord avec lui presque sur tous les points.

[4] Il commence comme le serm. 244 de l'append. d'Augustin: 'Rogo uos et ammoneo, fr. kar., quicumque uult saluus esse . . .', et a été publié pour la première fois dans les *Kirchenhistor. Anekdota* p. 283 sq. Cf. Lejay *Rôle théol. de Césaire* p. 47.

[5] Incip. 'Auscultate expositionem de fide catholica . . .' Texte dans la *Zeitschrift f. Kirchengeschichte* xix (1898) p. 180 sq.

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sans que la suite des pensées ait à en souffrir, au contraire. Le tout est de discerner la provenance de ce centon : car il en est qui remontent à Césaire lui-même, et il y a, après lui, toute une littérature du même genre, représentée principalement en Espagne par Martin de Braga, en France par S. Ouen et S. Eloi, en pays alémannique par Pirmin et Boniface. Ces différents personnages, avec les moines et missionnaires groupés autour d'eux, utilisent à l'envi l'héritage homilétique légué par l'évêque d'Arles, en vue de l'instruction religieuse et morale des populations. Les manuscrits, à partir du VIIIe siècle, fournissent un nombre relativement considérable de ces adaptations postérieures, surtout dans les monastères de la Suisse allemande et de la Bavière ; plusieurs d'elles commencent, elles aussi, par les mots *Rogo vos*,[1] tandis que d'autres contiennent, tout comme notre sermon 244, quelques bribes du *Quicumque*, parfois juxtaposées à des phrases de saveur toute césarienne.[2] Le plus souvent, la date relativement basse

[1] Par exemple, ms. Paris lat. 2628 fol. 121[v] : *Rogo et admoneo uos, fratres, ut quicumque christianus post baptismum*, homélie sur la confession, composée d'un extrait des *Dicta Priminii* et du dernier paragraphe du serm. 244 de l'appendice d'Augustin ; ms. Paris lat. 2675 fol. 74[v], une 'Castigatio paenitentium' commençant par *Rogo uos, fratres, quicumque paenitentiam conpuncte et fideliter agites* . . . La prédication de S. Eloi commence aussi par *Rogo uos, fratres, et cum grandi humilitate admoneo* ; texte assez différent, avec variantes de saveur antique, dans le Clm. 6430 fol. 76 sqq.

[2] Ces utilisations anciennes du *Quicumque* mériteraient, à elles seules, toute une étude ; je dois me borner à en énumérer quelques-unes : 1° Le fameux 'Fragment de Trèves' du Paris lat. 3836 ; 2° le passage, pour le moins aussi intéressant, du ms. de Murbach, aujourd'hui Colmar 39, fol. 29[v]–30[v], publié dans la *Rev. Bénéd.* d'octob. 1905, t. xxii p. 508 sq. ; 3° un 'sermo ad neophitos' du ms. de Rouen A. 214 fol. 135, commençant par les mots : *Rogo uos, fratres, et admoneo, karissimi, ut quicumque uult aeternaliter saluus esse, fidem rectam ac catholicam discat, et firmiter teneat, inuiolatamque conseruet* ; 4° l' 'Homelia sacra' éditée par Elmenhorst à Hamburg en 1614, attribuée par Oudin à S. Césaire, et que Kattenbusch et Burn croient être du VIe siècle. Je n'y puis voir, pour ma part, qu'un centon postérieur à la Règle de S. Benoît et même aux *Dicta Priminii* ; il contient cette citation du symbole d'Athanase : 'credimus in deum patrem et in filium et in spiritum sanctum, *unum deum in trinitate, et unitatem in trinitate*' [pour *trinitatem in unitate* ?] ; 5° dans le Clm. 6330 fol. 66, et dans le ms. de Fulda, aujourd'hui Cassel, Theolog. 4° 24, IXe s., une Instruction au peuple, dans le genre de Martin de Braga et de Pirminius : *Necessarium est enim unicuique homini primitus scire* . . . Cette pièce, qui semble se rattacher au cycle des prédications de S. Boniface, Migne, 89, 843 sqq., renferme les versets 38 et 39 du *Quicumque* ; je cite d'après le Clm. 6330 fol. 68[v] : *Ad cuius aduentum om. homines resurgere habent cum corporibus suis, et reddituri sunt de propriis factis rationem. Et qui bona egerunt ibunt in uitam aeternam, qui uero mala in ignem aeternum* ; 6° dans le ms. de Vienne 1261, XIe s., fol. 17 et 19, deux

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de la pièce se trahit d'elle-même, par telle ou telle citation, par la tournure barbare de certains traits, sinon de tout l'ensemble.

Serait-ce le cas pour notre sermon 244? Personne, que je sache, ne s'est prononcé dans ce sens, et pourtant je crois qu'on peut l'affirmer sans témérité. Déjà, dans la partie dogmatique (n. 1) les transitions *Ita ergo oportet unicuique* (al. *Ita namque oportet unumquemque*) *obseruare ut credat* et *Attamen credat unusquisque fidelis* semblent bien, comme je le disais, accuser la main d'un compilateur postérieur. La façon dont ce début est relié à la partie morale qui fait suite (*Igitur si quis uult discipulus Christi esse* . . .) n'est guère plus satisfaisante. Mais c'est autre chose encore, lorsqu'on en vient à étudier de près, en le contrôlant à l'aide des manuscrits, le texte même de cette seconde partie. Voici quelques échantillons du langage qu'on y constate : 'Ad hoc *haec omnia*, frs. car., *totum* sustinuit . . . qui fuit somnolentus, sit *uigilis* . . . de omni fructu *quod* colligitis . . . ore exosculate . . . remissionem peccatorum *promerebitis*, et uitam aeternam *consequeritis* . . .' Si dénué de prétention que soit le style habituel des prédications de Césaire, je crois qu'on y chercherait vainement ailleurs autant de barbarismes en si peu de lignes.

Que si, à la suite de cette première impression produite par les caractères intrinsèques de la pièce, on se livre à une enquête en règle au sujet de sa tradition paléographique, le résultat est non moins défavorable. Non seulement le sermon en question ne porte nulle part le nom de Césaire, mais il ne fait partie d'aucune des collections, même les plus mélangées, auxquelles on puisse attribuer avec quelque probabilité une origine arlésienne. Il fait notamment défaut dans le grand homéliaire césarien pour l'année liturgique gallicane, dont le plus ancien représentant est le ms. de Freising, Clm. 6298, du VIIIe siècle,[1] et où il eût été pourtant si bien à sa place, dans la série des instructions populaires sur le Symbole.[2] Somme toute, on ne connaît actuellement qu'un seul

allocutions *De fide catholica*, avec citations multiples du *Quicumque*, au milieu de matériaux empruntés à Arnobe le Jeune, Césaire etc.

[1] Je me propose de faire prochainement une étude spéciale de ce recueil, dont l'importance, au point de vue liturgique, semble avoir échappé jusqu'ici à la plupart des savants.

[2] Le copiste du Clm. 6298 l'avait si bien compris, qu'il a cru devoir du moins transcrire le *Quicumque* avant la table indiquant le contenu du recueil. Cf. Burn *Facsimiles* pl. xx-xxi.

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manuscrit qui nous ait conservé ce texte dans son intégrité : le Sangallen. 150, dans sa seconde partie (IXe siècle), où il a pour titre unique : *Incipit de fide catholica excarpsum.*[1] Et il suffit de jeter un coup d'œil sur la description de ce volume, composé de fragments disparates de cinq mss. différents, pour se convaincre que tout indice extérieur de provenance césarienne fait défaut. Dans l'autre manuscrit signalé par Caspari, le Clm. 14470, du VIIIe–IXe s., la portion du sermon qui devrait contenir la citation du *Quicumque* a péri entièrement ; et d'ailleurs ce recueil est, lui aussi, des plus mélangés, contenant, à côté de pièces authentiques, d'origine plutôt espagnole, divers centons césariens du VIIe siècle, dont l'un se rattache aux prédications de S. Eloi, l'autre est intitulé '*Sermo sci Esydori*'. Moi-même, il y a quelques semaines, j'ai trouvé, également à Munich, un autre manuscrit provenant de Freising (Clm. 6433), écriture insulaire du VIIIe siècle, dont le dernier feuillet contient seulement la première partie du serm. 244 : l'autre a disparu avec le reste du volume. La pièce vient après un recueil de sentences des Pères, les *Synonyma* ou Soliloques de S. Isidore, et un sermon apocryphe attribué à S. Augustin. Elle est intitulée : *Incipit omelia sancti Augustini de fide catholica.*[2] Rien non plus, dans l'arrangement de ce recueil, qui justifie, au point de vue paléographique, l'attribution à S. Césaire. La pièce pseudo-augustinienne, qui précède immédiatement, porte les titres barbares '*Praedicatio ad populum satis necessarium*', '*Episcopi sancti Augustini exitus anima*' : c'est un centon étrangement déclamatoire, tributaire de quelque apocryphe du cycle paulin, et qui semble avoir été assez en

[1] Catal. Scherrer, p. 55 sq. Je viens d'en trouver un second : Clm. 28135 f. 94^v.

[2] Vu la rareté des mss. de ce sermon, je reproduirai ici les passages où le Clm. 6433 s'écarte du texte des Mauristes : 'Rogo et admoneo, fratres, ut quicumque uult saluus esse, fidem rectam discat, firmiter teneat, inuiolatamque conseruet. Ita namque unumquemque oportet obseruare, ut credat patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum. Pater deus, filius deus, spiritus sanctus deus ; sed tamen non tres dii, sed unus deus. Qualis pater, talis filius, talis et spiritus sanctus. Et tamen no* credat unusquisque equalis est patri secundum humanitatem carnis quam de nostro adsumpsit ; spiritus uero sanctus ab utro procedens. Credite ergo carissimi . . . et in Iesum Christum filium eius, unicum dominum nostrum. Credite eum ceptum de spiritu sancto, et natum ex Maria uirgine, qui uirgo ante partum, et uirgo post partum et semper fuit . . . credite mortuum et sepultum . . credite eum.' Le recueil finit fruste à cet endroit. Pour ce qui est du signe de ponctuation destiné à séparer *unicum* de *filium eius* pour le joindre à *dominum nostrum*, je n'ai fait que suivre le manuscrit, conforme en cela à une tradition assez répandue anciennement.

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vogue, depuis l'Espagne jusqu'en Germanie, aux VIIe et VIIIe siècles.[1]

Ainsi, soit que l'on considère la facture évidemment composite et le langage entaché de barbarie du sermon 244, soit qu'on examine la façon dont le texte s'est transmis jusqu'à nous, il est impossible, d'après les procédés ordinaires de la critique, d'en soutenir scientifiquement l'attribution à Césaire.

Et si Césaire n'est point l'auteur du seul de ses discours présumés qui contienne une citation expresse du *Quicumque*, je ne vois plus dès lors aucun moyen d'admettre qu'il ait connu celui-ci ; encore moins, qu'il l'ait composé lui-même. On ne peut guère douter, en effet, que s'il avait eu à sa disposition ce formulaire si simple et si précis de la doctrine catholique, il n'en eût fait un fréquent usage, dont nous trouverions la trace dans ses écrits, dans ses recueils, soit homilétiques soit canoniques, originaux ou mélangés, immédiats ou dérivés. Or, le *Quicumque* ne figure dans aucun de ces recueils. Je l'ai bien signalé, il est vrai, dans deux homéliaires césariens, l'un du VIIIe, l'autre du IXe siècle[2] ; mais, dans tous les deux, il a été inséré avant les *Capitula* contenant la table authentique du recueil : il est naturel d'attribuer cette insertion à celui qui a transcrit ou fait transcrire le manuscrit. Pareillement, pour les collections canoniques : lors même que le noyau primitif de celles-ci semble pouvoir prétendre à une origine arlésienne, ce n'est que dans les portions adventices qu'on voit paraître le *Quicumque*. Ainsi, dans la Collection de Lorsch,[3] il fait partie du fonds supplémentaire, ajouté aux pièces indiquées dans les *Capitula*. Dans les deux représentants de la collection de Saint-Maur[4] au contraire, il vient en tête du volume et voisin avec différentes pièces additionnelles de la fin du VIe siècle à la fin du VIIIe. Dans les quatre autres collections de Corbie[5] et de Cologne,[6] d'Albi[7] et du manuscrit Pithou,[8] compilées peu après

[1] Incip. : *Primum quidem decet nos audire iustitiam, deinde intellegere...* Cf. *Rev. Bénéd.* xxvii (1910) p. 404 note 2.

[2] Le Clm. 6298 déjà mentionné ci-dessus, et le Clm. 6344 qui contient les *XLII Admonitiones* de S. Césaire. L'un et l'autre manuscrit viennent de Freising.

[3] Cod. Vatic. Palat. lat. 574 s. viii-ix. Cf. Maassen *Quellen* p. 585 sq. ; Turner *A critical text of the Quicumque vult* : *J.T.S.* xi p. 402.

[4] Cod. Paris. lat. 1451 fin du viiie s., et Vatic. Regin. 1127, comm. du ixe. Maassen, p. 613 sq.

[5] Cod. Paris. lat. 12097, vi^e^ siècle.

[6] Cologne 212, viie s. [7] Albi 2, ixe s. [8] Cod. Paris. lat. 1564, ixe s.

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la mort de S. Césaire à l'aide des archives arlésiennes,[1] nous trouvons plusieurs petits traités dogmatiques, tel que le *Breviarium fidei adversus haereticos*, le *De dogmatibus ecclesiasticis* de Gennade ; mais jamais on n'y voit paraître le *Quicumque*. Encore une fois, pas la moindre trace certaine du symbole d'Athanase dans tout ce qui se rattache directement à l'héritage littéraire de l'évêque d'Arles.

Une confirmation inattendue de ce fait, qu'on n'avait point connaissance de l'existence du *Quicumque* dans l'entourage de Césaire, résulte d'une lettre importante du plus distingué parmi tous ses disciples, l'évêque Cyprien de Toulon, publiée pour la première fois[2] en 1892. L'auteur se justifie près de son collègue, Maxime de Genève, d'avoir employé cette formule : 'un Dieu-Homme a souffert'. Dans ce but il allègue diverses autorités, entre autres le Symbole des apôtres, le *Te Deum*, les écrits d'Hilaire de Poitiers, la rétractation du prêtre Leporius, mais nulle part le *Quicumque*, bien que le style de Cyprien, comme celui de son maître, soit émaillé d'expressions qui rappellent notre symbole. Et pourtant, il eût été si naturel, dans la circonstance, de se prévaloir de la teneur des versets 30 et suiv. : *et deus pariter et homo est . . . deus et homo unus est Christus, qui passus est pro salute nostra* etc.

Notre deuil fait du témoignage de l'évêque d'Arles pour démontrer l'existence du *Quicumque* antérieurement à l'an 543, je ne vois plus aucun texte à produire qu'on puisse sûrement dater du VIe siècle, ou même du VIIe, avant les conciles de Tolède et d'Autun, cités au début de cette conférence. Le premier prouve d'une façon irrécusable que notre formule était connue en Espagne avant décembre 633, et y jouissait même d'un certain crédit ; le second, qu'elle était déjà universellement répandue dans la Gaule centrale peu après 663, au point que tout membre du clergé était tenu de la savoir par cœur. Et l'on peut sans témérité arguer de l'*Epistula canonica* mentionnée ci-dessus, qu'il devait pour lors en être de même dans le milieu lombard de la Haute-Italie. La tradition manuscrite, soit du texte du *Quicumque*, soit de son plus ancien Commentaire, soit

[1] Voir, sur la date et la destination de ces collections dans leur forme primitive, L. Duchesne *Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule* t. i p. 142.

[2] Par W. Gundlach, MG. 4° Epist. merow. et karol. i 434 sq.

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enfin des rhapsodies homilétiques où nous le voyons d'abord utilisé, permet d'aboutir à une conclusion sensiblement identique. Dès la seconde moitié du VIIe siècle, entre 663 et l'an 700, le *Quicumque* avait pénétré dans les centres principaux de l'Europe centrale, de Bobbio jusqu'à Trèves, depuis le centre de la péninsule ibérique jusqu'aux Alpes bavaroises.

Cette donnée paraîtra peut-être un peu tardive, du moins est-elle tout-à-fait sûre. Il nous faut maintenant chercher à en tirer parti pour déterminer approximativement la date de la pièce elle-même ; pour cela, il est nécessaire de nous faire une juste idée de l'espace de temps généralement requis pour qu'une formule de cette nature parvienne à une telle diffusion. On a déjà essayé des calculs de cette sorte ; Ommaney[1], par exemple, a estimé qu'un siècle au moins avait dû s'écouler entre la composition du *Quicumque* et celle du sermon dont a fait partie le 'fragment de Trèves'. Mais il y a toujours une part plus ou moins grande de subjectivisme dans cette manière de procéder. C'est pourquoi je préfère prendre ici comme terme de comparaison un cas concret qui présente une grande analogie avec le nôtre, mais qui a sur lui l'avantage d'avoir d'ores et déjà reçu sa solution : je veux parler du *Te Deum*. Les premiers témoignages formels relativement à cet hymne fameux se trouvent dans les Règles de S. Césaire et de S. Benoît, ainsi que dans la lettre déjà citée de Cyprien de Toulon : il résulte de ce dernier document qu'en 524–533 au plus tard le *Te Deum* était universellement reçu dans l'Église d'Occident[2]. Comme son auteur vivait encore en 414,[3] un siècle, cinq quarts de siècle tout au plus, auront suffi à la pièce pour atteindre sa pleine diffusion. En appliquant la même mesure au *Quicumque*, nous arriverions à lui assigner comme date approximative le milieu du VIe siècle. Mais il faut se rappeler que le *Te Deum* nous est venu de fort loin, d'un obscur municipe de la *Dacia mediterranea*, qu'il a eu pour berceau une Église bientôt après anéantie par les barbares. Rien ne nous dit, il est même peu probable, que le *Quicumque* soit de provenance aussi lointaine, ait eu autant d'obstacles à franchir. Par

[1] 'A century or thereabouts must have elapsed between the composition of the Creed and of this sermon' : *A critical dissertation* &c. p. 343.

[2] 'in hymno, quem omnis ecclesia toto orbe receptum canit . . .'

[3] Cf. Burn *Niceta of Remesiana* introd. pp. xxxv et lv ; W. A. Patin *Niceta, Bischof von Remesiana* (München 1909) p. 6.

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conséquent, il ne lui aura peut-être point fallu autant de temps pour se répandre: un intervalle d'un siècle a pu largement lui suffire. Tout compte fait, nous ne saurions nous tromper de beaucoup en nous contentant de dire qu'il peut dater de la seconde moitié du VIe siècle.

C'est bien là, d'ailleurs, l'impression qui résulte, non seulement du silence de tous les écrivains antérieurs à 550, mais aussi de l'attitude observée par Isidore de Séville à l'égard du *Quicumque*. Le concile de Tolède présidé par lui a bien utilisé cette formule, le fait est indiscutable; mais il y a toujours ceci de vrai, dans l'objection émise par le prof. Loofs, que si le *Quicumque*, à l'époque où furent composés les deux livres *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, eût existé depuis assez longtemps déjà, et bénéficié d'une considération quelque peu étendue, l'évêque de Séville, en sa qualité d'encyclopédiste consciencieux, n'aurait pu se dispenser de le mentionner, au moins brièvement, dans les chapitres où il traite des symboles et de la règle de foi: or, c'est ce qu'il ne fait nulle part. D'où nous pouvons déduire, en toute raison, que le *Quicumque* était de date relativement récente au début du VIIe siècle, et qu'Isidore lui-même fut sans doute l'un des premiers à le mettre en valeur, tout à la fin de sa carrière, dans la profession de foi de 633.

Cette donnée chronologique nous servira de point de départ pour aller à la recherche du pays d'origine du *Quicumque*.

G. MORIN.

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NOTES AND STUDIES

PRIMITIVE LECTIONARY NOTES IN THE PSALM OF HABAKKUK.

THE Psalm or 'Prayer' of Habakkuk (Hab. iii) has been described as 'a lyric ode, which, for sublimity of poetic conception and splendour of diction, ranks with the finest . . . which Hebrew poetry has produced'.[1] Church and Synagogue have shewn their appreciation of its grand imagery by the large use which they have made of it in their services. As a *canticle* it is still appointed to be sung weekly at Lauds in the Greek and Latin Churches,[2] and already in the fifth century it appears in the Codex Alexandrinus in a collection of ecclesiastical canticles appended to the Psalter. But it bears on its face the marks of a similar use in far earlier times in the Jewish services; I refer to the musical terms which stand in the superscription and colophon, and the thrice-repeated 'Selah' which divides it into four portions. It has been aptly called a *Psalmus extra canonem.* It was not, however, only as a chant that it found a place in Jewish worship. It was read as well as sung, being appropriated in very early times as a *lesson* for one of the chief Festivals, and some long-obscured rubrics with regard to this primitive lectionary use will form the subject of this paper. I have recovered, if I am not mistaken, no less than three such notes in this short chapter of nineteen verses. One discovery has led on to another, and the material has grown under my hands. The paper was originally planned as a note on the subscription to one of the old Greek versions, before I had discovered the full content and bearings of the Hebrew text which I had restored, or the other rubrics which elucidate and supplement it. The three lectionary glosses are interdependent. The discovery of their true nature not only removes from the text a notorious stumblingblock, but will also, I venture to think, be found to throw new light on, and to compel reconsideration of some dates connected with, the origins of Jewish lectionary practice. It is astonishing that the explanation here given has not hitherto, to my knowledge, been suggested. It is true that two of the notes are found only in a little-known Greek text, which has received scanty attention, but the third—the 'stumblingblock'—stands in all the texts. Before the passages in Habakkuk are considered, some preliminary observations will be necessary on two points:

[1] Driver *LOT*[2] 317.

[2] Swete *Introd. to O. T.* 254, *Dict. Christ. Ant. s. v.* Canticle.

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(1) the Greek text just referred to, (2) the extent of our knowledge of the origin of the public reading of Scripture in the Jewish services.

The Psalm of Habakkuk has this further peculiarity that two independent Greek versions of it have come down to us. Besides the so-called 'Septuagint' version contained in the majority of the MSS and printed in the Cambridge Manual edition, there is a second, represented by a small group of four MSS, known as V–86–62–147. The first two are Italian MSS of about the ninth century, preserved respectively at Venice and in the Barberini collection in Rome; the other two are thirteenth-century MSS now at Oxford. I shall for convenience refer to the text of this group as *the Barberini text*, since cod. 86 (which has the peculiarity of containing the 'LXX' text as well) preserves a rather purer form of it than the coaeval Venice MS, while the Oxford MSS are of later date. This eccentric version is printed consecutively by E. Klostermann[1] and piecemeal in Field's Hexapla. All four MSS contain a note appended to the Psalm, in which an early reader has recorded his discovery that the text is not identical with that of 'the Seventy' or of any of the three later Jewish translators, and has suggested that its source is perhaps to be looked for in one of the other anonymous versions known to Origen.[2] But the extant fragments of these anonymous versions are sufficient to prove that neither *Quinta* nor *Sexta* is responsible for this erratic text. The group V–86–62–147 represents therefore a version of uncertain and probably early origin. Its antiquity may be inferred from several characteristics: independence of the 'LXX', its occasional witness to an underlying Hebrew differing from the MT and from the exemplar of the 'LXX', its free and paraphrastic style in the manner of the first Greek translator of Job,[3] its peculiar vocabulary and quaint renderings, and lastly the presence of the lectionary notes referred to below. I believe that, like the Chigi Daniel, the Barberini Psalm of Habakkuk is the oldest Greek version, which was afterwards superseded and narrowly escaped being lost altogether. 'Independence of the LXX' holds good, I think, even of the opening verses, notwithstanding a curious approximation of the two texts in this portion. In fact, for the first two and a half verses, down to the first 'Selah', they are, with the exception of three words, identical. The numerous doublets in these verses suggest that this is the result of 'conflation'; the texts have been welded together, and it is possible to some extent to trace the handiwork of either translator. After that

[1] *Analecta zur Septuaginta* 50 ff.

[2] Τὴν ᾠδὴν τοῦ ἀμβακοὺμ οὐχ εὗρον συμφονοῦσαν (*sic*) οὔτε τοῖς ō οὔτε ἀκύλᾳ οὔτε συμμάχῳ οὔτε θεοδοτίωνι· ζητήσεις οὖν, εἰ τῆς ē ἢ τῆς ϛ̄ ἐκδύσεώς ἐστιν.

[3] Ἐξαίσιος, e. g., occurs twice in the Barberini Hab., nine times in Job LXX, and nowhere else in the Greek Bible.

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point the versions widely diverge, though there are slight indications here also in a few verses and in certain MSS[1] of a similar process. It should be added that outside Hab. iii these MSS contain indeed a very valuable text,[2] but one conforming generally to known types; the eccentricity of text which refuses to be brought under recognized categories seems to be restricted to that chapter.

As regards *Jewish lectionary practice* I have had the advantage of valuable counsel from Mr I. Abrahams, University Reader in Talmudic at Cambridge, and have also derived great assistance from Dr Büchler's classical articles on 'The Triennial Reading of the Law and the Prophets' in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*,[3] to which Mr Abrahams drew my attention. It will be well here to summarize Dr Büchler's results, in so far as they bear directly on the subject of this paper. (i) The public reading of *the Law* began with short lessons on the great Festivals. In Dr Büchler's opinion, 'it was the Samaritans who gave the occasion for the first step. . . . They showed their religious animosity chiefly in their deviation from the ordinary explanation of those portions of the Pentateuch which concern the festivals. . . . The people had to be taught by the Palestinian scholars how to meet their attack; this could not be better achieved, or in a simpler manner, than by reading and explaining the disputed passages in the Pentateuch on the Festivals themselves which had been made the subject of controversy.'[4] This beginning took place about 200 B.C. The primitive Festival lessons were all taken from a single chapter, Lev. xxiii, which consists of a catalogue of 'set feasts'; the appropriate verses were read on the several Feast-days. The Mishna expressly enacts that passages from this chapter should be read on three of the Feasts (Passover, New Year's Day, Tabernacles),[5] and that the same rule once held good of all of them is made probable by the Sifra (second century A.D.) which infers from the last verse of the chapter 'And Moses declared unto the children of Israel the set feasts of the Lord' that Moses taught on each Festival those laws which were special to it.[6] Though the earliest recorded lesson for Pentecost is taken not from Lev. xxiii, but from the parallel passage Deut. xvi 9 ff, Dr Büchler is convinced that this must have superseded an older lesson from Lev. xxiii 15 ff. The fact that Lev. xxiii 15 contains a phrase about

[1] And, notably, in the earliest printed text of the LXX (the Complutensian Polyglott) which represents on the whole the Lucianic recension.

[2] 'The MSS 62–147 contain Lucianic readings, but their singular element is often akin to the Old Latin,' Burkitt *Tyconius* cviii.

[3] v 420–468, vi 1–73. Cf. also Dr E. G. King's article on 'The Influence of the Triennial Cycle upon the Psalter' in *J.T.S.* v 203 ff.

[4] *J.Q.R.* v 424. [5] *Ib.* 429. [6] *Ib.* 424.

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which controversy waxed warmest ('the morrow of the Sabbath') may account for the later substitution of the Deut. passage from which it is absent. (ii) The next stage was the introduction of weekly Sabbath readings and of the Triennial Cycle. The whole Law was divided into portions averaging rather more than one of our chapters and read through once in three years. An ancient division of the Pentateuch into 154 or more Sedarim (traditions vary as to their number and extent) has come down to us, and these have commonly been identified with the lessons in the Triennial Cycle. The arrangement of lessons in the Cycle produced certain traditions with regard to the dates of events described in the Pentateuch. The Decalogue was read at Pentecost; hence the tradition grew up that it was given at Pentecost. From similar traditions and with the help of the Sedarim Dr Büchler has conclusively proved that the starting-point of the Cycle was the 1st Nisan, and the lessons for the several sabbaths in the three years have thus been, at least approximately, determined. In the Cycle arrangement, the Festivals, like ordinary Sabbaths, had lessons allotted to them, so that there were now, in addition to the old special lesson from Lev. xxiii, three calendar lessons assigned to each of those days. The calendar lessons for Pentecost in the three years are estimated[1] to have been (1) Gen. xii 1 ff[2] (the call of Abraham); (2) Ex. xx[3] (the Decalogue); (3) Numb. xvii 16 (EV xvii 1) ff (Aaron's rod). (iii) The Triennial Cycle, which was in use in Palestine in the time of Christ, and continued in use long after in a few districts in Egypt, was generally replaced by the Babylonian or Annual Cycle of 54 lessons from the Law; the new system was, according to Büchler, probably introduced by Rab about 200 A.D., and soon became practically universal. (iv) The Haphtarahs or *Prophetical lessons* began with the reading on the Festivals of a single verse illustrating or corroborating the Torah lesson; their length was gradually increased. The growth of the Haphtarah will come up again in connexion with Habakkuk. The earliest lessons were taken from Ezekiel and the Minor Prophets, which afforded the more apposite passages for use in the controversy concerning the festivals and the Temple worship. The lectionary employment of Isaiah only came in later. There is no documentary evidence to shew whether the institution of the Festival Haphtarahs goes back to pre-Christian times. These results of

[1] See the large diagram in the article 'Triennial Cycle' in vol. xii of the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, and compare Dr King's Table I in *J.T.S. loc. cit.*

[2] Others say Gen. xi (the confusion of tongues), which would throw light on the events of Pentecost described in Acts ii.

[3] But see below: Ex. xix was certainly included at an early date, and apparently Ex. xviii as well.

[4] *J.Q.R.* vi 6, 38.

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Dr Büchler, here very briefly set out, strikingly corroborate much of what follows in this paper, and in turn receive corroboration in many points from the glosses in Habakkuk. In one particular at least I venture to think that I can supplement Dr Büchler. The origin of the Haphtarahs proves to be more ancient than he supposed.

A few words must be added on what affords the clue to the Habakkuk passages, namely the Jewish system of *lectionary catchwords*. The footnotes which appear in the Prophets in printed editions of the Hebrew Bible shew the system as applied to the Babylonian or annual calendar of Torah lessons. At the beginning of each Haphtarah or Prophetical lesson stands a catchword or catchwords indicating the Parashah or Torah lesson appointed to be read on the same day. The catchword is either the first word or words of the Torah lesson or, where that lesson opens with a recurrent formula, the first significant word. Occasionally, where the same Prophetical passage is read on two sabbaths, there are two catchwords: thus on Jer. i 1 we read 'Haphtarah of "And these are the names" (Ex. i 1) and also Haphtarah of "Heads of Tribes" (Numb. xxx 2)'. Haphtarahs for the Festivals have prefixed to them merely the name of the Festival, which here replaces the usual cross-reference to the Torah lesson: thus (Jos. v 2) 'Haphtarah of the first day of Passover'. This system, as already stated, is based on the later annual cycle, and it is of course not to be expected that it will in all points correspond to the earliest system or that the catchwords to the longer Torah lessons will often coincide with any which may have been employed in (say) the second century B.C., when the lessons from the Law were shorter. But that the Torah was already in the time of Christ divided into sections, with appropriate titles which could be used as references, may be inferred from phrases like ἐπὶ τῆς βάτου 'in the Bush passage' (Lc. xx 37), ἐν Ἠλείᾳ (Rom. xi 2), with which we may compare the Rabbinical name for Ez. i 'the Chariot'; these titles perhaps suggest that in the earliest period Torah lessons would be indicated rather by a word descriptive of their contents or one representing the predominant idea of the passage than by the actual opening word or words. These preliminary observations, necessarily somewhat long, put us in a position to consider the passages in Habakkuk.

(i) Hab. iii 9^{b} שְׁבֻעוֹת מַטּוֹת אֹמֶר.

These three words are a well-known *crux*. As Dr Davidson writes in the *Cambridge Bible*, they 'form a riddle which all the ingenuity of scholars has not been able to solve. Delitzsch calculates that a hundred

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translations of them have been offered'.[1] He himself leaves the words untranslated, with the remark that 'the multiplication of conjectures would serve no purpose'. Rash as may be the venture, where so many conflicting interpretations have been suggested by eminent scholars, I propose to add yet another to their number, and am bold enough to think that I have had the good fortune to find the key to the conundrum. I differ in this from most of my predecessors, in that I do not propose either to tamper with the *unpointed* text or to give forced meanings to the words. I shall attempt to explain the text as it stands, not however as a line of poetry, but as an intrusive prosaic gloss. A line which has been tortured with little success to make it fit into the poem proves to be a highly illuminating rubric!

Among the multitude of renderings hitherto offered, the following may be selected as those of authoritative Bible versions in ancient and modern times and of leading commentators in this country and in Germany:—

Barberini text	ἐχόρτασας[2] βολίδας τῆς φαρέτρας αὐτοῦ.[3]
'LXX'	†ἐπὶ τὰ†[4] σκῆπτρα λέγει (÷) Κύριος (ℵ).[5]
AV	*according to* the oaths of the tribes, *even thy* word.
RV^{txt}	The oaths to the tribes were a *sure* word.
RV^{mg}	Sworn were the chastisements (Heb. rods) of *thy* word.
R. Sinker	Sworn are the punishments of the *solemn* decree.[6]
G. A. Smith	Thou gluttest (?) *Thy* shafts.[7]
D. W. Nowack	Gesättigt mit Geschossen hast du *deinen* Köcher.[7]
B. Duhm	Der Schwarm *deiner* Zornesspeere.[8]

These are all ingenious attempts to construct a connected and apposite sentence out of the three nouns, which in the Hebrew stand nakedly beside each other without preposition, suffix, epithet, or other adjunct. The italics (for which in three of the modern renderings I am responsible) indicate the difficulty of the task without resort to

[1] Cf. Nowack (*Handkomm. zum A.T.*): *v.* 9^b 'spottet bei dem vorliegenden Text jeder Erklärung'.

[2] +τὰς V. [3] αὐτῆς V.

[4] ἐπὶ τὰ is a corruption of ἑπτά, as Nestle acutely observed (*Z.A.T.W.*, 1900, 167 f). The corruption appears already in the Old Latin of the Mozarabic Breviary: 'super sceptra, dicit Dominus', *J.T.S.* vi 219. In BN, &c., which omit τά, corruption has gone still further.

[5] Κύριος is obelized in the Syro-hexaplar.

[6] Comparing Is. xi 4 'the rod of his mouth', xxx 32.

[7] After the Barberini text.

[8] Emending the first and third words to שִׂפְעַת (multitude), אַפְּךָ (thy wrath), and giving the second an unparalleled meaning.

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imagination. The palm for ingenuity should perhaps be awarded to the first version, which has found modern imitators. This old Greek translator has constructed a clause in keeping with the preceding line (RV 'Thy bow was made quite bare') and rising almost to the level of the wonderful imagery of the poem. His ἐχόρτασας (שְׂבַעְתָּ) is distinctly attractive; βολίδας, however, raises doubts, since 'rods' are not the same things as 'shafts' or 'arrows'; the sequel will shew that his last words are not such pure guess-work as at first sight they appear to be. If we set aside this attractive but untenable rendering, I think that any reader of Hab. iii will see how sadly the description of the Theophany is marred by any other version of those quoted. The whole clause is, as I have ventured to suggest, nothing more than a note which has crept into the text, written in the short-hand style characteristic of glossators. The particular form of short-hand here employed was, moreover, one quite familiar to the Massoretic school. What we did not know before is its great antiquity. It is the catchword system already mentioned. We will take the words one by one.

שְׁבָעוֹת, with the Massoretic pointing, means 'oaths', and this is the commonly accepted rendering in this passage. I have no doubt that the word should be pointed שָׁבֻעוֹת (שְׁבֻעוֹת), i. e. 'Weeks', as in e. g. Ex. xxxiv 22 חַג שָׁבֻעוֹת 'Feast of Weeks'. This is suggested by the original text of the 'LXX', ἑπτά. Moreover, the clue to the interpretation of the word is afforded by a note subjoined in editions of the Hebrew Bible to Hab. ii 20, which has curiously escaped notice. That note runs— הפטרה ליום ב' של שבועות

i. e. 'Haphtarah for day two of Weeks'. This with the correlative note at the end of iii 19 (עד כאן) informs us that the whole of chap. iii together with the last *v.* of chap. ii is and has for long been appointed as the Prophetical lesson for the second day of the Feast of Weeks or Pentecost. The note, which is of uncertain and not necessarily *very* ancient date,[1] was written at a time when the Feast, which originally lasted but one day, had been prolonged into a second.[2] We have, however, documentary evidence, carrying us right back to the second century of our era, which informs us that even at that early date a lesson from Habakkuk was read at Pentecost. A Baraitha (or Tannaite tradition 'external' to the Mishna[3]), which, as I have the authority of Mr Abrahams for saying, cannot be later than 200 A.D., informs us of the

[1] The earliest MS of those used by Dr Ginsburg (*Liber Duodecim Proph.*, 1910) which contains it is dated *c.* 1350 A.D. In the MSS it appears as a note on iii 1, but reference is made to the practice of some congregations of beginning the lesson at ii 20.

[2] Hastings *D.B.* iii 742[a].

[3] See Oesterley and Box *Religion and Worship of the Synagogue* 60. The Tannaim flourished between 10 and 220 A.D.: *ib.* 55.

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existence of two sets of Lessons for Pentecost: (1) Deut. xvi 9 ff 'Seven weeks . .' with Habakkuk (passage unspecified), and, according to other authorities, (2) Ex. xix 1 ff 'In the third month . . .' with Ez. i 'the Chariot'; and the writer goes on to say that 'at the present time', as there are two days to the Feast, 'we' make use of both sets of lessons.[1] The lessons themselves here clearly belong to the Baraitha, not to the later Aramaic comment, and they go back apparently to a period before the institution of the second day of Weeks. I think we have evidence to shew that the observance of the second day was instituted before, probably shortly before, 100 B. C. Accepting Dr Charles's date for the Book of Jubilees (between 135 and 96 B. C.),[2] surely we may infer from the emphasis there laid upon the single day of the Feast that the introduction of a second day was a recent innovation, made (it appears) for the benefit of the Dispersion; the calendar, as Dr Charles points out,[3] was in an unsettled state at the time of writing. We thus have express evidence for referring the practice of reading a lesson from Habakkuk at Pentecost back to the second century A. D., and some warrant, though of a slighter kind, for carrying it right back to the second century B. C., the century in which the 'LXX' version was produced. The exact passage of Habakkuk is not specified in the Baraitha, but, in view of later Jewish practice, we may confidently affirm that the third chapter is intended.

This early evidence tends strongly to confirm the rendering which I have suggested for the first word in Hab. iii 9b. If this rendering is right, we note first that the old Pentecost lesson is a shorter one than that now appointed to be read. It ends in the middle of the chapter. For the position of the note seems to indicate not the beginning, but the end, of the lesson. This is made probable by two considerations. (1) It will be observed that a break was also made at this point when the passage was sung; the three puzzling words are immediately followed by the second 'Selah'.[4] (2) It was the opening verses, 'God came

[1] The passage occurs in *B. Meg.* 31 *a* and runs as follows:—
בעצרת שבעה שבועות (Deut. xvi 9) ומפטירין בחבקוק (Hab.) אחרים אומרים
בחדש השלישי (Ex. xix 1) ומפטירין במרכבה (Ez. i) והאידנא דאיכה תרי יומי
עבדינן כתרוייהו. Cf. *J.Q.R.* vi 16 ff on the whole Baraitha.

[2] Engl. trans., 1902, lix. The passage referred to is *Jub.* vi 17–22: 'For this reason it is ordained and written on the heavenly tables, that they should celebrate the feast of weeks in this month once a year, to renew the covenant every year. . . . One day in the year in this month they shall celebrate the festival . . . thou shouldst celebrate it in its season, one day in the year . . . one day in every year.' Dr Charles misses what I take to be the point of this insistence on 'one day'.

[3] *Ib.* lxvi.

[4] Cf. Briggs *Psalms* I lxxxv ff for the tendency in certain minor collections in the Psalter to place Selah at the end of a gloss. 'If [the Elohistic editor] added any Selahs to his Psalter, he did so only at the close of gl[osse]s.'

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from Teman and the Holy One from Mount Paran', which gave the Habakkuk passage its special appropriateness for Pentecost. For they recalled the allusion to the lawgiving in the blessing of Moses, 'The Lord came from Sinai . . . He shined forth from Mount Paran, and he came from the ten thousands of holy ones : at his right hand was a fiery law unto them ' (Deut. xxxiii 2), and Pentecost was regarded as the day when the Law was given. We have already observed that this tradition originated in the reading of Ex. xx at Pentecost in the course of the Triennial Cycle. The word Shabuoth in Hab. informs us therefore of this further fact, that the Triennial Cycle of lessons was already established in the second century B. C., as the 'LXX' version which dates from that century already contained the lectionary note.[1]

Granted, however, that שבעות here means 'Weeks', two explanations of the word are still open to us. It may, on the one hand, express, in curter fashion, what is more fully stated in the note in the printed Bibles, 'This is the lesson' or 'Here ends the lesson for Weeks'. In that case, as 'Weeks' is considered a sufficiently distinctive rubric, the Feast at the time of writing was presumably a one-day Feast. On the other hand, it may be a catchword to the corresponding lesson to be read from the Law. In the absence of early evidence for a similar note indicating by a single word the Festival for which the lesson is appointed, and in view of the two following words, which, I have no doubt, are catchwords, I incline to the latter explanation. The Torah lesson thus indicated is doubtless the lesson denoted in the Baraitha and in the Mishna[2] 'Seven weeks' (Deut. xvi 9–12). The 'seven' of the 'LXX' and the 'weeks' of the MT suggest that either of the two words could serve as catchword, or else that one of them has dropped out; the numeral, if expressed by the letter ז, might easily be lost. We conclude then that this word, the position of which alone sufficiently marks the end of the Pentecost Haphtarah, also tells us what was the *special lesson* from the Law appointed for Pentecost in the second century B. C.

מַטּוֹת has only two known meanings, 'Tribes' and 'Rods'. Commentators have sought in vain for an explanation of this abrupt reference to the tribes of Israel in the middle of a lyric description of a theophany of surpassing grandeur. Others have had recourse to the alternative meaning 'staves', which they have supposed may here stand for 'spears' or 'arrows', renderings for which there is no parallel. Now it so happens that 'Tribes' or 'Heads of tribes' (ראשי המטות) is a catchword in the Babylonian lectionary system, where it indicates the Torah

[1] The Samaritans as well as the Jews read the Decalogue on Shabuoth, *J.Q.R.* v 442. This seems to indicate a still higher antiquity for the origin of the Triennial Cycle.

[2] *Meg.* iii 5.

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lesson beginning (Numb. xxx 2 [EV 1])[1] 'And Moses spake unto the heads of the tribes' and extending to the end of Numb. xxxii. But we cannot equate the catchwords of the Babylonian system with those of the older triennial arrangement of lessons. We have, however, already noticed, that the Pentecost lesson in the third year of the Triennial Cycle began at Numb. xvii 16 (Heb.)=xvii 1 (EV). That passage opens with the words: 'And the Lord spake unto Moses saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, and take of them rods (מטה מטה) . . . twelve rods (מטות).' It is the passage about Aaron's rod that budded, and RODS is writ large over the whole eleven verses; no more suitable title could be used to describe its contents. Surely here we have the clue to the much debated 'Rods' in Habakkuk. The word tells us what was the *ordinary lesson* from the Law which in the round of the Triennial Cycle fell to be read at Pentecost in the *third year*.

אֹמֶר, i.e. 'Word', completes the gloss in the MT. Here again we must not be misled by a similar catchword in the Annual Cycle. אֱמֹר, 'Speak', is the catchword used in the Babylonian system to denote the Torah lesson beginning (Lev. xxi 1) 'And the Lord said unto Moses, Speak . . .' and extending to the end of Lev. xxiv. This catchword is alluring, since we have seen that Lev. xxiii was the chapter from which all the oldest lessons were drawn. But the Annual Cycle is not so old as this, and the lesson is abnormally long for the older system.[2] אֱמֹר does not recur lower down in the long Parashah; the formula reappears, but the verb used is דַּבֵּר. It had suggested itself to me that אֹמֶר might be a corruption of עֹמֶר, 'sheaf', which occurs in the first verse of the primitive special lesson for Pentecost, Lev. xxiii 15; the sheaf, the offering of which marked the date from which the day of Pentecost was calculated, and which gave its name to the fifty 'Days of 'Omer', might aptly be used as the symbol for the section *vv.* 15–22. But this again is unsatisfactory, since we have already identified the special lesson in the word 'Weeks'; a second *special* lesson would be superfluous. This catchword is puzzling, but the 'LXX' rendering λέγει Κύριος seems to suggest the true solution. אֹמֶר is apparently an abbreviated form of (וַ)יֹּאמֶר יְהוָה[3], the first words of Gen. xii 1, which, as we have seen, marks the beginning of the *ordinary lesson* from the Law, which in the Triennial Cycle fell to be read at Pentecost in the *first year*.

We have still to account for the Barberini reading τῆς φαρέτρας

[1] A Seder or Triennial lesson also begins here and extends to the end of the chapter. [2] Four Sedarim are comprised in Lev. xxi–xxiv (Ginsburg's text).

[3] Written יי or in archaic characters the tetragrammaton would easily drop out, as frequently happens in the LXX. In the Babylonian system the Parashah beginning at Gen. xii 1 is denoted by the words which follow, 'Get thee out' (לך לך).

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αὐτοῦ. Now, if this were, as *prima facie* it appears to be, merely guesswork, due to the mention of 'thy bow' in the previous line, we should expect to have 'thy quiver', not 'his' or 'its quiver'. But, retranslated into Hebrew, τῆς φαρέτρας αὐτοῦ is יִתְרוֹ (Job xxx 11), and יִתְרוֹ is Jethro, and JETHRO is the recognized catchword in the Babylonian system for the section Ex. xviii–xx which includes the Decalogue, and the connexion of the Decalogue with Pentecost is notorious! This, I have no hesitation in thinking, is the clue to the Barberini reading. The fact that the Decalogue lesson is referred to by the title which it bore in the later *annual* calendar presents no difficulty, since it appears that the Seder (or Triennial lesson) and the Parashah (or Annual lesson) were in this instance identical. In Dr Ginsburg's text,[1] where the Sedarim are indicated in the margin, Ex. xviii–xx forms a single Seder. The catchword JETHRO in Habakkuk in fact corroborates the evidence of the Hebrew MSS of Exodus which mark this whole section as a single Seder, and helps to remove a doubt which exists as to the point where the Pentecost lesson in the first year of the Triennial Cycle did actually begin. All are agreed that Ex. xx (the Decalogue) was read at Pentecost, and Dr Büchler[2] is convinced that in Palestine the lesson was restricted to that chapter. But the early Baraitha already mentioned tells us that Ex. xix (Sinai and the Theophany) was also included; a local practice of reading no more than these two chapters is attested by certain MSS which place the beginning of a new Seder at xix 6.[3] The evidence of Habakkuk, supported by the majority of the MSS in Exodus, shews that at a very early period the Pentecost lesson included a third chapter, viz. Ex. xviii (the visit of Jethro). It appears then that, while the extent of the Pentecost lesson in the second year of the Cycle was not rigidly fixed, it was customary in some districts to read as many as three chapters; when the Cycle was arranged perhaps a longer than the ordinary Sabbath lesson was purposely allotted to each of the great Festivals. In JETHRO therefore we have the catchword for the *ordinary lesson* from the Law which in the Triennial Cycle fell to be read at Pentecost in the *second year*.

The gloss in Hab. iii 9 informs us then in the cryptic words 'WEEKS —RODS—SAID (THE LORD)', with a variant in the third place 'JETHRO', not only of the extent of the special Prophetical lesson for Pentecost,

[1] *Pentateuchus diligenter revisus* . . . , London 1908.

[2] *J.Q.R.* v 436 note 3. The uncertainty attaching to the extent of the Pentecost lesson and the whole arrangement of lessons in Exodus in the older Cycle appears in Mr. Jacobs's art. (Trienn. Cycle) in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*. In his diagram he makes 'Jethro' (Ex. xviii–xx) the lesson for the *third Sabbath before Pentecost*; for Pentecost he gives Ex. xxvi, and in brackets [xx]. In the text he writes 'On Pentecost Ex. xix was read in the second year'.

[3] Ginsburg *Introd. to the Massoretico-critical ed. of Heb. Bible* 36.

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but also of the special lesson appointed to be read from the Law on the same day, together with the ordinary lessons which were read in each of the three years of the Cycle respectively in the second century B. C.[1]

(ii) Hab. iii 19 subscription (Barberini text).

There appears to be a second obscured direction with regard to the lectionary use of this chapter which has escaped detection. Rightly interpreted, as I believe, it confirms in a remarkable way the explanation already given of the note in Hab. iii 9. This rubric is concealed in the subscription to the eccentric Barberini text. As is well known, the MT, together with the Hebrew underlying the 'LXX', has at this point a subscription referring to 'the Chief Musician', connected with the use of the Psalm as a canticle. The Barberini subscription appears to have a different, i. e. a lectionary, origin.

The subscription in the three texts runs as follows:—

(1) MT = RV למנצח בנגינותי. For the Chief Musician, on my stringed instruments.

(2) 'LXX' . . . τοῦ νικῆσαι ἐν τῇ ᾠδῇ αὐτοῦ.

(3) Barberini text ταχίσας[2] κατεπαύσατο.

Now it is beyond doubt that (2) is a mistaken rendering of (1). As in the instance which we have been considering, the translator has erroneously incorporated a rubric into the poem; this is a patent instance of this kind of transformation. That he had the MT subscription before him is established by the versions of the words 'To the Chief Musician' employed by the later Jewish translators in the Psalter. Like this translator, Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion interpreted למנצח 'To the Director' in the light of the meaning of נצח in later Hebrew, viz. 'conquer', their respective renderings being τῷ νικοποιῷ, ἐπινίκιος (or -ον) and εἰς τὸ νῖκος.

But is (3) also merely a mistaken rendering of (1)? So Schleusner supposes.[3] Dr Sinker,[4] the only other scholar who has, to my know-

[1] For the double Torah or Prophetical lessons, as explained by the Triennial Cycle, see *J.Q.R.* vi 17 ff. For an instance of three Pentecost lessons from the O. T. in a Christian lectionary, which appears to have Jewish precedent behind it, I may refer to a previous article in *J.T.S.* iv 408.

[2] Corrected by V to καθησας (= καθίσας).

[3] Writing, *s.v.* ταχίζω, 'נצח notat quoque *in cursu vincere*', while elsewhere he suggests that κατεπαύσατο may be a duplicate rendering of למנצח: 'fortasse ibi τῷ מנצח respondet, ut legerit מְנוּחַ aut הֲנִיחַ.'

[4] *The Psalm of Habakkuk* (Cambridge 1890).

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ledge, attempted to explain the Barberini subscription, doubts whether the words are to be taken as representing the Hebrew however disguised. 'I prefer', he writes, 'to consider the words to have originated as a remark appended by some scribe: the subject of the verb being the Prophet, who, his task finished, ceases.' But a remark of a glossator on the brevity of the book, taking the form 'Quickly he stopped', seems, I venture to think, somewhat unnatural and fatuous. The use of the participle is, moreover, in the manner of this translator (cf. *v.* 6 *στὰς διεμέτρησεν . . . κατανοήσας ἐξείκασεν*). No; a Hebrew original undoubtedly underlies the words, but, and here I agree with Dr Sinker, not that of the MT. *Κατεπαύσατο* might represent some form of נוח ('rest'), due to misreading of the last part of בנגינותי, but the remaining Hebrew letters are too many to account for *ταχίσας*.

Disregarding, therefore, the MT, we proceed to enquire what Hebrew original will most naturally explain the Barberini subscription. The other texts shew that the poem has ended, and ended appropriately, and anything further will be in the nature of a gloss or rubric. Now, apart from נוח, the only verb which *κατεπαύσατο* is likely to represent is שבת, and this immediately suggests that the gloss contained some reference to the Sabbath. *Ταχίσας*, again, one of the rare words characteristic of this translator,[1] being in fact a *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον* in Greek literature, leaves us, nevertheless, in no doubt as to its Hebrew equivalent. The Septuagint Concordance (s. v. *ταχύνειν* and its congeners) conclusively proves that it can only stand for מהר or מהרה. But מהרה 'quickly' is very easily confused with מחרת 'morrow'. Here then I think we have the clue. I suggest that the Hebrew note before the translator took the form

(מ) מחרת השבת

i. e. (מִמָּ') מָחֳרַת הַשַּׁבָּת

'Morrow of the Sabbath'.

The translator read this as

מְהֵרָה הִשְׁבִּ(י)ת

i. e. 'Quickly he caused to cease'.[2]

The object of the verb would be the enemies introduced by the translator into the previous verse[3] or more generally the terror (*v.* 16)

[1] The following are not found elsewhere in the LXX: **διαύγασμα*, **ἐκθάλλειν*, *ἐξεικάζειν*, *ἐξίστηλος*, **ταχίζειν*, *φορά*. Those marked with an asterisk are unrecorded in Liddell and Scott.

[2] For the mid. used transitively cf. Eur. *Hel.* 1153 and probably Job LXX xxi 34 (= 'console').

[3] The curious rendering of the phrase 'high places' by 'the necks of one's enemies' reappears, as Dr Sinker points out, in Deut. xxxiii 29.

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which the glorious Theophany and the attendant upheaval of nature had instilled into the Prophet.

The strongest proof, to my mind, of the correctness of this restoration of the Hebrew is that it was reached by the ordinary canons of textual criticism, without forcing, and in complete ignorance of the special associations of the phrase and of the Psalm which contains it with the Feast of Weeks. I took the rubric in the first place to be an unusual mode of expressing 'For the first day of the week'. But look at it in the light of its context elsewhere and the previous lectionary note in Habakkuk. The phrase 'the morrow of the Sabbath' occurs only in the chapter of Leviticus from which we have seen that the earliest festival-lessons were drawn, and there it is used three times in connexion with the Feast of Weeks (Lev. xxiii 11, 15, 16). Two 'morrows of the Sabbath' are mentioned in that passage. The first figures as the occasion for the waving of the sheaf of the first-fruits at the beginning of the harvest period, but also as the point of departure for calculating the second date. A direction is given (*v.* 15) to count fifty days from the morrow of the first Sabbath 'even unto the morrow after the seventh Sabbath'; the latter date marked the end of the grain harvest and was observed as the Feast of Weeks. The phrase was, moreover, in consequence of the ambiguity of the Sabbath intended, one which gave rise to heated controversy, and two distinct interpretations of its meaning were given.[1] It was, in Dr Büchler's opinion, controversies such as this one which brought about the institution of the festival-lessons, and we may conjecture that this particular dispute occasioned the substitution of a Pentecost lesson from Deuteronomy for the older lesson from Leviticus. 'Morrow of the Sabbath' might, like 'Weeks' in *v.* 9, be a mere indication of date, another name for Pentecost; but the objections to this explanation which I stated above in connexion with 'Weeks' hold good here also. I prefer therefore to regard it as a catchword; no catchword would so readily recall the short lesson Lev. xxiii 15–22 as this notoriously controversial phrase. Once again, then, if we penetrate behind the translator's error, we are informed that the chapter is intended for use, and we need now have no hesitation in saying, for lectionary use, at Pentecost. The new elements in this second rubric are (1) that apparently the Habakkuk lesson embraces the whole chapter, and (2) that for the first time we have a mention, in this Barberini text, of the *primitive special lesson* from the Law appointed to be read at Pentecost.

[1] Schürer *H. J. P.* ii 2. 37, Hastings *D. B.* iii 740 f, *J. Q. R.* v 425.

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(iii) Hab. iii 3: the first 'Selah'.

(1) MT	סלה
(2) LXX (many MSS omit)	*διάψαλμα*
(3) Barberini text (62–86–147)	*μεταβολὴ διαψάλματος*

We have found indications of the existence of two pre-Christian Pentecost lessons taken from Hab. iii, one comprising the whole chapter, the other limited to its first half. But this is not all; the Barberini text has apparently preserved in a disguised form an indication of a still shorter lesson. There is nothing surprising in this; it is, in fact, only what we should expect. The history of the extension of the Haphtarah from a single verse to several verses makes it *a priori* probable that the eight-verse lesson was preceded by a still briefer one. There are, moreover, several reasons for seeking the close of the primitive lesson in the middle of *v.* 3. The first Selah occurs at that point, and we have already found that the position of the second Selah coincides with the close of a lesson. The curious conflation of the two Greek texts ceases at the same point. Lastly, the word *μεταβολή* in the Barberini text requires explanation.

Μεταβολὴ διαψάλματος may, on the one hand, be a mere periphrasis for Selah, or *μεταβολή* may represent a second Hebrew word. Two facts have here to be considered: (1) Patristic explanations of *διάψαλμα*, (2) the Barberini use of periphrasis. (1) Among other explanations of *διάψαλμα* there occurs in three Patristic passages,[1] from whence it is copied by the old Lexicographers, the definition *μέλους μεταβολή* (or *ἐναλλαγή*). The earliest of these passages[2] is attributed to Hippolytus, but appears really to emanate from Origen. *Prima facie*, the writer seems to be giving expression to his own conjectures, not repeating an older tradition. Were this so, there might be *some* reason for regarding the Barberini text of Hab. as not earlier than the third century A.D. But there is at least one trace of the Barberini text in Irenaeus,[3] and

[1] Theodoret (Migne *P. G.* 80. 864), Origen (*P. G.* 12. 1057 = ed. Lommatzsch, xi 355 f), and pseudo-Hippolytus (*P. G.* 10. 720).

[2] The following is the text in Migne (*P. G.* 10. 720), the bracketed words being added from the longer and apparently glossed text in the Berlin edition of Hippolytus (I ii 142): *Ἐπεὶ δὲ εὕρομεν παρὰ τοῖς ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ Θεοδοτίωνι καὶ Συμμάχῳ ἐπί τινων κείμενον ἐν μέσῳ ψαλμῶν οὐκ ὀλίγων τὸ 'διάψαλμα', ἐστοχασάμεθα μήποτε ὑπεσήμαναν οἱ θέντες αὐτὸ ῥυθμοῦ τινος ἢ μέλους [ἢ μέρους] μεταβολὴν γεγονέναι κατὰ τοὺς τόπους [ἢ κρουμάτων ἀνακωχήν, ἢ καὶ ἐποχὴν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος μάλιστα, ἤ, ὡς ἄλλος φησὶ τῶν ἐξηγημένων, ἀπὸ νοήματος εἰς νόημα μεταβολήν,] ἢ καὶ τρόπου διδασκαλίας εἰς ἕτερον τρόπον ἢ διανοίας ἢ* (Berlin ed. *καὶ*) *δυνάμεως λόγου ἐνάλλαγμα.*

[3] 'Deus ab Africo (= Barb. *ἀπὸ λιβός*: LXX *ἐκ Θαιμάν*) veniet, et sanctus de monte Effrem,' iii 20. 4 (Stieren). These words come from the 'conflate' portion; there is no other authority for *Ἐφραίμ*; the rest of the quotation follows LXX. Cf. p. 192.

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we are not justified in assuming that Origen (if it is he) had no older tradition behind him. The commentator seems to have no doubt that διάψαλμα refers to some kind of 'change' (μεταβολή, ἐνάλλαγμα); his own speculations apparently concern only the particular kind of change intended. It is quite possible, then, that the explanation of διάψαλμα as a μεταβολή is ultimately derived from the Barberini text in Habakkuk. (2) The Barberini translator is periphrastic and occasionally uses two or more Greek words to render a single Hebrew word (e. g. *v.* 3 τὴν εὐπρέπειαν τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ = הודו, *v.* 11 τὸ φέγγος τῆς σελήνης = ירח); but in these cases the second word is a synonym of, or contains an idea naturally suggested by, the primary word. Μεταβολὴ διαψάλματος seems to stand on rather a different footing; each word has a fullness of meaning of its own. That the words are a rendering of two Hebrew words is also suggested by the only parallel Biblical usé of an oblique case of διάψαλμα: ᾠδὴ διαψάλματος = הגיון סלה ψ ix 17.

It is probable, therefore, that Selah in the Hebrew original of the Barberini translator was preceded[1] by another word, which our previous experience gives ground for thinking will prove to be a catchword. Can it be accidental that in one of the only two occurrences of μεταβολή in the translated books of the LXX (Is. xxx 32) ἐκ μεταβολῆς rather strangely[2] corresponds to a Hebrew תנופה, and that תנופה is the technical name for the 'wave offering' mentioned in the first verse of the primitive Pentecost lesson in Leviticus (xxiii 15)? The Barberini text has other renderings in common with the LXX of Isaiah, and, though I cannot speak with quite the same confidence as in the previous instance, I have on the whole little hesitation in equating μεταβολή with the catchword WAVE OFFERING. The Barberini text in that case informs us of the extent of the *primitive Pentecost lesson from Habakkuk*, and once again refers us to the primitive Pentecost lesson from Leviticus xxiii, this time, however, by a different catchword. The translator combined the two Hebrew words and doubtless used μεταβολή in its musical sense of a change of tone or key.[3]

[1] Or replaced: διαψάλματος may be due to conflation with the 'LXX' text.

[2] Confusion with פנה 'to turn' may be the explanation: or is Aramaic (some derivative of תנא 'two') responsible, as elsewhere in the Greek Isaiah?

[3] See the definition quoted in Stephanus *s. v.*: ἡ μὲν γὰρ μεταβολή ἐστιν ἐξ ὁμοίου τόνου εἰς ἀνόμοιον μετάβασις. There is a further obvious gloss just before this 'Selah' in LXX and in cod. V in the form of a doublet, κατασκίου δασέος (-ως). These are not, however, catchwords, but, as Dr Sinker points out, renderings of 'Seir', a *var. lect.* for 'Paran' and probably the true reading; Paran has come from the parallel passage in Deuteronomy.

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Let us now put together the rubrics, lectionary and musical, which have become attached to Hab. iii, and attempt to trace out some of the consequences which follow from the discovery of what appears to be the true nature of the former. We have :—

Superscription.—A prayer of Habakkuk the prophet upon Shigionoth.

	SPECIAL LESSON	CYCLE LESSONS		CANTICLE
v. 3	WAVE OFFERING[1] (Lev. xxiii 15 : Primitive S. L.)			+ Selah[2]
v. 9	[SEVEN] WEEKS (Deut. xvi 9 : Later S. L.)	+ RODS (Numb. xvii 16 (1) : 3rd year)	+[3] SAID [JAHWE][3] (Gen. xii 1 : 1st year) *or* JETHRO[1] (Ex. xviii 1 : 2nd year)	+ Selah[4]
v. 13				Selah[5]
v. 19 Subscr.	} MORROW OF THE SABBATH[1] (Lev. xxiii 15 : Primitive S. L.)		*or*	For the director on my stringed instruments[3]

The nature and origin of the catchwords for the special lessons can hardly be doubted when one reads the first verse of the primitive Pentecost lesson from the Law, and of that which not long afterwards replaced it :—

Lev. xxiii 15 'And ye shall count unto you from the *morrow of the Sabbath*, from the day that ye brought the sheaf of the *wave offering*; seven Sabbaths shall there be complete'.

Deut. xvi 9 '*Seven weeks* shalt thou number unto thee: from the time thou beginnest to put the sickle to the standing corn shalt thou begin to number *seven weeks*'.

[1] In Barberini text only. [2] Many MSS of LXX omit, also V^{txt}.

[3] Not in Barberini text. [4] Many MSS of LXX omit, also V–147.

[5] Many MSS of LXX omit, or contain a Hexaplaric rendering : 62–86–147 also omit. The line preceding this 'Selah', which runs in the RV 'Laying bare (ערות) the foundation even unto the neck' is undoubtedly corrupt and probably a gloss. It is curious that the line preceding the catchwords in *v.* 9, which is not free from difficulty, also begins with the word 'bareness' (עריה). It is conceivable that the two lines were originally rubrics indicating a variety of local practice in different *cities* as to the length of the lesson; some districts ended the lesson at *v.* 8, some at *v.* 13. Compare the allusion in the Mishna (*Meg., ad init.*) to a variety of lectionary practice, concerning the day on which the book of Esther was read, as between 'towns which have been surrounded by a wall since the days of Joshua' on the one hand and 'great cities (עיירות) and villages' on the other.

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The lectionary notes illustrate in a remarkable way the gradual *extension of the Haphtarah* which we know from external evidence actually to have taken place. As Dr Büchler writes, 'the Haftaras were extended in a similar manner to that adopted in the enlargement of the Pentateuch portions, first to three verses, then to ten, finally reaching twenty-one (*J. Megilla* iv 2; *B. Meg.* 23 *a*)'; 'R. Jochanan . . . never allowed more than ten verses to be recited at a time, even if the subject did not cease there'; another Talmudic passage mentions three, five, and seven verses.[1] Excluding the title, which was naturally not read, the ancient lessons which we have found in Habakkuk contain respectively 1½, 7½, and 18 of the modern verses. Allowing for some difference between the old Pesukim and the modern verses, these lessons curiously approximate in length to the Rabbinical standards. A Bodleian MS of the eighth century gives us yet another variety in the length of the Habakkuk lesson, which here consists of four verses (Hab. iii 2–5).[2] These differences as to the exact point where the lesson ended doubtless reflect local or temporal variety of practice. The beginning of the lesson was clearly indicated—in the Psalm of Habakkuk by the title; there was originally no corresponding indication of its close, and the amount read was left to some extent to the discretion of individual readers or synagogues. To quote Dr Büchler once more: 'The reading was made out of the prophetical book itself. Now, in order that the מפטיר should hit upon the suitable passage without much search, the commencement of an Haftara for a Sabbath Seder must have been marked on the margin.[3] Since, then, the initial verses were so exactly described, there was no room for difference of opinion on this score. . . . The end of the prophet portion, however, was never given, hence arose numerous variations; some persons preferring to recite one verse, others two, ten, and twenty-one.'[4] In the light of the new evidence this statement requires slight modification. The Habakkuk evidence fully corroborates the statement that the beginning of the lesson was fixed and the end variable; but it appears that its conclusion did gradually come to be marked on the synagogue rolls, though at different points in different districts, and that the reference to the Torah Seder was placed not at the beginning but at the end.

It is not likely that a Psalm which has had such a long liturgical history has escaped *interpolations of a more substantial kind* than the addition of rubrics. The most natural place for such additions is at the beginning and the end, and in both places there are passages which

[1] *J. Q. R.* vi 14 f. [2] *Ib.* 38 ff.

[3] 'Sometimes with the name of the Torah Seder', Dr Büchler adds in the text.

[4] *Ib.* 48 n.

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have been suspected of forming no part of the original poem. Duhm has suggested that they were inserted when the Psalm was adapted for use as a canticle; there is reason for thinking that they may owe their origin rather to its lectionary use. It has often been remarked that the last three verses (17–19) are incongruous with the rest of the poem.[1] The gist of them is 'Though the harvest and the flocks and herds have failed, yet I will rejoice in the Lord'. Clearly a very appropriate addition to a lesson for a harvest-festival. But its appropriateness becomes still greater when the verses are brought into connexion with another feature in the Pentecost service. In addition to the other Torah lessons it was customary at Pentecost to read 'the curses' from Lev. xxvi, an institution which appears to go back to the time when the old Festival lessons were introduced.[2] Surely the fact that a passage like Lev. xxvi 20 'For your land shall not yield her increase, neither shall the trees of the land yield their fruit'[3] had been read in another part of the Pentecost service accounts for the amplification of the Haphtarah by the words 'For though the fig-tree shall not blossom, neither shall fruit be in the vines; the labour of the olive shall fail, and the fields shall yield no meat'. The lesson was at the same time brought up to the maximum lectionary length and was made to end with good tidings, 'He will make me to walk upon mine high places'.[4] At the opening of the Psalm the words 'In wrath remember mercy' (*v.* 2), the only words which justify the description of the poem in the title as a 'prayer', have also been recognized to be a liturgical insertion. This addition, again, is probably to be accounted for by the reading of 'the curses', which are followed by a double assurance that God will remember His covenant (Lev. xxvi 42, 45). A suggestion may be added as to the origin of this reading of the curses. Dr Büchler regards them as a sort of natural pendant to the Decalogue.[5] May not the association of curses with Pentecost have originated in the fact that the words Shabuoth, 'Weeks', and Shebuoth, 'Oaths' or 'Curses', are practically identical? We see the association of ideas in a passage like

[1] Hymnologists have recognized their distinct character. 'The closing verses have been torn from the rest to form the essence of a large number of hymns in many languages' (G. A. Smith). 'What though no flowers the fig-tree clothe, | Though vines their fruit deny . . .' and 'Though vine nor fig-tree neither | Their wonted fruit shall bear . . .' (a stanza in a hymn by W. Cowper) are two instances.

[2] 'A Boraitha (*B. Meg.* 31 *b*) says that Ezra enacted that the curses in Lev. xxvi and Deut. xxviii should be read respectively before Shebuoth and Rosh Hashana': *J. Q. R.* v 440 ff.

[3] Cf. the curses in Deut. xxviii 18, 39 f ('thine olive shall cast *its fruit*').

[4] The custom of making the Haphtarah open and end with good tidings lacks, however, very early authority: *J. Q. R.* vi 15.

[5] *Ib.* v 441.

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Jubilees xxii 1 'Isaac and Ishmael came from the Well of the Oath to celebrate the Feast of Weeks', and it has been suggested[1] that one reason for the Rabbinical substitution of a new name for the festival, עֲצֶרֶת, may have been to avoid confusion between 'Weeks' and 'Oaths'.

What is the origin of the peculiar *Barberini text*? We have seen that this Greek version preserves under a disguise no less than three lectionary notes, and that the two which are peculiar to it refer to the *primitive* Torah lesson for Pentecost. The accumulation of these notes leaves little doubt that the Hebrew original from which the version was made was a synagogue roll, while their nature indicates that the roll was a very ancient one. The roll was used for lectionary, not for singing, purposes. It did not contain the subscription 'To the Chief Musician'; owing to the conflation of texts in the opening verses we cannot say what title, if any, stood at its head; it probably had no 'Selah' in verses 9 and 13, and, were it not for μεταβολὴ διαψάλματος in verse 3, it might be held that it contained no musical notes whatever; even in the last phrase the second word *may* have come in from the LXX text. The fact that the parent Hebrew text was a synagogue roll affords some ground for thinking that the version itself may owe its origin to the public reading of the Scriptures. My belief, which I state for what it may be worth, is that it represents a version made for lectionary use at Pentecost, before the Minor Prophets were translated as a whole. I have suggested elsewhere[2] that the germ or nucleus of the Greek versions of some of the Prophets may have been translations of short passages selected as lessons for festivals, and I have given an instance in Ezekiel where the LXX version of an early Christian Pentecost lesson (Ez. xxxvi 24–38), the lectionary use of which was inherited from Judaism, is clearly marked off from its context by peculiarities of style. In that instance the translators of Ezekiel and the Twelve (for the Greek version of the whole group is unquestionably the production of the same time and school) appear to have incorporated the older version of these fifteen verses. In Habakkuk, on the contrary, they were either unaware of the pre-existent lectionary version or they rejected it as inadequate. The LXX version naturally threw the older version into the background; but the latter apparently continued to be used locally for lectionary purposes and has thus, by some strange fortune, survived in a few MSS. If this conjecture as to its origin be correct, it is curious that the translator failed to recognize the nature of the Pentecostal rubrics which he included in the poem. It is noteworthy that the two instances discovered of Greek versions seemingly produced for synagogue use occur in the portions of Scripture (Ezekiel and the Minor

[1] *Jewish Encycl.*, art. Pentecost.

[2] *J. T. S.* iv 407 f, *Gramm. of O. T. in Greek* 11 f.

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Prophets) from which we have seen that the earliest Prophetical lessons were drawn.[1]

There remains the further question: What bearing have these old lectionary notes on the *authenticity of Hab. iii*? Is it an integral portion of the Prophetical book? Without going into the whole question of authenticity I will confine my remarks to the narrower question: Did the use of the chapter as a canticle precede its use as a lesson? For the case against the authenticity turns largely on this point. It has been argued from the presence of *two* titles, in the superscription and the colophon, that the chapter originally stood in some minor Psalter, from which, on account of the mention of Habakkuk in the superscription, it was afterwards transferred to the prophetical book; the second title is, it is said, in reality the title to the *next* Psalm immediately following the Prayer of Habakkuk in the minor Psalter, which was inadvertently carried over to the prophetical book when the transfer was made.[2] The force of this suggestion is considerably weakened by the discovery that the lectionary notes also stand at the *end* of the passages to which they relate. Moreover, good reasons have been shewn[3] for believing that the notes in the Psalter 'To the Chief Musician' relate in many, if not in all, cases to the Psalms which *precede* them. It appears then that, if any transfer from Psalter to Prophecy took place, it is the superscription which is the intruder. But probably there was no transfer. It seems more likely, as Prof. Duhm has suggested, that the Chief Musician, at a time when the Temple music was being actively organized and collections of songs were few, used such material as came to hand, and in this case attached his musical notes to the Psalm where he found it, namely in the book of the Prophet. For the oldest Greek version shews us that the chapter was already read as a lesson before 150 B.C., and tells us of a shorter and a longer lesson. Time must be allowed for this growth

[1] An indication of the influence of the lectionary use on the Greek itself may perhaps be traced in the quaint renderings 'At his feet shall follow the largest of the birds' (*v.* 5) and 'In the midst of two living creatures shalt thou be known' (*v.* 2); the latter occurs in both texts in the 'conflate' portion, but must surely be due to the same translator as the former. The two living creatures in the mind of the translator were doubtless, as Dr Sinker has suggested, the cherubim overshadowing the mercy seat (cf. Ex. xxv 21 LXX). But he may also have been influenced in both passages by the recollection of the four living creatures beneath the throne, one of whose faces was that of an eagle, in Ez. i; that chapter, as we have seen, was another primitive Pentecost lesson.

[2] I was not aware in offering this suggestion (in *J. T. S.* xi 530 n. 2; where 'the Psalter' should be 'a Psalter') that it had already been made by Dr Nestle in *Z. A. T. W.*, 1900, 167.

[3] J. W. Thirtle *The Titles of the Psalms* ed. 2, 1905.

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of the Haphtarah, so that the Habakkuk lesson is carried back into the third century B.C. If we accept Dr Briggs's date for the Chief Musician (about 250 B.C.), it seems incredible that a lesson for one of the chief festivals should have been drawn from a chapter which had so recently become attached to the Prophetical collection. This is the principal argument for giving the lesson priority in time over the canticle; but other facts point in the same direction. The lectionary catchwords in both *v.* 3 and *v.* 9 *precede* the Selah; the lengths of the three lessons approximate to what we know to have been normal lectionary lengths; the Barberini text lacks the musical colophon, and probably contained not more than one Selah, if it contained any at all.

On the basis of the available data I submit the following very tentative reconstruction of the *liturgical history of the Psalm.*

(i) Whatever its ultimate origin, the bulk of Hab. iii formed an integral portion of the prophetical book in 300 B.C.

(ii) A lesson was read from it at Pentecost early in the third century B.C.[1] The primitive lesson consisted of not more than one or one and a half of our verses, and was read as the sequel to the primitive Torah lesson from Lev. xxiii. Later in the century the special Torah lesson was replaced by the corresponding passage in Deut. xvi; the reading of a second Torah lesson, the ordinary calendar lesson of the Triennial Cycle, had now become usual. The lesson from Habakkuk was at about the same time extended to seven and a half of our verses. This was for long the normal length of the Habakkuk lesson; the gloss indicating this stopping-point is imbedded in all the texts.

(iii) About the middle of the third century the 'Director' adapted the Psalm for use as a canticle, adding to the chapter in the prophetical book the Selahs and the colophon with a reference to himself. These musical notes did not find their way into all copies.

(iv) The superscription (iii 1) was added at the same time or soon after, and marked the beginning of both Lesson and Canticle. The opening and close of the Psalm also appear to have received some amplification or adaptation to the Pentecost ritual.

(v) The text which found its way into Egypt about 200 B.C. contained the two lectionary rubrics at *vv.* 3 and 9, and perhaps the first Selah, but no further musical notes. The Egyptian Jews did not follow Palestinian practice, but read the whole Psalm as a lesson. On the

[1] See Dr H. E. Ryle *Canon of O. T.* 116 'Probably, therefore, during the third century B.C., the lesson from the Prophets (the *Haphtarah*) was added by the scribes to the lesson from the Law... It is... probable that the adoption of a lesson from "the Prophets" corresponded with the period of their admission into the Canon': cf. 108.

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other hand, they adhered to the primitive Torah lesson; the rubric 'Morrow of the Sabbath' was appended at this time.

(vi) From this text, early in the second century B.C., the 'Barberini' Greek version was made for lectionary use in the synagogues of Alexandria. The translator failed to understand the rubrics in his Hebrew original, even that most recently appended.

(vii) Soon after 150 B.C. a Greek version of Ezekiel and the Minor Prophets was produced *en bloc*, no use being made of the existing version of the Psalm of Habakkuk.

(viii) Other districts, however, still continued to read only the shortest lesson[1] ending in *v.* 3, and in the first century B.C. or later a conflation of the two known Greek versions of these few verses was made for the use of the Methurgeman in the synagogues, and this mixed text has been transmitted in all extant Greek MSS.

The discovery of the true nature of these rubrics has led us to assign a very early date to the origin of the Haphtarah, and the introduction of the Torah lessons must be still older; the very selection of this Habakkuk passage for Pentecost seems to presuppose the existence of the Triennial Cycle. The discovery opens up possibilities of further developement, but the range within which we may expect to find similar notes is likely to be limited to the primitive lessons for the greater festivals.[2] In conclusion, perhaps I may be permitted to add that my recent ventures in the field of Old Testament criticism have strongly brought home to me one lesson, viz. the wisdom of attempting to explain the text as it stands and only resorting to emendation as a last expedient. It has been my good fortune in this and a recent number of the JOURNAL to obtain some surprising, it is not for me to say convincing, results, largely by 'sticking to the text'. In Hab. iii 9 the 'Variorum Bible', reflecting the general verdict, pronounces the 'text' to be 'very corrupt'. On the contrary, I venture to think, the consonantal text has providentially come down to us almost in its pristine purity, and it seems scarcely credible that the Massoretes misunderstood what they have so faithfully transmitted. Had serious corruption taken place, the clue to the meaning of the catchwords might have been lost irretrievably.

H. ST J. THACKERAY.

[1] These short Haphtarahs were in vogue even in the Middle Ages: 'two verses, not more' is a direction in an eighth-century MS, *J. Q. R.* vi 14. Cf. the lesson from Isaiah of under two verses in Luke iv 18 f.

[2] Lectionary practice may possibly be found to throw light on the curious form in which the Song of Hannah (an early lesson for New Year's Day) has been transmitted in the LXX (1 Regn. ii). The verses from Jer. ix 23 (22) f, which are incorporated in it, formed a lesson in the Triennial Cycle.

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THE SO-CALLED MISSALE FRANCORUM.

If the happily named Sacramentarium Leonianum is the oldest of the known liturgical monuments of the Western Church, the so-called Missale Francorum ranks next to it in order of antiquity. But this has a claim on our regard which is wanting to the other. The Leonianum is a record, sometimes complete and sometimes incomplete, of Masses said on various occasions by Leo the Great and his two immediate successors; but it is not, in the technical sense of the phrase, a sacred book. The Missale Francorum—part pontifical, part missal—may from its very inception have been designed for use *in sacris*, and would therefore seem to deserve more careful scrutiny than I apprehend that it has hitherto received.

Experts of unquestioned authority assure us that the acephalous manuscript (Codex Vatican. Regin. 257) to which we owe our knowledge of the document dates from about the end of the seventh century; and thus that the learned Oratorian Jean Morin was mistaken in assigning it to the fifty years which followed the death of Clovis in 511. But, although the manuscript is of less antiquity than Morin suspected, I believe its first and rather larger half to represent a document which, so far from coming into existence between the years 511 and 560, was even then not new. The possibility of such ulterior derivation cannot, I should imagine, have occurred to Morin; for he says 'Codicem illum Gallicum fuisse dubitari non potest, cum in Missa pro Regibus Francorum[1] et in uariis orationibus imperium Romanum[2] nunquam commemoretur, sed perpetuo Deus in eo pro Regni Francorum prosperitate exoretur. Itaque mihi uidetur codex ille post annum 511 sed ante annum 560 in Gallia scriptus, Gallisque nondum in unum populum cum Francis coalescentibus'. And, indeed, he must have completely overlooked the evidence in favour of such derivation; for, had he so much as suspected the seeming significance of that evidence, he would scarcely have contented himself with saying, of the very passages in which it lurks but half concealed, 'Ter enim pro Regno Francorum nominis

[1] This is not a technically accurate designation. The extant title is 'Orationes et Preces pro Regibus'.

[2] Morin evidently means the empire of the western line which began with Charles the Great in 800. The possibility of an ultimate origin during the continuance of the western line of emperors which ended with Romulus Augustulus in 476 does not seem even to have occurred to him.

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preces fiunt; alias pro Francorum Principatu; alias pro Principibus Francorum, et semel pro salute et incolumitate Regni Francorum'.[1]

Morin, as we shall see presently, was not in possession of all the facts of the case. But his clever, though perhaps inadequately developed, argument from the plural 'regibus' in the title of the Mass and the plural 'principibus' in one of its prayers was summarily dismissed by Mabillon who saw, what seems to have escaped his predecessor's notice, that the Canon Actionis contains Gregory the Great's 'diesque nostros in tua pace disponas' &c., and who thence concluded that the document must be as late as the seventh century.

Had Morin been better informed than he was, or had he more carefully studied his citations than he seems to have done, he might, and perhaps would, have suggested that the item now rubricated '*pro Regibus*' was an editorial adaptation of a Mass compiled at a time when the *imperium Romanum*, in the old historical sense of the term, was a political reality unquestioned and unrivalled; and, had Mabillon been careful to discriminate between a written codex and the document enshrined in it, it might, and perhaps would, have occurred to him that, though the manuscript now at the Vatican was not older than the seventh century, the underlying document—its unseen but mentally conceivable *substantia*—might be the resultant of two, if not more, redactions; and that, though the *terminus a quo* of one of these was as comparatively recent as the year 590, when Gregory was made Bishop of Rome, the other might reasonably be given a *terminus ad quem* as remote as the year 560.

Thus much said by way of preliminary statement of the case as left by Morin and Mabillon, let us now examine the passages cited by the former. For reasons which will soon be sufficiently evident, our consideration of the 'diesque nostros' clause in the Canon, Mabillon's weapon of retort, may be postponed to its proper stage in our analysis of the document.

The passages in question—see Muratori ii 680, 681—are: (1) 'ut regni Francorum nominis secura libertas . . . exultet', where Morin attempts no explanation of the seemingly needless 'nominis'; (2) 'Francorum regni adesto principibus'; (3) 'Francorum regnum . . . protege principatum', where 'regnum' escapes diagnosis; (4) 'protege regnum Francorum nominis ubique rectores', where the strange 'regnum' and the suspicious 'nominis' pass unchallenged; (5) 'ut . . . Francorum regni nominis inimicos . . . compremas', where 'nominis' is yet again overlooked, and (6) 'pro salute et incolumitate uel statu regni Francorum', where 'uel statu' receives no notice.

[1] *De sacris Ecclesiae Ordinationibus*, opera J. Assemani (Romae 1756), vol. i p. 4.

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We know that Morin had some slight knowledge of the Gelasianum when he wrote the appendix (p. 52) to his *De disciplina in administratione sacramenti poenitentiae*; but, as the Gelasianum was as yet an unpublished document[1], he may not have had occasion or opportunity for observing that, at III lxi and lviii, it contains the first and fifth of the passages cited by him (see Mur. i 731, 728), but with the significant difference that in each instance it has 'Romani nominis' where the Missale Francorum has 'regni Francorum nominis' or 'Francorum regni nominis'. And to this evidence we can now add[2] that of the Leonianum (XXVII iii) on the fourth of the six passages. I set the two texts side by side, italicizing the cardinal phrase in each:—

Sacramentarium Leonianum (Mur. i 411).	Missale Francorum (Mur. ii 680).
O.s.d. in cuius arbitrio regnorum omnium iura consistunt protege *romani nominis* ubique rectores ut eorum uotiua prosperitas &c.	O.s.d. in cuius arbitrio regnorum omnium iura consistunt protege *regnum francorum nominis* ubique rectores ut eorum uotiua prosperitas &c.

The obvious and simplest explanation of the several differences is probably the right one: that the original text, written in large uncials, was that now extant in the Leonian and Gelasian sacramentaries; that over 'ROMANI' the two words 'regni francorum' or 'francorum regni' were written *manu posteriori* in small characters; that, for whatever reason, neither 'ROMANI' nor 'NOMINIS' was marked with expunctory dots, and that, as a consequence of that omission, a subsequent transcriber, though he conceived, whether rightly or wrongly, that he must discard the adjective because of the words written over it, was not sufficiently logical or sufficiently officious to discard the substantive. This account elucidates each of the six passages noted by Morin; thus—where I italicize the text, which by my hypothesis was to have been superseded, and bracket what I suspect to be the new reading; and whence it will be seen that in each instance all that my 'subsequent transcriber' omitted was the word 'romani', 'romanis', 'romanorum' or 'romanarum', though in three of them he should have omitted 'nominis' as well. In the last passage I propose 'potestatum' as a fairly certain correction of 'uel statu':—

1. ut *romani* (regni francorum) *nominis* secura libertas . . . exultet.
2. *romanis* (francorum regni) adesto principibus.

[1] When Morin published in 1651 the *De disciplina* the Gelasianum was no longer in the possession of Petau, who had allowed him to inspect it. It was by that time the property of the Queen of Sweden, and was published in 1680.

[2] The Leonianum, edited by Giuseppe Bianchini, was published by his uncle, Francesco Bianchini, in 1735, in the edition by the latter of Anastasius Bibliothecarius. It was an unknown document in Morin's day.

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3. *romanorum* (francorum regnum) . . . protege *principatum.*

4. protege *romani* (regnum—? regni—francorum) *nominis* ubique rectores.

5. ut . . . *romani* (francorum regni) *nominis* inimicos . . . compremas.

6. pro salute et incolumitate potestatum *romanarum* (regni francorum).

Rarely, if ever, has there been a *felix culpa* of greater felicity than that which in the first, fourth, and fifth of these places left 'nominis' uncancelled; and, in the third, 'principatum'. But for that blunder we might have been disposed to assume, and for the historical reason by which Morin was swayed, that we were dealing with the constituents of a Mass compiled not earlier than the second decade of the sixth century at the very earliest. As elucidated by the Leonianum and the so-called Gelasian Sacramentary the surviving 'nominis' reveals, in respect of this particular Mass, an ulterior original the compiler of which deemed the *Romani nominis rectores* to have an imperative claim on the prayers of the Church, and renders irrelevant all contention based on the phrase *regnum Francorum.* This is a mere patch of surface colour. The original canvas was innocent of it. I say 'in respect of this particular Mass'; for it is theoretically conceivable that the ulterior original thus revealed was in its turn adventitious to an ultimate nucleus of greater antiquity than itself.

PART I. THE SUCCESSIVE EDITIONS OF THE FIRST INSTALMENT.

If we except the incomplete Canon Actionis—for its incompleteness excludes it from the satisfactory application of a stichometrical text—we find that our document resolves itself into seven sections, the Canon being a possible eighth, each of which is equivalent to an integral number of pages of one-and-twenty lines having the average value of $29\frac{1}{3}$ letters. I propose to notify this unit of paginal measurement by the symbol 'γ'; reserving 'β', as in my study of the Leonianum, for a twenty-five line page of 32 letters to a line, and 'θ' for a twenty-five line page of 28 letters to a line.

The first four sections constitute a pontifical; and this I designate as the first of several instalments because I believe, and hope to prove, that the fifth and sixth sections are an accession of appreciably later date, and that the seventh and eighth are accessories still more recent.

SECTION I. THE MINOR ORDERS.

I further believe and hope to prove that the editorial evolution of the first instalment, though not of each section in it, covered three successive periods of stichometrical use; β pages being employed in the first

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of these, which I unhesitatingly style 'Roman'; θ pages in the second, which, for geographical and historical reasons, it will be safe as well as convenient to regard as Gallo-Roman; and γ pages in the third. The γ pagination was not at its inception much more recent than the last stage of the θ period; but the gradually growing document had meanwhile passed into another diocese, and, as this was a diocese whose history was, from more than one cause, soon to be interwoven with the fortunes of Clovis and his house, the γ redactions may justly be denominated Frankish.

THE γ REDACTIONS OF SECTION I. Whatever may have been the precise contents of the nuclear scheme of the first of the four general instalments of the document, that instalment now begins with a series of directive rubrics sufficient, with accessory headings, to fill two γ pages. Then follow forms of admission to the orders of doorkeeper, acolyte, reader, exorcist and subdeacon. These have the value of five such pages.

The directive rubrics so closely resemble the *statuta ecclesiae antiqua*, which, though at one time attributed to the Fourth Council of Carthage, recent scholarship unhesitatingly refers to the year 529 and the Second Council of Vaison in the province of Arles, that, unless the two codes have a common parent, one must certainly have been derived from the other. Nevertheless, they differ so remarkably in the distribution of their several parts and in minute details of ritual as to set it beyond reasonable doubt that if the *statuta* be Arlesian, our rubrics represent the use of some other province. For example: our rubrics make no provision for the ordering of either reader or subdeacon; they admit an acolyte to his duties with formalities slightly but significantly different from those enjoined by the *statuta*, and they either omit or fail to anticipate in their *Diaconus cum ordinatur* the clause 'quia non ad sacerdotium sed ad ministerium consecratur'.

In the forms themselves of admission to the minor orders I observe that, whereas three of the five comprise a Praefatio (that is to say a 'bidding-prayer') and a Benedictio, (i) that which relates to acolytes has no Praefatio, while (ii) that for readers has, instead of Praefatio, an address to the candidate which differs *toto coelo* from the address embodied in the corresponding Vaison statutum. I also note that (iii) prefixed, as though *ex post facto*, to our form for the ordering of a subdeacon there is an Allocutio addressed to the candidate, and, constructively one with this, two short rubrics which partially, but only partially, resemble analogous directions in the Vaison code. Of the first of these peculiarities I shall speak presently. The second serves to shew why it is that the Vaison 'Lector cum ordinatur', or an equivalent to it, is not among our directive rubrics, for the 'Eligunt te' in our

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form of ordination excludes, as both inconsistent with it and needless, the 'Accipe et esto lector' &c., embodied in the *statutum*. The third, and for a like reason, enables us to see why neither the Vaison counterpart to the two short rubrics which coalesce with the 'Vide cuius ministerium' nor a practical equivalent to it is to be found in our series of preliminary rubrics.

Now, it is obvious that the preliminary rubrics cannot have had a place in our document at an earlier date than the five forms of ordination; and it is by no means likely that they and the five forms were introduced simultaneously, for in the order of thought the former group—with which we may reasonably associate the whole of the *Allocutio ad Subdiaconum Ordinandum*—is the more recent of the two, being evidently the Vaison *statuta*, or some such document, so altered as to be reduced to conformity with the latter group. Hence, then, the question, Can it in the order of time, as well as in the order of thought, be later than the five forms of ordination?

To answer this question I must so far anticipate what yet has to be said as to assure the reader that our document as a whole would seem to have undergone not fewer than two redactions on pages of γ lineation, the first considerably less ample than the second. This assumed, there can be no doubt that our answer to the question must be in the affirmative; for I find that, although the preliminary rubrical series represents thirty-nine γ lines, the *Allocutio ad Subdiaconum Ordinandum*, which, with its dependent rubrics, is homogeneous with it, represents, as its nett value, twenty-four such lines; the two values being thus the equivalent [since $39+24=63=3\times21$] of three γ pages. In other words: The section resolves itself into two intermingled categories, which, for the sake of brevity, may be called the 'rubrical' and the 'textual'; the 'textual' sufficient of itself, and not dependent on the other; the 'rubrical' ancillary to and dependent on the 'textual'; and, since the 'textual' represents four γ pages, as will be seen from the table of values on an early page, and the 'rubrical' three, there is no reason why the 'rubrical' should not have been introduced into our document at the later of two γ redactions, the 'textual' having had a place in it at the earlier.

THE θ REDACTION. If, then, we can prove that, although in its extant form the 'textual' category is equivalent to four γ pages, it may have been compiled while our document was as yet in the θ period of its evolution, but that the like cannot be said of the 'rubrical' category, we shall have to infer that the 'textual' is the more ancient of the two.

While our document was in course of evolution a Roman churchman, of the same name and designation as the Ioannes Diaconus who lived three centuries later, replied to a correspondent, Senarius by name, who

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had asked him what at Rome was the difference between an acolyte and an exorcist, that at Rome an exorcist might become an acolyte, but that no acolyte would think of degrading to the rank of exorcist, and that the next upward step was to the subdiaconate.[1] Senarius has by some been identified with a man of high rank and extensive travel who held office under King Theodoric, and whose home was not improbably in either northern Italy or Gaul. Whoever he may have been, we can rest assured that he would not have asked the question he did, had there nowhere been any uncertainty among well-informed people as to the number or gradation of the Roman *ordines minores*, and had there nowhere been a doubt as to whether local usage was in these respects identical with the Roman. Can it be that he knew of an ecclesiastical province in which there were as yet no acolytes?

Now, our form for the ordination of an acolyte is in two respects remarkable. Each of the other forms consists of a Praefatio and a Benedictio, ours has only a Benedictio; and this differs from its compeers by an allusive reference to the ritual of the Old Law such as certainly bespeaks a different ἦθος from theirs, and not improbably a much later date. These peculiarities suggest the inference that there may have been a period in the evolution of our document in which the order of acolytes was not as yet locally recognized, and that, if such period synchronized with that stage of the bibliographical history of the document at which the θ pagination was employed, the hypothesis of its existence, if true, should be able to bear the application of the stichometrical criterion of the θ unit of pagination.[2] That criterion I now apply, and perceive with more pleasure than astonishment that if, neglecting the form for the ordering of acolytes, we express in terms of θ lines the values of the remaining components of the 'textual' category we have material equivalent to three θ pages, the last of them devoted exclusively to subdeacons; but that, as was intimated just now, if, admitting that form, we express the values of the whole category in terms of γ lines, we have material equal to four γ pages. Nor is this

[1] For the date of this letter see Muratori *Liturgia* i 32. For the relevant portions see Duchesne *Origines* pp. 332 n. 2; 340 n. 1. For the whole see Migne *S. L.* lix 404 D.

[2] That at or about the close of the fifth century there should have been a province of Western Christendom—presumably a province in Gaul—which had no order of acolytes is a theory which, if it surprise some, will remind others that there was no such order in Eastern Christendom, and that Eastern Christendom had done much for the south of Gaul.

On the subject of acolytes see the very instructive remarks of Mgr Duchesne, *Origines* pp. 332, 333, 352, and the footnotes on those pages. I think myself happy in shewing it to be probable that it was not till a comparatively late period in its history that our document took cognizance of that order.

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all. If we compute in terms of θ lines the values of the preliminary series of directive rubrics they do not yield a multiple of five-and-twenty such lines; whereas, with the governing capitulum and a connecting rubric, they are the precise equivalent of two γ pages: and if we combine the value of the 'rubrical' *Allocutio ad Subdiaconum Ordinandum* with the 'textual' series into which it has been inserted we have an ultimate total of five such pages. Hence, assuredly, the reason why the second γ compiler disjoined the Allocutio from the series to which it properly belongs. Had it formed part of that series the first form, that for the ordination of doorkeeper, would not have begun on a fresh page—page v of the volume.

The question whether at some earlier period than that of the θ redaction which we seem to have determined provision had been made for any, and if so for which, of the minor orders is one which must of necessity be deferred to a later stage of our argument, although the answer to it is of necessity anticipated in the subjoined summary of values.

The foregoing conclusions may be numerically systematized thus:—

		Scheme θ_2 Five pages	Scheme γ_1 Six pages	Scheme $\gamma_{2(3)}$ Nine pages
First leaf		i, ii	i, ii	i, ii
INCIPIT DE SACRIS ORDINIBUS	24	iii 3	iii 3	iii 3[=3]
Ustiarius cum ordinatur &c.	231			8
Acolythus cum ordinatur &c.	237			8
Exorcista cum ordinatur &c.	188			7
Diaconus cum ordinatur &c.	76			3
Presbyter cum ordinatur &c.	156			6
Episcopus cum ordinatur &c.	203			7[=39]=42
Praefatio ustiarii	17	1	1	v 1
Deum patrem &c.	197	7	7	7
Benedictio ustearii	18	1	1	1
Domine sancte pater &c.	144	5	5	5
Benedictio acolyti	17		2	2
Domine sancte . . . qui moysi &c.	167		6	6
Praefatio lectoris	17	2	2	2
Eligunt te fratres tui, &c.	113	4	4	4
Benedictio lectoris	18	1	1	1
Domine sancte . . . benedicere &c.	175	7	6	6
Praefatio exorcistae	19	2	2	2
Deum patrem &c.	183	7	7	7
Benedictio exorcistae	20	1	1	1
Domine sancte . . . benedicere &c.	346	9=50	9	9[=54]
Allocutio ad subdiaconum ordinandum	33			2
Exhibeatur in conspectu &c.	65			3
Vide cuius ministerium &c.	558			19[=24]
Et trades ei calicem et patenam	26			1
Praefatio ordinationis subdiaconi	31	v 2	2	1
Oremus deum et dominum &c.	182	7	7	7
Benedictio subdiaconi	20	1	1	1
Domine sancte . . . benedicere &c.	408	15=25	14	14
From the following			3=84	3[=27]=105
		Page v ends	Page vi ends	Page viii ends

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Section II. The Major Orders.

In an article on the Leonian Sacramentary recently contributed to *The Journal of Theological Studies* (vol. x pp. 76–78) I observed that the items in Section XXVIII of that collection which are concerned with the ordering of bishops, deacons and priests do not seem to have formed part of the first general edition. Nor can they have formed part of the third; for their aggregate total value is not a multiple of twenty-five β lines.[1] And yet it is hard to believe that they can have been included in the original scheme of the second, an enterprise referable to Hilarus, successor of Leo the Great and predecessor of Simplicius; for their several successive values conflict with the method observed by Hilarus, a method which made each item in its turn occupy a multiple of five-and-twenty α lines.

But since, on the other hand, the aggregate sum of their values is the equivalent of two hundred α lines; since, as we saw in my essay, it was the wont, though not of Hilarus, yet of Simplicius, to collect into an integral number of pages two or more contiguous items, each of which was the equivalent of a mixed number, and since, as we also saw, Simplicius used the α pagination[2] for a brief but undetermined period at the beginning of his editorial career, we may with probability infer that, as made known to us in the Verona book, the Consecratio Episcoporum, the Benedictio super Diaconos and the Consecratio Presbyteri are to be classed among the earlier efforts of that pontiff. He was elected in 468.

Now, the Consecratio Episcoporum of the Verona book is wrongly placed in respect to the two other forms; nor, indeed, do its constituents stand in due order, for the 'Hanc igitur' and Postcommunion (Mur. i 421) are placed between the 'Super oblata' and the prayer of consecration. If, then, the three forms are indeed the work of Simplicius, how is it that while employed in revising the Leonianum he did not correct these inaccuracies and, causing the whole group, if not each member of it, to fill an integral number of β pages, make the triad, thus rectified, a part of his final redaction? Why did he not do this instead of leaving us the unfinished attempt which we now possess? My conviction is that he purposely excepted the group from his last revision of the Leonianum for the sufficient reason that he had in fact

[1] As left in the form transmitted to us, through the Verona MS, they would have filled only 192 β lines. See *J.T.S.* vol. x p. 78.

[2] The only finally completed work on α lines that can with probability be attributed to Simplicius as its author is the group of four *missae* in honour of St Andrew (Section XXXVIIII). These may reasonably be referred to the years 468–471. His later contributions were on β pages. See as before, p. 92.

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thus rectified it, and that he had in fact not only thus rectified it, but further improved it to such good purpose as to deem it worthy of being set forth in a distinct and separate libellus.

THE FIRST, OR β, REDACTION. For, assuming that, in or about the year 469, he had resolved so to deal with the material which, in the ill-assorted form proper to an inchoate effort, has been transmitted to us through the Verona channel as that it should be worthy of transcription into a small separate fasciculus, what does our knowledge of his bibliographical methods enable us to surmise that he would be likely to do?

If, as is fairly presumable, (1) he had, when drafting the scheme of such libellus, already resolved on using the β pagination; if (2) he now took care that the forms for the ordering of deacons and priests should stand first and second in the series; if (3) now, as ever, it was his governing intention to make use of already existing materials; and if (4), as in his final recension of the Leonianum, he now allowed himself three lines for a first capitulum and two for a second, should this not occur at the head of a page, I find that, to make the first and second items fill five β pages, he would have to effect no other changes than to transpose the 'Dn̄e ds̄ preces' and the 'Oremus dilectissimi' in the form for the ordering of deacons (Mur. i 423), thus making this analogous to that for the ordering of priests; to weld them into one, thus completing the analogy, and to set the 'Ds̄ conlator' after, instead of before, the prayer of consecration. The result of so simple and obvious an arrangement may be formulated thus:—

	β Scheme		
(*For Ordering of Deacons*)			
Capitulum		3	
Oremus dilectissimi &c.	184	12[1]	
*Domi*ne *deus* preces &c. . . .	198		
Adesto quaesumus &c.	1483	47	
Deus conlator &c.	266	9	= 71 β lines
(*For Ordering of Priests*)			
Capitulum		2	
Oremus dilectissimi &c.	162	5	
Exaudi nos *deus* &c.	187	6	
*Domi*ne *deus* pater &c.	1287	41	= 54 β lines
		Total: 125 β lines (5 pages)	

Now, on referring to the so-called Missale Francorum[2] we observe

[1] The due fusion of these two paragraphs into one would necessarily involve a slight economy of text, with the numerical result of 366, not 382, letters.

[2] A doubly misleading title: 'Francorum', because, as we have seen, the Frankish touches—'regni Francorum' and the like—are superficial and post-editorial; 'Missale,' because, if we except the Canon Actionis, the larger, older and more important half of the document is not a missal, but a pontifical. We want

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that it sets the forms for the ordering of deacons and priests first and second in the series (Mur. ii 664, 666), and that its mode of dealing with their constituents tallies with that just suggested, and therefore that it justifies *pro tanto* the theory of some such separate edition as that which I have sketched. And when we examine its form for the ordering of bishops we find good reason for believing that this may be a developement, mediate or immediate, of some such separate edition of the Leonianum Consecratio Episcoporum as is required by the hypothesis of an integral number of β pages.

The six constituents of the Leonianum Consecratio Episcoporum are, with its capitulum, the equivalent of sixty-nine β lines[1]; so that, in order to make the item fill three β pages, Simplicius would have had to make a nett addition of half a dozen lines; and, to make them fill four such pages, a nett addition of thirty-one lines. The constituents in the so-called Missale Francorum, as known to us in its present developement, are more than six in number; but, confining my attention to the six which it has in common with the Leonianum, I find that these, together with a capitulum representing three lines, would have the value of a hundred β lines; and that this strikingly suggestive total is due to the noteworthy fact that the prayer of consecration has been amplified by a passage—'Sint speciosi . . . de profectu omnium consequantur'—which, while it is worthy of Simplicius, for, written in his style, it has all his wealth of scriptural citation, comprises no fewer than 1,009 letters, thus making the constituent occupy seventy-eight, not forty-seven, lines. The values are:—

(*For Ordering of Bishops*)			
Capitulum			3
Exaudi d*omi*ne supplicum &c. . . .	32		3
Propitiare d*omi*ne supplicationibus &c.	127		4
D*eu*s honorum omnium &c. . . .	1488	78	
Sint speciosi pedes eorum &c. . .	1009		
Suscipe d*omi*ne munera &c. . . .	74		3
Hanc igitur oblationem &c. . . .	185		6
Adesto misericors d*eu*s &c.	81		3 = 100 β lines (4 pages)

On the whole, therefore, there would seem to be abundantly good reason for saying that the three forms of ordination in the extant Leonianum are an ill-arranged group of inchoate drafts, but that, prior to the last general revision of that document, they had been so perfected by Simplicius as to be worthy of forming a separate libellus; and that

a phrase that shall neither confuse our ideas nor beg the question at issue. I propose to employ the words 'our document', or the like.

[1] In my article on the Leonian sacramentary I too faithfully followed Dr Feltoe, who divides the 'D*eu*s honorum omnium' into two separate halves, thus giving it the value of 48, instead of 47, lines, and making the item fill 70 instead of 69.

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the text of that libellus—the text, in other words, of the first ascertainable pontifical of the Roman Church—has been handed down to us in the so-called Missale Francorum.

Nor is this the only claim that I make in respect of our document. I believe that not only has it preserved to us in the nucleus of the present section, what is not elsewhere to be found, the *purus putus textus* of the earliest ascertainable pontifical of the Roman Church, but that, over and above the component members of that nucleus, it comprises amplifications added, not on one, but on three several occasions and, besides these, some slight additions made at two subsequent dates.

The external history of the whole document is a subject the more careful discussion of which does not lie within the scope of the present essay. But before we analyse the collection in hope of tracing its internal history, it may suffice to say that it resolves itself into four main parts, a Pontifical, a Sanctorale, a group of Missae Cotidianae, and a copy of the Canon Missae; and that the career of the pontifical would seem to be susceptible of some such summary as this:—

1. On β pages, i. e. pages of 25 lines capable of holding 32 letters each, the *editio princeps*, by Pope Simplicius, of the forms for the ordering of deacons, priests, and bishops, and, besides this, two others, one for the dedication of virgins to the religious life, the other for the consecration of an altar.

2, 3, 4. On θ pages, i. e. pages of 25 lines having the average value of 28 letters, three successive amplifications of the foregoing, at the second of which were imported forms of admission to minor orders.[1]

5. On γ pages, i. e. pages of 21 lines of the average capacity of $29\frac{1}{3}$ letters, a re-issue of 4; this (6) once repeated; and (7) a final amplification executed by Merovingian scribes, if not under the direction of Merovingian editors, and in respect of time separated from 1 by considerably more than a century.

I said just now that the long amplification which distinguishes our text of the prayer for the consecration of bishops, the 'Dṡ honorum', from that of the Leonianum has characteristics which justify us in believing it to have been composed by Pope Simplicius. The like cannot be said of much else that is proper to our document as compared with the Leonianum; nor, indeed, of anything in it which the evidence in our possession bids us regard as of non-Roman provenance. The truth is that, apart from distinctive methods employed in the treatment of subject-matter, the extant whole exhibits as many as four several literary styles; two of them worthy of the name, two unworthy. The first in order of time and of thought is that with which we are familiar through the writings of Leo the Great and of Simplicius, and may be

[1] As notified above, p. 221, in the table of linear values relating to the minor orders.

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described as normal. Its phraseology is virile, simple, stately; and its diction such as we may suppose to have been that of well-educated churchmen prone to think in terms not far removed from those which they used when writing, and to write pretty nearly as they spoke. The second, which I distinguish as academical, though characterized by a somewhat operose research of phrase and by a diction which is of the pen rather than of the tongue, is yet vital with the charm that we expect of those to whom a literary language is a classic. The third, or transitional, style has a but barely tolerable construction and a diction which is almost ostentatiously unidiomatic. The last has the attributes of a hopeless decadence.

Again. I said just now that of the seven redactions through which I conceive the present section of the work to have passed the first was, in my opinion, executed on β pages and the next three on pages of θ capacity. If this was the case, the second may have been little more than a transcription of the original effected with no more economies, whether of text or rubric, than were necessary to adapt the section to its new environment; and the like may be said of the first γ redaction as compared with the third of the θ series.

THE FIRST θ REDACTION. (*The Ordering of Deacons.*) Let us, then, suppose some late fifth-century bibliographer, master of an even script, to have undertaken to transfer the form for the ordering of deacons from the seventy-one β lines[1] postulated by my hypothesis to such integral number of θ pages as was nearest to them in textual capacity. What would he be likely to do?

Inspection would inform him that, though the task might demand some little economy of material, there would be no need to curtail, even were curtailment permitted him, the long and carefully composed 'Adesto quaesumus om̄p. ds̄'; but that, after he had transcribed this constituent, he would have to substitute a somewhat shorter prayer in place of the 'Ds̄ conlator' which had descended to him from the deviser of the rough draft preserved to us in the Leonianum (Mur. i 423). Remarkably enough, there is no 'Ds̄ conlator' in our document; but, instead of it, the somewhat shorter prayer 'Exaudi dn̄e supplicum preces', &c., a prayer of the very length required by my hypothesis. In this fact I see a first proof of a comparatively early transference from β to θ pages. The two sets of values are

	β		θ	
Capitulum	3		3	
Oremus dilectissimi &c. . . .	366 12		366 13	
Adesto quaesumus &c.	1483 47		1483 53	
Deus conlator sacrarum &c. . .	266	9 = 71 β lines		
Exaudi domine supplicum &c. .			157	6 = 75 θ lines

[1] See above, p. 223.

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As set forth in our document, the item comprises, besides these constituents, the preliminary *Allocutio ad Populum*, 'Dilectissimi fratres' &c. (Mur. ii 664) and the inseparable components of the supplementary *Ad consummandum Diaconatus Officium* (*ib.* 666). None of all this is in the Leonianum; and the stichometrical value of the *Allocutio ad Populum* excludes it from the sort of redaction postulated by my hypothesis, for it would yield a total representing a mixed number of pages. Nor do I think that the *Ad consummandum*, though stichometrically permissible, for it is equivalent to a θ page, can have formed part of it; for an editor who wished to introduce any such supplementary material could easily have done so without discarding the 'Dŝ conlator' and substituting a shorter prayer in place of it. He could have retained the 'Dŝ conlator' and given his *Ad consummandum* the value of twenty-two lines, not, as now, of twenty-five.

(*The Ordering of Priests.*) In dealing with the next item, the editor of a θ redaction but slightly in paginal excess of the *editio princeps* on β pages would see at a glance that it would be impossible without mutilation to coerce it into two θ pages, for the prayer of consecration itself 'Dñe sc̃e pater om̃p. aeterne dŝ &c. (Mur. ii 667) has the value of forty-six θ pages. He must therefore amplify; and, amplification once resorted to, he must not be too sparing of it if the new libellus he was constructing was to fill, like its β prototype, an integral number of pages; but, by subjoining the *Consummatio Presbyterii* (Mur. ii 668) he would not only make the item itself equivalent to four θ pages; he would outstrip the editor of the β scheme by two pages, the value of half a membrane, thus :—

	β			θ_1		
Already computed (deacons) . .		71			75	
Capitulum (priests)		2			3	
Oremus dilectissimi &c.[1] . . .	153	5		153	6	
Exaudi nos *domi*ne salutaris &c.	188	6		188	7	
*Domi*ne *sancte* pater om*nipotens* &c.[2].	1287	41	= 125 β lines	1287	46	
Consummatio presbyterii . . .					2	
Sit nobis fratres &c.[3]				227 (232)	9	
*Sanc*tificationum omnium &c. .				711	26	= 174 θ lines

[1] Our document in its text of the 'Oremus dilectissimi' has the plural inflexions 'suscipiunt' and 'assequantur', although the subject of this, as of the other constituents, is singular, not plural. On this see below, p. 231.

[2] As to this also see below, p. 233, where a slight modification will be proposed.

[3] Without counting the '*dominum*' of the concluding 'per *dominum*', the value of the 'Sit nobis fratres' is 227; and this, if we neglect the 'per', is the precise equivalent of 8 θ lines. But as there is something wrong in the text, and as the mischief cannot be more simply remedied than by reading 'sacerdotalia' for 'sacerdotali', and 'in perpetuum' for 'per suum', we must raise 227 to 232, at the least, and allow 9 lines to the constituent.

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The second of these two totals, which falls short of seven θ pages by merely a line, is attained by simply neglecting, as proper to some later edition, the preliminary *Allocutio ad Populum in Ordinatione Presbyteri*; just as when dealing with the previous item we neglected, and for a like reason, the preliminary *Allocutio ad Populum in Ordinatione Diaconi*. Hence, therefore, a second attestation of the hypothesis of a pontifical on θ pages and ampler than the *editio princeps* on β pages which I claim to have ascertained, but considerably less ample than the final developement represented by MS Vatican. Regin. 257.

The two *Allocutiones ad Populum* which I have thus far omitted prove that at some period in the history of its developement our document was that of a diocese in which both deacons and priests were elected by popular acclamation. Let us, therefore, note that the earlier redaction which we seem to be reconstructing implies, in the bidding prayer of the *Consummatio Presbyterii*, the election of candidates for the presbyterate, if not by acclamation, yet by some sort of popular suffrage; and therefore that, wherever and by whomsoever compiled, it differed from the draft forms in the Leonianum, and possibly from the *editio princeps* as well, in being meant for use in some other diocese than that of Rome.

(*The Ordering of Bishops.*) It was not to be expected that an item which had filled four β pages should without reinforcement fill five of θ value; and the compiler of the comparatively short redaction postulated by my hypothesis must have foreseen that, even though four lines, instead of three, should be devoted to a new and longer capitulum, and two lines allowed for a rubric connecting the next section with the present, some few lines of compensating text would yet be required of him.

His simplest course was that which seems to have been in fact taken at some period in the evolution of our document; to set a short 'Oremus dilectissimi' (Mur. ii 670) before the opening prayer, to transcribe successively the already existing constituents, beginning with the first and ending with the last, and, when all were copied, to fill with some short *alia* such few lines as might be standing idle. The introduction of an 'Oremus dilectissimi' before the first prayer would allow him to alter the capitulum from 'DE EPISCOPIS ORDINANDIS', requiring three lines, to 'ORATIO ET PRECES DE EPISCOPIS ORDINANDIS', requiring four; and if, as by my hypothesis would be the case, the item was now to be used in some diocese the bishop of which would be consecrated in his own cathedral, the assembled laity would have a concern in the ceremony sufficiently intimate to justify an address asking them for their prayers, but such as could not have been taken for granted in Rome, where bishops-elect brought from neighbouring dioceses for consecra-

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tion by the Pope were to Roman spectators merely strangers and not their prospective fathers in God. I subjoin the respective values of the *editio princeps* and of the early derivative postulated by my hypothesis :—

	β			θ		
Capitulum		3			4	
Oremus dilectissimi &c.				113	4	
Exaudi *domine* supplicum &c. . .	82	3		82	3	
Propitiare *domine* supplicationibus &c.	129	4		129	5	
Deus honorum omnium &c. . . .	2497	78		2497	90	
Suscipe *domine* munera &c. . .	74	3		74	3	
Hanc igitur oblationem &c. . . .	185	6		185	7	
Adesto misericors *deus* &c. . . .	81	3 = 100 β lines		81	3	
Ecclesiam tuam *domine* &c. . . .				115	4	
Connecting rubric					2 = 125 θ lines	

Here, therefore, we have a third attestation of the hypothesis of a pontifical on θ pages; a book ampler than the *editio princeps* on β pages which I claim to have ascertained, but considerably less in bulk than the final developement represented by MS Vatican. Regin. 257.

THE SECOND θ REDACTION. The words 'per dn̄m' are appended to two out of the three preliminary addresses *Ad Populum* (Mur. ii 664, 667) which, by reason of their nett textual value, must unquestionably be attributed to one and the same edition and, on grounds of style, to one and the same pen. The formula does not, however, indicate a conclusion such as would be proper to a prayer, but some such phrase as 'per dn̄m n̄ ih̄m xp̄m filium dī qui cum patre et sp̄u sc̄o uiuit et regnat in saecula saeculorum'. One would, therefore, suppose that on its first occurrence it must have been written *in extenso*; and the surmise is confirmed by two facts: first, that the constituent, if thus equipped, would, with the rubrics contiguous to it, fill five-and-twenty θ lines and enable the office proper to begin at the head of a page; secondly, that thus equipped it would, with the rubric next after it, fill one γ page, the governing capitulum, as we have already found reason to believe was the case, being set on the page next before.[1]

We must at the proper moment endeavour to learn who it was that composed these three addresses, the last of which bears a resemblance to the instructions given by Leo the Great on the choice of candidates for the episcopate which is too close to be accidental.[2] We cannot but admire him; for unqualified praise is due to the 'scientia, pompa, proprietas'[3] of a style that, without detriment to those characteristics,

[1] See summary of linear values on p. 232.

[2] The places in St Leo's letters thus turned to account are too numerous for transcription; but the reader will easily identify them on consulting Epp. 4, 5, 10, 14, 41 and 167 (Migne *S. L.* 610 B, 611 A, 612 A, 615 A, 622 B, 634 A, 672 A, 673 B, 815 A, 815 B, 1201 B).

[3] I borrow this insuperably happy phrase from Sidonius Apollinaris, *Ep.* iii 14 (Migne *S. L.* lviii 508 A).

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could yet accommodate the balance and rhythm of perilously laboured periods to the number of lines which these must be made to fill if the ultimate whole were to satisfy the exigencies of a scrupulously artistic bibliography. Evidently that was his design; as evidently the design was realized: for the synopsis of values which I am about to exhibit enables me to see that the first of the newly-inserted addresses was so economized in respect of length as that the text of the second, 'Quoniam dilectissimi' &c., should begin at the head of a θ page (page x), and that this was so computed as to give a like distinction to the *Consummatio Presbyterii* (page xiiii) and, after it (p. xvii), to what was no mere climax, no mere peroration preceded by a significant rhetorical pause, though certainly it was both of these, but a direct appeal and solemn challenge from speaker to listeners, calling on them to ratify by common acclamation a choice which otherwise had not been final. A distribution of text such as this cannot have been accidental; for nothing could be more felicitous than the appropriation of a new page to the opening scene of a fresh act in the drama. The transition from the sixteenth page to the seventeenth coincided with the brief but eventful interval in which the bishop-elect was conducted to the metropolitan, who, taking him by the hand and presenting him to the electors, resumed, 'Hunc ergo, dilectissimi fratres, testimonio boni operis electum dignissimum sacerdotio consonantes laudibus clamate et dicite "*Dignus est*".'

In this I see the technical master-touch of the second θ redaction of our pontifical; but we shall, I think, in due time find that even this was improved at the third θ redaction, the document being then in such wise re-arranged as that the assistant deacon should turn a leaf of the volume during the moment or two that must elapse before the officiating prelate pronounced the critical 'Hunc ergo dilectissimi fratres'.

There are in the extant document three rubrical details the origin of which would seem to be referable to this, the second θ redaction. When the editor introduced the three preliminary allocutions he seems to have retained what had previously been the governing capitula of the respective items, but to have adapted them to their new function of merely subordinate headings by prefixing a necessary qualification to each; thus turning 'AD DIACONUM ORDINANDUM' into '*Oratio ad diaconum ordinandum*', 'AD PRESBYTEROS ORDINANDOS' into '*Oratio ad presbyteros ordinandos*' and DE EPISCOPIS ORDINANDIS' into '*Oratio et preces de episcopis ordinandis*'.

There are also textual peculiarities which this is the proper place for noticing.

The Leonianum draft (Mur. i 421) assumes more than one candidate for the episcopate in its text of the 'Dō̄ honorum omnium'; although,

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probably for a ritual reason,[1] singular inflexions characterize its Secreta and Hanc igitur, not the plural inflexions which would imply a plurality of candidates: and MS Vatican. Regin. 257 in its text of the third item of the present section resembles it *pro hoc*, but with the exception that in one or two places the singular as well as the plural inflexion is given. But surely it would be cause for wonder that the very reviser who himself introduced the two long addresses 'Seruanda est dilectissimi' &c., and 'Dm̄ totius sc̄ificationis' &c., neither of which presupposes more than one candidate, should have been so inconsistent as to retain in the text of the 'Ds̄ honorum omnium' plural inflexions indicative of several candidates, even if he had found them there. I cannot believe that so minutely careful a scholar as the author of the three preliminary allocutions would forgive himself such an inconsistency, and therefore venture to suggest (i) that at the first θ redaction, primarily and in the main a transcription of a strictly Roman book, the 'Ds̄ honorum' retained its plural inflexions, (ii) that at the second θ redaction these were replaced by their singular counterparts, which (iii) were retained at the next θ redaction; but (iv) that the first of the γ scribes, or the editor for whom he worked—if indeed there was a responsible editor—reinstated the plural forms for no better reason than that they served to distribute the prayer over as many as eighty-six lines, a value which exactly sufficed to make the section end on the last line of a page, at the same time (v) so far respecting his predecessor's careful consistency and his own common sense as to superscribe the singular forms; and (vi) that most of these have disappeared in the course of successive transcriptions. Hence it is that in the table of linear values I compute the number of letters in the 'Ds̄ honorum' as 2450 (eighty-eight θ lines) at θ_2 and θ_3, but at 2497 (seventy-eight β lines, ninety of θ, eighty-six of γ) on the five other occasions.

Again, in the Leonianum draft (Mur. i 424) the three constituents of the *Consecratio Presbyteri*—'Oremus dilectissimi' &c., 'Exaudi nos dn̄e' &c., 'Dn̄e sc̄e pater om̄p.' &c.—assume, in contrast to their title, a plurality of candidates for the presbyterate: but in our document,

[1] Then, as now, each of the newly consecrated bishops would seem, by the Roman rite, to have made his own offering of bread and wine.

In this connexion let me call attention to the only ritually important difference between the Leonianum forms and ours in respect of such constituents as are common to the two documents. The Leonianum text of the Secreta is 'Suscipe dn̄e quaesumus munera famuli tui *illius* et propitius' &c. (Mur. i 421); ours is 'Suscipe dn̄e munera quae tibi offerimus pro famulo tuo *illo* et propitius' &c.

There is also a slight verbal difference between the two texts of the 'Hanc igitur'; the Leonianum being 'Hanc igitur . . . ut quod diuino munere consecutus est diuinis effectibus exsequatur. per', whilst ours is 'Hanc igitur . . ut quod diuino munere consecutus est tua in eo protectione firmetur. per'. Ours is, by my hypothesis, the later of the two.

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		Scheme β 11 pages	Scheme θ_1 14 pages	Scheme θ_2 18 pages	Scheme θ_3 19 pages	Scheme $\gamma_{1\,(2)}$ 22 pages	Scheme γ_3 23 pages
First leaf		i, ii	i, ii	vi 4	vi 4	*	*
ALLOCUTIO AD POPULUM &c.	38						
Dilectissimi fratres quamlibet &c.	558 (489)			20	20	vii (x) 20	x 20
Oratio ad diaconum ordinandum	20, 26	iii 3	iii 3	I=25	I=25	I=21	I=21
Oremus dilectissimi &c.	366	12	13	vii 13	vii 13	viii (xi) 13	xi 13
Consecratio	11					1	1
Adesto quaesumus &c.	1483	47	53	53	53	51	51
Deus conlator sacrarum &c.	266	9					
Exaudi domine supplicum &c.	157		6=75	6	6	6	6
Ad consummandum diaconatus officium	32				1	1	1
Commune uotum communis &c.	177				7	6	6
Benedictio sequitur	20					1	1
Domine sancte spei fidei &c.	455				17	16	16
ALLOCUTIO AD POPULUM &c.	41			3=75	3=100	3	3
Quoniam dilectissimi &c.	1066			x 38	xi 38	37	37
Oratio ad presbyteros ordinandos	(23), 29	2	vi 3	2	2	2	2
Oremus dilectissimi &c.	155, 153	5	6	6	6	6	6
Item alia	8						1
Exaudi nos deus salutaris &c.	187, 188	6	7	7	7	7	7
Consecratio	11					1	1
Domine sancte pater &c.	1296[1], 1287[2]	41[1]=125	47[1]	46[2]	46[2]	44[2]	44[2]
Consummatio presbyterii	22		2	I=100	I=100	1	1
Sit nobis fratres communis &c.	227 (232)		9	xiiii 9	xv 9	8	8
Item benedictio	14						1
Sanctificationum omnium &c.	711		26=100	26	26	25	25=231
Consecratio manus	16						xxii 2
Consecrentur manus istae &c.	152						5
Item alia	8						1
Unguantur manus istae &c.	307						11
EXHORTATIO AD POPULUM &c.	40			2	2	2=231	2=21
Seruanda est dilectissimi &c.	1059			38=75	38=75	} xviiii (xxii) 40	xxiii 40
Hunc ergo dilectissimi &c.	115			xvii 4	xviii 4		
Oratio et preces de episcopis &c.	(21), 35	viii 3	x 4	3	3	2=42	2=42
Oremus dilectissimi &c.	113		4	4	4	xxi (xxiiii) 4	xxv 4
Exaudi domine supplicum &c.	82	3	3	3	3	3	3
Propitiare domine &c.	129, 130	4	5	5	5	5	5
Collectio sequitur	17					1	1
Deum totius sanctificationis &c.	1418 (1427)			51	51	49	49
Consecratio	11					I=63	I=63
Deus honorum omnium &c.	2497[1], 2450[2]	78[1]	90[1]	88[2]	88[2]	xxiiii (xxvii) 86[1]	xxviii 86[1]
Super oblata	11					1	1
Suscipe domine munera &c.	(74), 83	3	3	3	3	3	3
Hanc igitur oblationem &c.	185	6	7	7	7	7	7
Adesto misericors deus &c.	81	3=100	3	3	3	3	3
Item alia	8					1	1
Ecclesiam tuam domine &c.	115		4	4=175	4=175	4=105	4=105
From the following		Page xi ends	2=125 Page xiiii ends	Page xviii ends	Page xxiii ends	Page xxviii (xxvii) ends	

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while the 'Exaudi nos' and the 'Dñe sce' assume only one candidate, the 'Oremus dilectissimi' is so inconsistently worded—'ut super hunc famulum tuum ... ut quae suscipiunt ... exsequantur'—as very strongly to suggest the inference that at some early stage in the editorial developement of the item that constituent and, in accordance with it, the other two as well must have assumed a plurality of candidates. Bearing in mind therefore, the peculiarities of inflexion in our third item which were just now examined, I think the most probable account of these in the second item to be (i) that the Roman precedent was followed in θ_1 in respect of all three constituents, but (ii) that the compiler of θ_2 replaced inflexions implying plurality by their counterparts in the singular number, and (iii) that the contradiction which disfigures our text of the 'Oremus dilectissimi' is the result of some later carelessness. Hence in my list the two sets of values 155, 187, and 1296 (forty-one β lines, forty-seven of θ) for β and θ_1, but 153, 188, and 1287 (forty-six of θ_1, forty-four of γ) for θ_2.

It certainly is a remarkable coincidence that, just as plural inflexions would have given the 'Dš honorum omnium' too extended a text for the linear capability of our document at the second and third of the θ redactions postulated by my hypothesis, though not at the first, so at the second and third would a like difficulty have arisen had plural inflexions been retained in the 'Dñe sce pater oñp.' of the form for the ordering of presbyters. To me the coincidence is reassuring: because it serves to corroborate my theory of a first θ redaction and of the constituents proper to it; because it serves to prove that the reviser who first assumed as normal the presence of only one candidate for priesthood and for episcopate was the editor to whom we are indebted for the three preliminary allocutions, for these assume but one candidate; because it justifies my estimate of the scrupulously minute stichometrical skill for which I just now gave credit to the author of those addresses, for his 'Quoniam dilectissimi', preliminary to the second item, comprises 1066 [$= 38 \times 28 + 2$] letters, his 'Seruanda est' before the third item 1059 [$= 38 \times 28 - 5$] letters, and his 'Hunc ergo dilectissimi' 115 [$= 4 \times 28 + 3$]; because, regard had to these values, it justifies the opinion that the conclusion to his 'Dilectissimi fratres', preliminary to the first, was properly worded and set forth in full, its value thus being 558 [$= 20 \times 28 - 2$] letters, and because it seems to shed a gleam of light on one period in the external history of the document.

The long constituent, 'Dñ totius scificationis', &c., which precedes the prayer of consecration in the last of the three items, except that in one place it has suffered at the hands of the copyists,[1] is, as an example

[1] In no instance would scribal corruption of the text be likely to make any great difference in its value as computed in terms of letters. In terms of lines there

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of the academical style, entirely worthy to rank with the three preliminary allocutions. Like the 'Seruanda est dilectissimi fratres', it is replete with instructions to be found in the letters of Leo the Great,[1] and thus has a *prima facie* claim to be attributed to the same redaction with that address. When we compute the values of the several successive issues of the whole pontifical in terms of sheets or membranes—that is to say, in terms of quadruples of pages—we shall find the attribution justified.

THE THIRD θ REDACTION. I hope when discussing the fourth and fifth of the eight sections into which the extant document resolves itself to justify my attribution of the *Ad Consummandum Diaconatus Officium* (Mur. ii 666) to a redaction somewhat later than θ_2, but by the same pen. Meanwhile, one or other of two corrections must be made in its first constituent. Either we must turn the ablatives in 'qui in diaconatus ministerio praeparatur leuitico' into accusatives, thus correcting a Merovingian depravation; or we must elide 'in', making 'ministerio ... leuitico' a dative governed by 'praeparatur'. Compare the 'ut ... successor praeparatur ecclesiae' in the third of the preliminary addresses.

THE γ REDACTIONS. If the deviser of the first γ scheme set the rubric *Oratio ad diaconos ordinandos* at the foot of his sixth page the task that lay before him was to transcribe on $[22 \times 21 =]462$, or perhaps 460, lines of the average capacity of $29\frac{1}{3}$ letters, material which had hitherto filled 471 lines of twenty-eight letters; and, the space at

might be none. In the present instance Mgr Duchesne's very clever emendation makes a difference of only three letters, lowering 148 to 145. For 'pastorali erga creditas sibi oues d*omi*ni diligentiae eius semper se flagrantissimum adprobans. Te delictorum adigitur praefuturus ex omnibus electus ex omnibus uniuersis' &c., he reads, 'pastorali erga creditas sibi oues d*omi*ni diligentia eius semper se flagrantissimum adprobans mandatorum. Ut igitur praefuturus omnibus electus ex omnibus uniuersis' &c. (*Origines* p. 360). I think, however, that 'semper se flagrantissimum adprobans *dilectorem*' would be much better than 'semper se flagrantissimum adprobans *mandatorum*'; for not only is '*dilectorem*' an exceedingly simple substitute for '*delictorum*', it yields an excellent sense and makes a pretty antithesis to the preceding 'diligentia eius'. But, even so, the adjective 'pastorali' stands unsupported. I propose to insert 'cura'—'pastorali cura erga creditas sibi oues d*omi*ni, diligentia eius'—where 'diligentia eius' is synonymous with 'amore eius'—'semper se flagrantissimum adprobans dilectorem' &c. The similarity of an uncial CURA to an uncial ERGA would account for the omission of the former.

I just now saw in the numerical values of the preliminary addresses what looked like proof of minute care taken by the compiler of θ_2 to make each of them fill, as nearly as might be, an integral, not a mixed, number of lines. An inserted 'cura' would give us, the final 'per' included, a total of $[1419 = 51 \times 28 - 9]$ letters; where again we have an integral number of lines if, with the Vatican codex, we add to 'per' the unusual 'd*omi*n*um* no*strum* ihc*um*'.

[1] See Epp. 5, 14, 41 (Migne *S. L.* liv 615 B, 673 A, 815 B).

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his disposal thus being more than he needed, he seems to have resorted to the simple, if inartistic, expedient of minor rubrics, an expedient employed in years long passed away by successive editors of the Leonian Sacramentary. He could make the first and second items fill eleven pages, if only in two places he devoted a line to '*consecratio*', and in another place a line to '*Benedictio sequitur*'. By inserting '*Collectio sequitur*' and '*Consecratio*' each of them on a line of its own, he could make the first half of the third item fill five pages; and, starting with the 'Dŝ honorum' on a fresh page, he could by means of a '*Super oblata*' and an 'Item alia' fill five more.

It was, I suspect, the last of the long series of scribes that introduced the two rubrics '*Item alia*' and '*Item benedictio*' into the second of the three forms, then making it conterminous with page xxi of the volume in order to devote a fresh page to the new rite of the *Consecratio Manuum* (Mur. ii 669). In the governing rubric of this insertion we have, though perhaps by clerical oscitancy, a singular inflexion in place of a plural—*Consecratio Manus* for *Consecratio Manuum*—a subjective consequence, it may be, of a silent 's' in the plurals of the scribe's vernacular; and, in its first formula 'Consecrentur manus *istae* et sc̄ificentur per *istam* unctionem', an idiom of commonplace occurrence in mediaeval Latin; while the second formula is thus conceived: 'Unguantur manus istae sicut unxit samuel dauid ita unguantur et consecrentur . . . in nomine . . . facientes imaginem sc̄ae crucis' &c. Other pieces of presumably inserted work as exceptional as this in idiom, in construction, or in both, are in store for us in the next two sections; and, inasmuch as each of them represents a single page of γ lineation, I attribute them, like this, certainly to a barbarous age, and presumably to either the penultimate or the last general redaction.

Section III. The Dedication of Virgins and of Widows.

In my article on the Leonian Sacramentary (*J. T. S.* vol. x p. 82) I found that, by a singular anomaly, its *Ad Virgines Sacras* is one line in excess of three β pages; but, collating its text (Mur. i 444) of the prayer of dedication, 'Dŝ castorum corporum benignus habitator' &c., with that exhibited by our document (*ib.* ii 674), I now perceive that the latter reads, in the first sentence, 'ad experientiam bonorum', not 'ad experientiam quorundam bonorum'; and, about the middle of the latter half, 'protectionis tuae munimen', not 'protectionis tuae munimen

[1] See list of linear values, page 232.

[2] With this contrast the following conjunction of two idioms from the *Consecratio Altaris*, 'Consecrare et sc̄ificare digneris dn̄e patenam *hanc* per *istam* unctionem' &c.

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et regimen'.[1] Thus, 2185 letters are reduced to 2167 (sixty-nine to sixty-eight β lines), with a result as follows:—

Capitulum		3
Respice domine propitius &c.	116	4
Deus castorum corporum &c. .	2167	68 = 75 β lines

Now, whether or not, as is probable, 'quorundam' and 'bonorum' be tentative alternatives, one of which would have been out of place in a finally corrected text; whether or not 'munimen' and 'regimen' be tentative alternatives; whether or not, as again is probable, 'honor' and 'gaudium' in the last sentence[2] be tentative alternatives, the mere fact that the Leonianum text would not have been longer by a line than its due stichometrical value had it been identical with ours in having neither 'quorundam' nor 'et regimen' raises a prejudice in favour of ours; for it suggests the inference that ours is an editorially corrected and approved text, as against an uncorrected or discarded text in the other document.

Again: the Leonianum, not far from the beginning,[3] reads 'Quando enim animus . . . legem naturae . . . euinceret nisi tu hanc flammam clementer accenderes, tu hanc cupiditatem benignus aleres?'; and, about the middle,[4] 'ut cum . . . super s̄cum coniugium initialis benedictio permaneret existerent tamen sublimiores animae quae in uiri ac mulieris copula fastidirent conubium concupiscerent sacramentum nec imitarentur [? *nec hoc implicarentur*] quod nuptiis agitur sed diligerent quod nuptiis praenotatur'; where 'fastidirent conubium' may be a suggested substitute for 'concupiscerent sacramentum'. Be this as it may, ours is a very different text: 'Quando enim animus . . . legem naturae . . . euinceret nisi tu per liberum arbitrium hunc amorem uirginitatis clementer accenderes hanc cupiditatem in earum corde benignus aleres?', and 'ut cum . . . super copulam tua benedictio permaneret existerent tamen sublimiores animae quae non hoc concupiscerent quod habet mortale coniugium sed hoc eligerent quod praemittit xp̄i ecclesiaeque sacramentum'. The two forms are stichometrically equivalent,[5] but there is a material and unquestionable difference between them. That of the extant Leonianum is applicable to women who, after living in the state of wedlock, have been inspired with *dilectio* for a life of continence; ours cannot be understood of any but of those who of their own free choice have made it their *electio* to realize in their own person the 'perpetua uirginitas' which in the Leonianum as well as in our document is the burden of the immediate context and the inspiring idea of

[1] At pp. 139 : 27, 140 : 18 in Dr Feltoe's edition.
[2] *Ib.* 140 : 27.
[3] *Ib.* 139 : 32.
[4] *Ib.* 140 : 8.
[5] Ours is only three letters in excess of the other.

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all the other portions of the constituent. In other words: the Leonianum phrasing of the two passages puts them out of focus with their immediate setting; ours does not. It is therefore unlikely that the extant Leonianum text should have been the earlier of the two, and impossible that it should be the finally authentic one of the two. Ours may be. Hence once more, as in the case of the 'Dŝ honorum omnium', the value of the so-called *Missale Francorum* as a repertory of literary evidence.

But for these differences, the two texts are identical until, as we approach the end of the prayer, the Leonianum reads (in 456 letters) 'Sit in eis dn̄e per donum sp̄s tui prudens modestia sapiens benignitas' &c., &c., &c.[1]; while ours has 'Sit in eis dn̄e per donum sp̄s tui prudens modestia et quod sunt professae custodiant scrutatori pectorum non corpore placiturae sed mente' (115 letters). 'Transeant in numerum sapientium puellarum' &c., &c., &c. (336 letters). Now, I believe that our prayer ended originally at 'sed mente', and hope presently to justify that opinion in so far as concerns the *editio princeps* of our document. But, inasmuch as by the hypothesis the *editio princeps* of our document was the work of some Bishop of Rome, that hypothesis obliges me to infer that there may have been a moment in the history of the Leonianum at which there, as well as here, the last words of the prayer were 'sed mente', its last clause being identical with our 'Sit in eis . . . sed mente'. If so, and if we are right in excluding 'quorundam' and 'et regimen' as intrusive alternatives, we have a final Leonianum value of 2167 and before it a lower value of (2167−456+115=)1826 letters. Will this inference bear the test of the θ criterion? Again, the last paragraph of the Leonianum text has a change, 'tu eis honor sis . . . in ieiunio cibus in infirmitate medicina', which, by reason of the sudden change of subject from a third person plural to a second person singular—'famulae tuae' to 'tu'—and the consequent dislocation of the construction, reads like an awkwardly inserted piece of 'padding'. It comprises 174 letters, so that its omission would reduce 2167 to 1993. Will this value bear the test of the α criterion? Each of these questions must be answered in the affirmative; witness the following syllabus of values:—

	θ	α	β
AD VIRGINES SACRAS . . .	3	3	3
Respice dom*i*ne propitius &c.	116 4	116 4	116 4
De*u*s castorum corporum &c.	1826 66	1993 66	2167 68 = 75β lines
Connecting rubric or explicit	2 = 75θ lines	2 = 75α lines	

Thanks, therefore, to the information given us by the so-called *Missale Francorum* as to the inadmissibility of the readings 'quorun-

[1] Feltoe 140 : 22.

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dam' and 'et regimen' in the Verona text of the 'Dŝ castorum corporum', we have it in our power to reconstruct, what otherwise were impossible, a stichometrically perfect last, or β, redaction of the *Ad Virgines Sacras* of the Leonian Sacramentary as well as for the other sections of that document. Thanks, too, to the inferences it suggests as to the earlier history of the 'Dŝ castorum corporum', we have it in our power, as for the other sections of the Leonian Sacramentary, so also for the *Ad Virgines Sacras*, to reconstruct first a θ, then an α, redaction.

I. As to our own text of the 'Dŝ castorum corporum benignus habitator', I believe it to be the resultant of no fewer than three successive enhancements of the primary text, 'Dŝ castorum . . . sed mente'; that is to say, that it is derived thence by three descents, not by two; that each of these descents was, as already has been intimated and as indeed must be evident, in a line different from that discernible in the Leonianum, a difference which may be of service in throwing light on the external history of the document; and, further, that these extended over a much longer space of time than the Leonian pedigree.

As it now stands, it is worded thus:—'Dŝ castorum corporum . . . non corpore placiturae sed mente. (1) Transeant in numerum sapientium puellarum ut caelestem sponsum accensis lampadibus cum oleo praeparationis expectent nec [(3) turbatae improuisi regis aduentu secuturae cum lumine ut praecedentium choro iungantur occurrant nec] excludantur cum stultis. (2) Regalem ianuam cum sapientibus uirginibus licenter introeant et in agni tui perpetuo comitatu probabiles mansura castitate permaneant. per.'

(1) The passage 'Transeant in numerum . . . cum stultis', if we except the words which I include within square brackets, is written in the normal style and contains nothing to invite remark on critical grounds. But it certainly is noteworthy as introducing an entirely new subject; for throughout the whole of the preceding context—that is to say, from the first words, 'Dŝ castorum corporum benignus habitator', to the last, 'non corpore placiturae sed mente'—there is no reference whatever to the parable of the wise and foolish virgins. Theologians will observe this fact with interest; and bibliographers will, I think, share with me the opinion that the addition I detect was made by some editor who wished by means of it, whether with or without other new material, to fill an integral number of pages of one or other of the three systems β, θ, γ, but with preference for the second of these; for there does not seem to have been a second β redaction, and the normal Latin in which the passage is written seems, so far at least as our document is concerned, to have fallen into desuetude before the period of the γ transcriptions.

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(2) To this 'Transeant in numerum sapientium puellarum . . . nec excludantur cum stultis', the next succeeding passage, 'Regalem ianuam . . . permaneant', exhibits striking contrasts. Now (i) the *sapientes* are not, as before, *puellae* but *uirgines*, a difference which might be allowed to pass without remark, were it not that, while the *puellae* of the 'Transeant in numerum' are the mere equivalent of our *damsels*, *uirgines* is susceptible of equation with our *nuns*, a smaller and irrevocably dedicated class. Now (ii) the entrance is no ordinary doorway, but a *regalis ianua*, the *porte royale* of some great abbey or the *regia*[1] of ceremonial admission to the strict enclosure of a monastery of women. Now (iii) the personage expected is not, as in the parable, a personage to be escorted to his house and left there, but one in whose company the *sapientes* hope to dwell perpetually, while (iv) he in his turn is now no longer a bridegroom but the Lamb of the apocalyptic vision. This kaleidoscopic phantasmagoria obliges us to regard the passage 'Regalem . . . permaneant' as adventitious—and adventitious, it may be, by no slight chronological interval—to the sentence immediately before it. But though it is textually the last-placed passage of the prayer, I do not think that in respect of time it is its latest enhancement; for, like the *Ad consummandum Diaconatus Officium* in the preceding section, it has the contrasted characteristics of a good grammatical construction and a scarcely idiomatic phraseology, and may therefore claim chronological precedence of the 'turbatae improuisi . . . occurrant nec' which so curiously disbalances the construction of the 'Transeant in numerum'. If style may be our guide, its first appearance must be attributed either to the third θ redaction or to the first of the γ triad. The stichometry of the section would seem to demand the latter of the two alternatives.

(3) The chaotic 'turbatae improuisi . . . occurrant nec' differs from the context in which it is set by changing the coming personage from a bridegroom into a king who arrives *à l'improviste* and by picturing two companies of *sapientes*, a choir who go before and a light-bearing group who follow after, and whom it identifies with the postulants for admission. If style may be our guide, it cannot be earlier than the last general redaction.

The four successive values thus obtained are 1831, 1958, 2076 and

[1] St Caesarius of Arles in his Rule, § 13, enjoins thus: 'Ianua monasterii nunquam extra basilicam cum uestra uoluntate uel cum uestro permissu fiat.' Migne *S. L.* lxvii 1118 B. For *regia* in the sense of state gateway see *Becket Memorials*, Rolls edition, vii 17, 265, 'Cum ego pauper et dolens tantae maiestatis regiam pulsaverim' and 'regiam illam clementiae tuae pulsantes', and delete the editorial footnote to the former passage. See also the 'ad regias aedis sacrae' of Gregory of Tours, *H. F.* iv § xiii (Migne *S. L.* lxxi 279 A).

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2164; but the first of these must, I think, be made to undergo a very slight reduction.

For reasons presently to be explained, the prayer 'Respice dn̄e propitius' &c., which survives as the first constituent of the Leonian *Ad Virgines Sacras*, and which, by my hypothesis, was the first constituent of the *editio princeps* of our own *Benedictio super Virgines*, was, by the same hypothesis, superseded at a comparatively early date by the prayer 'Om̄p. sem̄p. ds̄ adiuua' &c., and we must conjecture as best we can as to whether it was so worded as to imply one or more than one postulant. The present text of our 'Ds̄ castorum corporum' implies more than one, and thus resembles our present text of the 'Ds̄ honorum omnium' in the preceding section; but we are not therefore to infer that its text in the *editio princeps* did not imply only one. On the contrary, since the bidding-prayer, 'Castum dī ueri cultum' &c., which is its proper companion, which must have been introduced by the compiler of the *editio princeps*, and for altering the text of which there were no such motives as evidently would be operative in the 'Ds̄ castorum corporum' itself from the moment that this was freighted with allusive references to the parable of the wise and foolish virgins, our safer alternative is to assume that at the time of the *editio princeps* it contemplated the presence of but one postulant, and therefore that the number of its letters then was not, as with the existing plural inflexions it would have been, 1831, but 1817.[1] Hence it is that in my synopsis of values I reduce 1831 to 1817 for the first computation of the prayer, but make no such deduction for the others. Similarly, I give the 'Respice' 115 letters, not 116.

II. The constituent 'Ds̄ qui annam' &c. (Mur. ii 676) dedicates to the ascetical life a matron, member of a class by no means infrequent in Gaul in the fifth and sixth centuries, women who, while still in the estate of legitimate or merely nominal wedlock, chose to practise the austerities of a sanctified widowhood. The opening sentence as far, inclusively, as the words 'noctibus ac diebus orationes ieiuniaque miscentibus'—provided only that for *miscentibus* we read *misceret*—is irreprehensible; so too is the clause 'et tribue ut haec famula tua' &c., of the antepenultimate sentence, and all that thenceforward follows. Nay, more; if we strike out the *et* before *tribue*, the latter passage not only coalesces with the former, but with it constitutes a prayer which for purity of idiom and grace of style deserves to take rank with the 'Om̄p. sem̄p. ds̄ adiuua' of the *Benedictio super Virgines* and with the 'Consolare dn̄e' of the present item. But the text intervening between the two passages is in striking contrast to them. Make what

[1] In the so-called Gelasian Sacramentary (Mur. i 629) only one postulant is assumed. See also Mur. ii 184, 452.

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allowance we may for scribal depravation, nothing can convert it into the work of one to whom the Latin language was a classic. We thus have two values for the 'Dŝ qui annam': one referable for literary reasons, and also, as we shall, I hope, see in due course, for historical reasons, to the second θ redaction; the other referable to the second general γ redaction rather than the first, because we have not as yet found reason to believe that this comprised editorial work in a style later than the academical. The two values are 623 (twenty-three θ lines) and 1373 (forty-seven γ lines).

The foregoing inferences assumed as reasonable and probable, we find ourselves in possession of material which almost automatically resolves itself into six successive systems of bibliographical collocation: the first on three β pages; the second and third on four and six θ pages, respectively; the fourth, fifth, and sixth on seven, nine, and ten γ pages.

The table of values on the next page will, I trust, be of service in elucidating my theory of the developement of the present section.

THE β REDACTION. As to the *editio princeps*, the β redaction, there remains nothing to say; unless it be to observe—while reminding the reader that there is neither Leonian authority nor Leonian precedent for our introductory constituent, 'Om̄p. sem̄p. dŝ' &c.—that material having the stichometrical value of our bidding-prayer, 'Castum ueri dī cultum' &c., would be needed in order to make good the 'shrinkage' consequent on the transference of the long 'Dŝ castorum corporum benignus habitator . . . non corpore placiturae [altered to "placitura"] sed mente' from its first Leonianum home on θ pages[1] to pages of β capacity.

THE FIRST θ REDACTION. But since, when the item thus amplified was in course of time re-transferred to θ pages, it necessarily required more than three of these, but fell considerably short of four, opportunity was then taken to provide for the dedication of widows to the ascetical life, by introducing in their behoof, under the title of *Benedictio Viduae quae fuerit Castitatem professa*—or perhaps merely *Benedictio Viduae*—the prayer 'Dn̄e dŝ uirtutum' &c. This addition and the capitulum of the next section completed the equipment of a fourth page.

THE SECOND θ REDACTION. The next advance in the evolution of the section was cleverly made.[2] The 'Dn̄e dŝ uirtutum' of the *Benedictio Viduae* was lowered to the grade of an *alia*, and before it was set a new prayer, 'Consolare dn̄e' &c., so contrived as that the two should fill the whole of a page. But, since this 'Consolare dn̄e' declared the estate of widowhood to be, if faithfully kept, a guarantee of the sixty-fold[3] reward promised in the Gospel, congruity required in the *Bene-*

[1] See above, p. 237.

[2] The reader will here oblige me by consulting the table of linear values.

[3] 'Qui possit . . . sexagesimum gradum percipere.'

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		Scheme β Three pages	Scheme θ_1 Four pages	Scheme $\theta_{2(3)}$ Six pages	Scheme γ_1 Seven pages	Scheme γ_2 Nine pages	Scheme γ_3 Ten pages
BENEDICTIO SUPER VIRGINES .	13	xii 3	*	xxiiii (xxv) 3	xxviiii 3	xxxii 3	xxxiii 3
Omnipotens . . . adiuua &c. . .	302			11	11	11	11
Consecratio uirginum	19				1	1	1
Respice domine &c.	114	4	xv 4				
Castum ueri dei cultum &c. . .	342	11	13	13	12	12	12
Deus castorum corporum &c. .	1817[1], 1958[2], 2076[3], 2164[4]	57[1] = 75	65[1]	71[2]	71[3]	71[3]	74[4]
Accipe puella pallium &c. . .	471 [= 115 + 356]					16	4 = 105 xxxviii 12
Benedicat te deus &c.	146						5
Benedictio uestimentorum uiduae	29						2
Visibilium et inuisibilium &c. .	149						5
Consecratio uestium	18						1
Inlumina quaesumus &c. . . .	171						6
BENEDICTIO VIDUAE QUAE &c. .	16, 44		2	2 = 100	2	2	2
Consolare domine &c.	307			xxviii (xxviiii) 11	11	11	11
Item alia	8				1	1	1
Domine deus uirtutum &c. . .	380		14	14 = 25	13	13	13
Deus qui annam &c.	623, 1373 [1385]			xxviiii (xxx) 23	22 = 147	48 = 189	47 = 105
From the following			2 = 100	2 = 25			
		Page xiiii ends	Page xviii ends	Page xxviiii (xxx) ends	Page xxxv ends	Page xl ends	Page xlii ends

MEMORANDA. 1. Muratori and Mabillon may be assumed to have had the authority of the Vatican MS for printing the 'Accipe puella pallium . . . in finem per' in one paragraph. But its first and shorter half (115 letters) is a formula of investiture, and its second half a benediction; so that they are ritually two compositions, not one. It is therefore worthy of note that at Redaction γ_3 the one ended with p. xxxvii, while the other began with p. xxxviiii; the leaf being turned for the bishop as the novice assumed the pallium. For a like dramatic coincidence see above, p. 230.

2. I assume that at Redaction γ_2 a few words were added to the conventional conclusion 'per', so as to carry on the constituent to the last line of the page; a not unusual device at the end of an item. N.B. $47 \times 29\frac{1}{6} = 1378\frac{2}{3}$.

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dictio super Virgines an analogous composition the burden of which should be the hundredfold recompense[1] appropriated, from the days at least of St Jerome, by common consent of western theologians to final perseverance in holy virginity. Hence the 'Om̄p. sem̄p. ds̄ adiuua', a prayer of loftier scope and higher ideal than the 'Respice dn̄e', which it therefore ousted. Inasmuch, however, as this nett addition of [11—4 =] seven pages was insufficient to carry on the 'Ds̄ castorum corporum', even with plural inflexions instead of singular, to the penultimate line of a page, the latter prayer was, by means of the added 'Transeant in numerum . . . expectent nec excludantur cum stultis', so amplified as to attain that object. To complete the triad of evangelical references, twenty-three lines of page xxviiii—page xxx at the third θ redaction—were devoted to the 'Ds̄ qui annam' with its first value of 623 letters. This had for its burden the thirtyfold[2] fruit which widows in the secondary sense of the term were to expect as their reward. Proof of the correctness of this attribution is, I venture to think, afforded by the fact that the section was now technically perfect as well as dogmatically homogeneous and complete. To each of the three classes of women an integral number of pages was now allotted.

THE FIRST γ REDACTION. There is no need to say that this very careful distribution was disastrously confounded on the transference of the section to pages of γ capacity; but, as the material in hand did not suffice to fill seven of these, the 'Ds̄ castorum corporum' received a second augmentation in the picturesque and theologically significant sentence 'Regalem ianuam . . . introeant et in agni tui perpetuo comitatu . . . permaneant'.

THE SECOND AND THIRD γ REDACTIONS. The *pallium* which is the subject-matter of the formula of investiture, 'Accipe puella' &c. (Mur. ii 675), was a token of irrevocable dedication to a life of religious virginity; and its employment with that specific symbolism would seem to date, in at least the Frankish kingdom, from the latter half of the sixth century.[3] Subjoined to that formula is a blessing which is in equally remarkable contrast to the preceding 'Ds̄ castorum corporum' on the one hand and to the subsequent 'Benedicat te ds̄' on the other. The 'Ds̄ castorum corporum' discerns in religious virginity a shadow of the mystical union of the Church with her Divine Lord, and makes none but an oblique and suggestive reference to her whose Son He was—'qui sic perpetuae uirginitatis est sponsus quemadmodum perpetuae uirginitatis est filius'. The benediction embodied in the 'Accipe

[1] 'Ut . . . centenarium munus . . . accipiat.'

[2] 'Ut . . . fructum tricesimum sortiatur.'

[3] I believe that the earliest extant mention of the nun's pallium is by experts held to be that contained in Canon 20 of the Second Council of Tours in A.D. 567.

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puella'[1] mentions by name 'St Mary the Mother of our Lord Jesus Christ' and exhibits her as the exemplar of a 'whole and spotless virginity'. But in the 'Benedicat te dŝ' she is depicted as patroness of the nun's cowl, if not as actually clothed in it—'ut maneas . . . sub uestimento sc̄ae mariae'. The three constituents—'Dŝ castorum corporum', 'Accipe puella pallium', 'Benedicat te dŝ'—would therefore seem to be separated from each other as distinctly, if not as widely, in the order of time as the third is severed from the second in respect of theological accuracy and artistic propriety; so that I have no hesitation in assigning the third to the last of the γ redactions and the second to the previous recension, γ_2.

To the last redaction I assign, besides the 'Benedicat te', the formulae of investiture for widows in the proper and in the secondary sense of the word—'Visibilium et inuisibilium' &c., and 'Inlumina quaesumus' &c., not only because in the order of thought they are later than the 'Accipe puella pallium' of γ_2, but because the first of them contains, in the words 'desuper gratia tua inrigante', what is perhaps the earliest of surviving documentary evidences to the comparatively late usage of the sprinkling with hallowed water of apparel devoted to a sacred use,[2] and also because its 'ut benedicere et sc̄ificare facias' must have been written by a Frankish pen, or by a pen influenced by Frankish modes of expression, for its idiom is not Latin but French—'que tu faisses bénir et sanctifier'.[3]

I have already assigned to γ_3 the 'nec turbatae . . . occurrant' clause[4] in three lines of characteristically Merovingian Latin thrust into the 'Dŝ castorum corporum'; and it is by no means unlikely that its length was so devised as to make the phrase 'Accipe . . . infernorum' coincide with the end of a page. But, however this may be, that clause together with the three consecutive paragraphs which, with their rubrics, form a connecting bond between the two items of the present section, conspire to yield a total of ten pages, as against the nine pages of my second γ redaction.

[1] It begins with the words 'Benedicat te conditor caeli et terrae'.

[2] Let us remember that it is our document which, in the preceding section (Mur. ii 669), contains the oldest explicit mention as yet extant of the use of chrism at ordinations. See scheme γ_3 in list of values on p. 232 *supra*.

[3] A still more interesting example of transitional Latin occurs in the so-called *Missale Gothicum*, where, on the Feast of the Decollation of the Baptist (Mur. ii 625), we have not only a Spanish idiom but a Spanish word as well—'sub trina invocatione *estan* dicentes', *están diciendo*. I accept *estan* as authentic, *pace* Mabillon, who turns it into *cantant*.

[4] See above, p. 239.

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Section IV. The Consecratio Altaris.

1. There can be no doubt that at some period in the history of our document the *Consecratio Altaris* ended with the long prayer rubricated *Ad omnia* (Mur. ii 679); for this is of the nature of a final and comprehensive summary, and by implication excludes, as later than itself, the two constituents—with their rubric '*Praefatio chrismalis*'—which now follow it. But on careful scrutiny we note that the prayer has, in its latter half, a marvellous and intolerable 'ut diximus' (nine letters), inserted parenthetically; and, at its close, the words 'quibus inter nos et aeternam unitatem in superno meatu sine fine constare credimus' (70 letters), words which, while they have no nexus with the preceding context, are both unintelligible and devoid of construction. These two batches of text must therefore be distinguished from the remainder of the constituent; for this, though verbose and loosely composed, has a clearly discernible grammatical framework and allows us to know what it means. I believe them to have been introduced between the first and last of the γ redactions in order that, together with the evidently supplementary *Praefatio Chrismalis* and other material, presently to be determined, they might give the section its present value of six γ pages.

2. That material I believe to be the directive rubric '*Ponis super cornua altaris*' &c.; partly because it severs the bidding-prayer, 'Dī patris' &c., from its proper heading; partly because the only other directive rubrics in the document would seem to be of late insertion; partly because the materialism[1] of its '*offeres incensum super altare odorem suauissimum dn̄o*'—like that of the last two constituents, one of which describes the ciborium as a bier, while the other calls it a sepulchre—betokens, for ethical reasons, a comparatively recent date; and, more especially, because its value, if added to that of the presumable *additamenta* just notified, yields a total which has the value of one γ page: thus—

[1] For a similar, if exaggerated, instance compare the following passage from the *Immolatio missae*—i. e. the Preface—of the Mass for St Laurence in the 'Missale Gothicum seu Gothicogallicanum', as Mabillon styles it (Mur. ii 628): 'Strident membra uiuentia super craticulam imposita; et prunis saeuientibus anhelantes [? 'anhelantis'] incensum suum in modum thymiamatis diuinis naribus exhibent odorem.'

This reminds me that, when preparing my article on the Leonianum (*J. T. S.* vol. x p. 65) for the press, I overlooked a memorandum of my own calling attention to the resemblance of the foregoing passage to the addition which I conceive Pope Hilarus to have made to the first text of the Preface of Leon. XXI xi. The compiler of the 'Gothic' Mass for St Laurence may have got his facts, or supposed facts, from the Leonianum; but men like Leo the Great and Hilarus would have shuddered at his 'diuinis naribus exhibent odorem'.

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Ponis super cornua altaris &c.	149 letters =		5 γ lines
Dignare d*omine* de*us* &c.	795–716 letters = [27–25 =]	2	,, ,,
Praefatio chrismalis	19 ,, =	1	,, ,,
Oremus fratres carissimi &c.	162 ,, =	6	,, ,,
Om*nipotens* de*us* trinitas	186 ,, =	7	,, ,,
		Total 21	γ lines

In the subjoined table the fourth and fifth columns of linear values shew that if we assume the directive '*Ponis super cornua*' &c., to be proper to one or other of the γ schemes, the brief, pithy, and comprehensive paragraph, 'Fiant omnia ista protectione tua tuta atque defensa potens dn̄e uasa', may have occupied the last two lines of a θ page; while the sixth column shews that if we assume the directive *Ponis super cornua* &c., the material imported into the 'Dignare dn̄e ds̄', and the whole of the *Praefatio Chrismalis* to be still absent from the document, there not only remains material of the value of precisely five γ pages, but that this resolves itself at a logical division of the subject into two parts, one equivalent to three such pages and the other to two. In proportion, therefore, to the unlikelihood that results like these should be fortuitous is the likelihood that those details were inserted after the first γ redaction, but, regard had to their merely unacademical, but not decadent, Latin, before the third.

3. The paragraph, 'Fiant omnia ista protectione tua tuta atque defensa potens dn̄e uasa',[1] which my reconstruction places at the foot of a θ page, is not only isolated, comprehensive, and so singularly brief and pithy as for that reason, if for none other, to attract the attention of any careful student of the document; it, curiously enough, consists of fifty-nine letters, and then looks as if it had of set purpose been so composed as to turn to the best possible account two lines which once had carried an *explicit* now no longer needed. I mention this peculiarity at once, because I believe it to indicate a cardinal fact in the history of our document, and shall revert to it on the first relevant occasion; for our more immediate concern is, if possible, to ascertain and determine the nuclear scheme of the item.

4. The Ioannes Diaconus whose letter to Senarius has already been noticed says in that document that in his day it was a traditional custom of the Roman Church to consecrate seven altars on Holy Saturday: 'Quod de septem altaribus quae in urbe Roma sabbato paschae moris est consecrari, hoc dico quia maiores nostri... Illud tamen firma mente custodio quod non a maioribus tradita custodiret ecclesia nisi certa sui

[1] It may be worthy of special remark that in the Gothicogallicanum (Mabillon, 222 and 249) there are two parallels to this conjunction of *tuta* and *defensa*; 'tuti atque defensi' on St Andrew's Day, 'tutam defensamque' on Easter Eve (Muratori, ii 559 and 592; Migne, lxxii 253 B and 276 A).

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		Scheme β Two pages	Scheme θ_1 Two pages	Scheme θ_2 Three pages	Scheme θ_3 Two pages	Scheme θ_{3bis} Three pages	Scheme γ_1 Five pages	Scheme $\gamma_{2(3)}$ Six pages
CONSECRATIO ALTARIS		xv 3	*	*	*	*	xxxvi 3	xli 3†
Creator et conseruator &c.	189^1 201^2			xxx 7	xxxi 7	xxxi 7	7	7
Praefatio consecrationis altaris							1	1
Ponis super cornua altaris &c.	149							5
Dei patris &c.	303^1, 323^2	10^1	xviiii 11^1	12^2	12^2	12^2	11^2	11^2
Benedictio altaris							1	1
Deus omnipotens &c.	316^1, 344^2, 364^3	10^1	12^1	13^2	13^2	13^2	13^3	13^3
Praefatio linteaminum				1	1	1	1	1 = 4^2
Domine . . . sicut ab initio &c.	401			15	15	15	14	xliii 14†
Explicit		2 = 25	2 = 25	2 = 50				
Last page		xvi	xx	xxxii				
		BOOK ENDS	BOOK ENDS	BOOK ENDS				
Fiant omnia ista &c.	59				2 = 50	2 = 50	2	2
					Page xxxii ends			
Ad consecrandam patenam						xxxiii 2	1	1
Consecramus &c.	119					4	4	4 = 21
Item alia							1	xliii 1†
Consecrare &c.	107					4	4 = 63	4
Ad calicem consecrandum						1	xxxviii 1	1
Oremus dilectissimi &c.	166					6	6	6
Item collectio							1	1
Dignare domine calicem &c.	226					8 = 25	8	8 = 21
						Page xxxiii ends		
Ad omnia							1	xlv 1†
Dignare domine deus &c.	716^1, 795^2						25^1 = 4^2	27^2
							Page xl ends	
Praefatio chrismalis								1
Oremus fratres carissimi &c.	162							6
Omnipotens deus &c.	186							7 = 4^2
								Page xlvi (xlviii) ends

† In Redaction γ_3 these four pages are numbered, respectively, xliii, xlv, xlvi, xlvii.

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ratio poposcisset.' After dwelling at some length and with no slight emphasis on the antiquity of the custom, and thus giving us to understand that it must have existed long before the age of Leo the Great, he turns to another subject: 'Quod autem quaesisti cur in sacratissimum calicem lac mittatur ac mel, et paschae sabbato cum sacrificiis offeratur, illud in causa est quia scriptum est in ueteri testamento . . . "Introducam uos in terram repromissionis, terram fluentem lac et mel".'[1]

Now, since the surviving fragment of the Leonianum provides (Mur. i 318) for the blessing of milk and honey on Whitsun Eve, we may reasonably infer that if its missing portion ever comes to light this will be found to provide for the paschal blessing as well, and also to have at least one form for the blessing of the seven altars, which form will be seen to correspond to one or other of the three standards of pagination, θ, α, β.

Instructed, therefore, as we now are concerning the relation which the *editio princeps* of the forms of ordination in our second section bore to the corresponding forms extant in the surviving portion of the Leonianum, we thus have an exceedingly strong presumption that the *editio princeps* of our *Consecratio Altaris* was substantially identical with some one item of those provided for Holy Saturday in the unhappily lost portion of that document: but, inasmuch as the ceremonial use of incense was not practised in the Roman Church as early as the fifth century, and since it is morally certain that holy water was as little used then in the dedication of altars[2] as it was at a much later date in the dedication of churches, we must not assume that any such item made even a suggestive reference to either incensation or aspersion.

[1] Migne *S. L.* lix 405 A.

[2] The well-known letter of Pope Vigilius to Profuturus of Braga (A.D. 538) is explicit as to this: 'De fabrica uero cuiuslibet ecclesiae, si diruta fuerit, et si in eo loco consecrationis solemnitas debeat iterari in quo sanctuaria [i. e. *relics*] non fuerint, nihil iudicamus officere si per eam minime aqua exorcizata iactetur; quia consecrationem cuiuslibet ecclesiae in qua sanctuaria non ponuntur celebritatem tantum scimus esse Missarum. Et ideo si qua sanctorum basilica a fundamentis etiam fuerit innouata, sine ulla dubitatione cum in ea missarum fuerit celebrata solemnitas totius sanctificatio consecrationis impletur.'

The words 'ecclesiae uel' in our first constituent look like an intrusive addition. Neither their presence nor their absence affects the older theory here laid down by Pope Vigilius that a church receives its dedication *ipso facto* from the first celebration of the holy mysteries at its altar, but I suspect them to have been added at a period, perhaps that of γ_3, when the newer theory was in course of evolution. That the older theory prevailed in, at least, some parts of Gaul late in the sixth century is evident from what St Gregory of Tours (*Gloria Confessorum* § 116) says of the cellula in which St Radegund was buried, and of a church at Tours (*Vitae Patrum* viii 8), both of them consecrated by himself; as also of an oratory erected by Abbot Senoch in memory of St Martin (*ib.* xv 1). The references in Migne *S.L.* are lxxi 906 B, 1047 C, and 1071 B, C.

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Hence it follows that, if we are to subject our 'Dī patris om̄ptis' and our 'Dṡ om̄p. in cuius honorem' to a stichometrical test—for, manifestly, these two constituents, if any, are of the Roman nucleus postulated by the hypothesis—we shall in all probability be well advised if we assume the phrase 'spāli placatus incenso' (twenty letters) to have had no place in the former and 'et s̄ps s̄ci tui semper rore perfusa' (twenty-eight letters) to have had no place in the latter.

This borne in mind, I observe, what the reader will see on consulting the syllabus of values, that, to fill to their utmost capacity in the first instance, the penultimate page of a β quire—for, by the hypothesis the nucleus of the present section was the last item of a carefully composed pontifical enshrined in a libellus executed with the minute skill which befitted an altar-book intended for the use of an officiating prelate—and, in the second, the penultimate page of a quinion of θ pagination, we want in the one case text equivalent to twenty β lines, two more being reserved for an explicit, and, in the other, besides two lines similarly reserved, text equivalent to twenty-three θ lines; and I note with more pleasure than surprise that, if only we exclude from computation the two phrases 'spāli placatus incenso' and 'et spṡ sc̄i tui semper rore perfusa' from the 'Dī patris om̄ptis' and the 'Dṡ in cuius honorem', thus lowering 323 letters to 303 and 344 to 316, we have precisely the values needed.

4. But, on the other hand, if, when we reach the second θ redaction, we are careful to remember that by the hypothesis this, like the second θ redaction of the forms for ordering deacons, priests and bishops, was executed in Gaul, where incensation[1] and aspersion were widely, if not universally, practised in the latter half of the fifth century; and if, thus remembering, we assume that the constituents 'Creator et conseruator' &c., and 'Dn̄e dṡ om̄p sicut ab initio' &c., were now introduced into the item and, further, that the phrases 'spāli placatus incenso' and 'et s̄ps s̄ci tui semper rore perfusa' were now incorporated into the 'Dī patris om̄ptis' and the 'Dṡ in cuius honorem', we have, together with an explicit on two lines, precisely what is needed to make the first instalment of our document fill a libellus of two θ quires to the very last line of its penultimate page, just as it had similarly filled a single β quire in the first instance and a libellus of five membranes at the first θ redaction.

[1] Sidonius Apollinaris (*Epp.* viii 14) writes, in or about the year 473, to Principius, Bishop of Soissons, 'Uos uero tacturi paginam altaris, nihil, ut audio, offertis ignis alieni; sed, comitantibus uictimis caritatis castitatisque, fragrantissimum incensum turibulis cordis adoletis'. Whether read by itself or read in the light of its context, this passage seems to prove that though Principius did not burn incense at Soissons, his correspondent at Clermont did. (Migne *S. L.* lviii 612 B.)

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5. (1) Between the formula 'Fiant omnia ista' &c., final and conclusive at redaction θ_3, and the *Ad omnia* 'Dignare dn̄e ds̄ om̄p.' &c., final and conclusive at γ_1, there are four constituents which invite notice. Of these the address 'Consecramus et sc̄ificamus' is irregular, for, though it serves as a bidding-prayer, it does not begin with the customary 'Oremus dilectissimi'; while the 'Consecrare' &c. is suggestive of a new literary era, for it contains the low-Latin form 'per istam unctionem' in the sense of 'per hanc unctionem'. We must therefore be careful not to assume that the group is part of the third θ text.

(2) No doubt, they play their part spontaneously enough in γ_1, where they help to give the section its value of five pages; but they would not do this were it not for the two minor rubrics *Item alia* and *Item collectio*, both of which are intrusive and both of which, even if they were not intrusive, are ridiculously inaccurate. We must therefore be careful to abstain from assuming that they had not been brought into the document before the first γ redaction.

But, if we eliminate the offending rubrics, there remains enough to fill precisely one θ page. Although, therefore, I cannot at the present moment divine its bibliographical *raison d'être*, I attribute the group to a review intermediate between θ_3 and γ_1, to which I assign the symbol 'θ_3 bis'; for the two facts just noted give us reason to suspect that in the course of the θ_3 period the volume must have been unbound and taken to pieces in order that, the first and second quires (pp. i–xxxii) remaining untouched, the next following fasciculi might be retranscribed and new work incorporated into them. Our analysis must be continued with this possibility borne carefully in mind as, at least, a working hypothesis.

MARTIN RULE.

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THE LAMBETH ARTICLES.

I

Archbishop Whitgift's Judgement in the Barrett Case.

Archbishop Whitgift gave his sanction to the Lambeth Articles hoping thus to close a controversy which had arisen in the University of Cambridge. The subject of dispute was divine predestination. William Barrett, a young fellow of Caius College, in a *concio ad clerum* preached in St Mary's Church on April 29, 1695, disputed certain positions of what is commonly called the Calvinistic creed. He maintained[1]:

(1) Neminem in hoc fragili mundo tanta firmitate esse suffultum, saltem certitudine fidei, i. e. nisi per revelationem, ut de salute sua debeat esse securus.

(2) Petri fidem deficere non potuisse: at aliorum posse. Nam pro fide singulorum non oravit Dominus.

(3) Quoad finalem perseverantiam, superbam esse illam securitatem de futuro, eoque natura sua contingenti, cuius generis est uniuscuiusque hominis perseverantia; neque tantum superbam, sed impiissimam.

(4) In fide nullam esse distinctionem, sed in credentibus.

(5) Remissionem peccatorum esse articulum fidei, sed non specialem, nec huius, nec illius. Nec posse, nec debere quenquam vere fidelem certo credere peccata sua esse sibi remissa.

(6) Quod ad eos attinet qui non servantur, peccatum esse veram, propriam, et primam causam reprobationis.

For maintaining these assertions Barrett was convented before the Vice-chancellor and the heads of colleges, and a retractation was imposed upon him, which he read in St Mary's Church on May 10.[2]

He was made to say:—

(1) Fide iustificatos pacem habere erga Deum, i. e. reconciliationem cum Deo, et per fidem in illo gratia stare. Ergo debere eos de salute sua, fidei ipsius certitudine, certos esse et securos.

(2) Pro singulorum fide Christum orasse; et illius Christi precationis efficacia ita esse singulos vere credentes suffultos, ut eorum fides nequeat deficere.

(3) Fidem veram et iustificantem, qua fideles arctissime Christo uniuntur, ita esse fixam et de futuro etiam certam, ut nunquam possit ullis tentationibus carnis, mundi, aut ipsius diaboli, e fidelium animis

[1] Strype *Life of Whitgift* ii 282. Ed. Oxford, 1832. In (4) he perhaps means to say, that in some men their faith, however genuine, will prove only temporary; but his meaning is sifted later.

[2] *Ib.* iii 317.

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radicitus evelli. Adeo ut, qui hanc semel habet, semper sit habiturus. Eius enim fidei iustificantis beneficio, Christus in nobis habitat, et nos in Christo. Ergo non potest non et augeri (Christo in nobis indies crescente) et ad finem usque (quia Deus constantiam largitur) perseverare.

(4) Fidem temporariam (quae idcirco ficta est, teste Bernardo, quia temporaria) non mensura et gradibus, sed reipsa distingui, et differri a fide illa salutifera, qua peccatores Christum apprehendentes coram Deo in aeternum iustificantur: praeterea Iacobum facere mentionem *fidei mortuae* [Ia. ii 26], et Paulum, *per dilectionem operantis* [Gal. v 6].

(5) Unumquemque vere fidelem, hoc articulo fidei (sc. *Credo remissionem peccatorum*) teneri, certo credere sua ipsius peccata particularia esse sibi gratuito remissa. Nec tamen hinc sequi petitionem illam orationis Domini (viz. *Remitte nobis debita nostra*) esse supervacaneam. In illa enim petitione petimus fidei tum donum, tum incrementum.

(6) Reprobationem impiorum esse ab aeterno, et illud Augustini esse verissimum, viz. Si peccatum esset causa reprobationis, tum nullus eligeretur.

It would seem that in reading the retractation Barrett conveyed the impression to his auditors that he was not withdrawing the opinions he had expressed in his sermon. At any rate he did not satisfy the Heads of Houses. They convented him again, and were minded apparently, if it were possible, to expel him from the University. Something of what was doing, through Barrett, probably, who certainly appealed to him against the Vice-chancellor and Heads, reached Whitgift, now Archbishop of Canterbury, who was armed with such authority as his royal mistress had been able to confer upon him. The retractation and possibly Barrett's sermon came into Whitgift's hands. He submitted the retractation apparently to Hadrian Saravia; and, whether for further satisfaction or for some unknown reason, he submitted the first article of it to Lancelot Andrewes also. Saravia gave in his criticism to this effect.[1]

Barrett was right in denying that any one might feel 'securus de salute sua'. A man might be 'certus de salute' as long as he believed, but it behoved him to be solicitous, as well of the argument of faith, as of perseverance.

Again, Barrett was right in asserting there was no difference in faith, if he meant to say that the temporary faith of some did nothing differ from justifying faith. If, however, he meant that no temporary faith differed from justifying faith he was wrong. Some temporary faiths are feigned and some are not.

Not all *vere credentes* were 'suffulti, ut eorum fides nequeat de-

[1] Strype, iii 321 and ii 241.

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ficere', but only the elect; and no man had the right to assume that he was one of the elect.

Barrett was right in asserting that sin was the true, proper, and first cause of reprobation, and the Heads of Houses were wrong in making him retract the assertion.

Andrewes gave his opinion to this effect[1]:

Barrett ought not to have been made to say, 'fide iustificatos debere de salute sua certos esse et securos'; for he had never denied that they were *certos*, nor any sane man before him.

In making him say they were *securos* his judges had censured St Leo, 'Nemo est tanta firmitate suffultus ut de stabilitate sua debeat esse securus' (*Serm.* v. *De quadr.* 3).

To have peace with God, or to be in a state of grace, is not to be 'securus de salute sua'. The scriptures nowhere urge security; rather they take the word in evil part ('eam vocem malam in partem accipiunt'). Security drives away not only doubt, but solicitude (*cura*) also. It does not belong to this life, but to the life to come . . . We ought not to depart from the accepted vocabulary of the Church. (Here he quotes the Fathers at length.)

Such were the opinions of the Archbishop's advisers. They were predestinarians, of course, but they rejected the doctrine of absolute predestination. The cause of reprobation was God's prescience of sin. A justifying faith was no absolute promise of any future state. From them we pass to the Archbishop himself.

On June 8 Whitgift sent Dr Clayton from Lambeth with an expostulation to be delivered to the Vice-chancellor and the Heads of Houses by word of mouth.[2] Clayton was to tell them that in the Archbishop's opinion 'in some points of Barrett's retractation they had made him affirm that which was contrary to the doctrine holden and expressed by many sound and learned divines in the Church of England, and in other Churches likewise, men of best account: and that which for his part he thought to be false and contrary to the Scriptures. For the Scriptures were plain, that God by His absolute will did not hate and reject any man, without an eye to his sin. There might be impiety in believing the one; there could be none in believing the other. Neither was it contrary to any article of religion, established by authority in this Church of England, but rather agreeable thereunto.'

Likewise to affirm, 'neminem debere esse securum de salute', to what article of religion, established in this Church of England it was contrary, he saw not: seeing security was never taken in good part: neither did the Scripture so use it. And what impiety was it to affirm that a man ought to be *certus de salute*, but not *securus*?

[1] *Articuli Lambethani*, London 1651, p. 21. [2] Strype, ii 238.

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To say also that *credentium fides*, or 'electorum fides, potest deficere totaliter, sed non finaliter', he asked again, to what article of religion, established in this Church, was it contrary? It was a matter disputable, and wherein learned men did and might dissent without impiety.

'In fide nullam esse distinctionem, sed in credentibus,' he took to be an error, but yet without compass of their authority; having no article directly against it: and an error of that nature that might be solved by distinction; worthy of reprehension, not of recantation, for anything he could yet understand.

'Remissionem peccatorum esse articulum fidei, sed non specialem, nec huius, nec ullius,' was likewise untrue; and that if Barrett had in that manner and sort affirmed it, he shewed therein his ignorance. Wherein he should have been better instructed, and in more Christian manner.

The Archbishop added further that 'the doctrine of the Church of England did in no respect depend upon Calvin and the Calvinists'.

We learn then from Whitgift himself that he rejected the doctrine of irrespective reprobation on which the doctrine of absolute predestination is founded. Further, he rules out, as Saravia and Andrewes had done, the words *securus* and *securitas*. No man may be *securus*, a word which looks to the future, of the remission of his sins, of his perseverance in faith and holiness, or of his final salvation. He may be *certus*, a word which relates only to the present, and Barrett himself apparently, either in his sermon or in a communication to the Archbishop, had admitted the word. Of the faith of the *fide iustificatus* the archbishop says nothing, and that, no doubt, because Barrett, as a matter of fact, had not used the term in his sermon. The faith of the elect could not, of course, fail *finaliter*; and this apparently Barrett had asserted. The Archbishop seems to assert that the faith of *credentes* cannot fail finally; but he is plainly speaking of those whom God knows as *credentes*; he is not identifying the *fide iustificatus* with the elect, as the Cambridge authorities would have had him do. When he says that 'in fide nullam esse distinctionem, sed in credentibus' is an error of that nature that might be solved by distinction, he is apparently repeating what Saravia had said, that some temporary faiths are feigned and some are not. Wherein Barrett's error lay in denying that remission of sins was special, of this man or that, he does not say. To his opinion on that point we shall come later on.

It was long before the Archbishop could bring the Heads of Houses to submit their case against Barrett to his decision. Meanwhile he empowered Whitaker, Regius Professor of Divinity, and himself a

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'Calvinist', to examine Barrett further. Whitaker, therefore, put the following questions to him.[1]

(1) Whether Christ prayed for Peter only, that his faith should not fail; or also for all the elect, that they fall not away from faith and salvation, either finally, or for a time totally?

(2) Whether justifying faith is not in reality distinct and diverse from a hypocritical, feigned, and dead faith?

(3) Whether justifying faith doth not make us certain of our election and adoption, and persuade, without all doubt, that we shall be saved?

(4) Whether any godly and faithful Christian ought not to believe the remission of his sins?

(5) Whether it was an extraordinary and private revelation, concerning which St Paul maketh mention, Rom. viii 28 'I am persuaded that neither death', &c.?

(6) Whether God from eternity hath predestinated certain men to life; and reprobated certain. And why?

It is plain, I think, that Whitaker is laying a trap, not only for Barrett, but also for the Archbishop. No one who rejected the doctrine of absolute predestination could answer his questions with a direct affirmative or a direct negative, least of all to a believer in the doctrine. Yet not to do so might easily rouse suspicion that his creed was somewhat 'popish'. The pitfall in the first is the assertion of St Peter's supremacy amongst the Apostles; in the second, third, and fourth the rejection of the doctrine of justification by faith only; in the fifth and sixth the denial of the Catholic doctrine of predestination.

To these questions Barrett made answer both *viva voce* and in writing; and Whitaker forwarded his answers to the Archbishop, together with his own animadversions upon them. I suppose that Barrett's paper is not extant; but fortunately we may gather all we want from Whitaker's animadversions and the Archbishop's reply.

Whitaker says[2] that the whole tenor of Barrett's answers was not only indirect but Popish also. As to (1) he could not by any means be brought to make a direct answer, but discoursed upon the place, Luke xxii 32; alleging such places out of the Fathers as might seem to make most for the supremacy of St Peter, and that were wholly alleged by the Papists for that purpose . . . And that so for any part of his answer, he might hold that our Saviour Christ prayed indeed for St Peter that his faith should not fail, just as Papists do. That to the second branch of this article he answered nothing. To (2) he answered so as might be thought that he disliked the doctrine of justification by faith, approved in the Book of Articles; and the distinction he made

[1] Strype, ii 263. Are these questions extant in Latin? [2] *Ib.* ii 265.

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of *fides formata* was Popish, and not only against the Scripture, but the Book of Articles also; teaching that good works are the fruit of faith, and so must be the formal cause thereof. To (3) he answered not in form: but that a man might be assured of his salvation by certainty of faith he denied. To (4) he answered as though remission of sins depended upon the performance of penitential acts; and made such an exposition of the article, *credo remissionem peccatorum*, as never was made by any learned and Catholic writer. That is, not that a man may believe remission of his sins, but that Christ hath given to His Church a power: so that the sins of this man, and that man, and every particular man, truly repenting, may be forgiven. As to (5) his opinion appeared to be, that Paul was not assured of his salvation, but by private and extraordinary revelation. To (6) his answer was direct.

In every one of his answers except the last Barrett appears to have fallen into the trap laid for him. As to his last answer Whitaker is naturally as curt as he can be. It appears to have been 'affirmative; et quia Deus voluit'. Barrett must have meant, the world had been lost had not God chosen to save in Christ those that should believe. Whitaker would have given another interpretation of his answer; but he dared not so do to the Archbishop; and henceforth the question of the cause of reprobation is heard of no more in the dispute. The Archbishop asserts that the Heads of Houses had conceded the point to him.

Now we come to Whitgift's final pronouncement on Barrett's assertions. It is contained in a letter to the Vice-chancellor and the Heads of Houses, dated September 30.[1] He says that 'in perusing Baret's answers he was partly of their minds . . . As to whether that of the xxii of Luke be meant of Peter alone, or of the rest of the Apostles also (for it cannot be drawn to all the elect), men might without impiety, vary in opinion. But that elsewhere (as namely in the xvii of John) Christ prayed for all the elect, no man could doubt. He was also of the same opinion touching Baret's doubtful answer to the second; and that distinction of *formata* and *informis fides*. And for further satisfaction therein, he wished to know his opinion of the doctrine of justification, approved in the book of Articles, or of any other point by him preached concerning the same, wherein they thought he varied from the book of Articles. That his answer to the third question, as he took it, was direct, that *electi* or *fideles* were *certi de salute*. And that he did not take it, that he denied that *fideles* might be assured of their salvation by the certainty of faith. But that he denied that they were assured "certitudine fidei, qua tenent omnipotentiam, unitatem, et sacrosanctam Personarum Trinitatem" &c., whereby he expounded

[1] Strype, ii 268.

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what he meant "per certitudinem fidei" in that place. Wherein he (the Archbishop) did not yet perceive that his opinion differed from any article expressed in the book of Articles; or whether from any other article of Religion professed in this Church of England, is questionable. It therefore required further conference of learned men. That to the fourth he did altogether mislike his answer. And therefore he wished them to enquire a more direct answer to that question; that is either affirmative or negative, without any further circumstance. That as for Baret's answer to the fifth article, in part borrowed out of some of the Fathers, and his doubtfulness of his understanding of the viii to the Romans, it was common to him with some others; and the question was of that nature, that men might answer unto it, *pro et con*, without impiety. And therefore he thought he could not be censured for his opinion in that: but he might be instructed by some that varied in opinion from him.'

The Archbishop is plain enough except as to Barrett's answer to the third question. What he means to say is, that *certitudo* has to Barrett two meanings. A man has not the same *certitudo* of a conditional state, e. g. if 'I call, I shall be heard', as of a categorical statement, e. g. 'There is one God'. The *certitudo fidei* by which the justified man is assured of his salvation contains a condition, viz. if he persevere in faith. Barrett acknowledges that a *fidelis* may be assured of his salvation *certitudine fidei*, if the word *certitudo* be understood conditionally; not if it be meant absolutely; and he (the Archbishop) cannot see that Barrett's opinion contradicts any article accepted by the Church of England. It is certain then that Whitgift, in common with Andrewes, whose opinion we shall soon come to, distinguished between the meanings of *certitudo*; though he was prepared to submit the question regarding assurance of salvation to further discussion.

We are now in a position to see how far the Archbishop joined with the Vice-chancellor and the Heads of Houses in their condemnation of Barrett's positions. He would not have Barrett made to retract his denial of the doctrines of absolute predestinarianism; but there is something to retract—his lapses from the English reformation views of justification by faith alone, his assertion that remission of sins depends on the performance of penitential acts, and his desire to distinguish Peter above the rest of the Apostles—all of which were to the Archbishop's thinking 'Popish' positions.

It is certain then that at this date Whitgift was a predestinarian of a very different stamp from Whitaker. He rejected the doctrines of irrespective reprobation, of the indefectibility of faith in the man once justified, and of the absolute assurance of perseverance and salvation. According to the received opinion of the Lambeth Articles we are

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asked to believe that three weeks later he gave his sanction to a manifesto which expresses the doctrines of absolute predestination in their harshest shape. Is this possible?

On the Archbishop's suggestion Whitaker and Tyndal came with Barrett to Lambeth sometime in November. Whitgift gives the following account of what occurred then and immediately afterwards[1]: 'The Dean of Ely and Mr Dr Whitaker came unto me, and so did Baret. I found that Baret had erred in divers points. I delivered mine opinion of the propositions brought unto me by Dr Whitaker: wherein some few being added, I agreed fully with them, and they with me.[2]

'And I know them to be sound doctrines, and uniformly professed in this Church of England, and agreeable to the Articles of Religion established by authority. And therefore I thought it meet that Baret should in more humble sort confess his ignorance and error: and that none should be suffered to teach any contrary doctrine to the foresaid propositions agreed upon.

'And this is the sum of all this action. And if this agreement be not maintained, further contentions will grow, to the animating the common adversaries, the Papists, by whose practice Baret and others are set on, some of his opinions being indeed Popish.'

Strype's account of this dispute has been very superficially read in many places; but here, if I mistake not, we come upon the most serious misunderstanding of all. The Archbishop has been generally taken to say, that he agreed fully with the Lambeth Articles, and they with him, as though they were food, or physic, perhaps, and he the patient. Had he intended the joke, he would have chosen a more suitable adverb. He seems to me to say that he on the one side and Whitaker and Tyndal on the other had come to a full agreement in the amended articles, which he knew to be sound doctrines, uniformly professed in the Church of England, agreeable to the Articles, and not infected with the errors which he had found in Barrett's retractations and in the animadversions of Whitaker and the Heads of Houses on Barrett's utterances. He seems to me to mean, that the issue of the proceedings at Lambeth is (1) that he found Barrett had erred in certain points, viz. in making Peter supreme amongst the Apostles, in asserting that remission of sins depended on the performance of penitential acts, and in holding that a justifying faith was a *fides formata*, and included good works[3]; and therefore he thought it meet that he should in more

[1] Strype, ii 277.

[2] I have not ventured to disturb Strype's arrangement of the text. But I cannot but think that the break should come lower down, after 'authority'.

[3] When Barrett was sifted these opinions were found to underlie his 2nd, 5th, and 4th assertions.

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humble sort than he had done in his retractation confess his ignorance and error; (2) that the propositions agreed upon were sound doctrines, and therefore he thought it meet that for the future they and not the opinions of the Heads of Houses should be the standard by which to judge whether any particular utterance on predestination was tainted with impiety, in allowing too much to man's free will.[1] This, he says, is the sum of all this action; and if this agreement be not maintained by the Heads, but they persist in proscribing utterances which are not contrary to the doctrine of the Church of England, as they have done in Barrett's case, others like Barrett with Popish opinions will raise fresh contentions to the animating the Papists, the common adversaries of the two parties in the Church of England, the one represented by himself and his assessors, the other by the Cambridge Heads of Houses.

If this be the meaning of the Archbishop's minute, we learn from it, not that he upheld the 'Calvinism' of the Heads against Barrett, but that he condemned the 'Popish' opinions of Barrett on the one hand and the 'Calvinistic' opinions of the Heads on the other. We learn further how to regard the Lambeth Articles. They are not a 'Calvinistic' manifesto, but they exhibit how much ought to be conceded to the Heads, who claimed the work of a man's salvation or damnation wholly for God. The above interpretation of the Archbishop's minute seems to be the only one that consists with his previous conduct. Is it borne out by his Articles?

It has been generally assumed that the conference at Lambeth was suggested by the Cambridge authorities.[2] I can find no evidence in support of this view. As early as July 11 the Archbishop wrote to the Vice-chancellor and the Heads of Houses[3]: 'I pray you to take care that hereafter the pulpit, nor any other places, be used in these controversies; until such time as you shall receive some resolutions from hence in these causes, which had been ere this, if your hasty proceedings had not ministered occasion to the contrary.' Again, when they

[1] 'None should be suffered to teach any contrary doctrine to the foresaid propositions agreed upon.' The subject of the sentence is really 'the foresaid propositions agreed upon'. The sentence means, the foresaid propositions agreed upon should be what none should be suffered to teach any contrary doctrine to. The Archbishop has been absurdly understood to say that he knew the Lambeth Articles to be sound doctrines, and therefore thought that Barrett ought to retract his anti-Calvinistic utterances. Whitgift has himself endorsed Barrett's anti-Calvinistic opinions, and in no point do Barrett's assertions contradict the articles, unless it be part of his 5th assertion, 'Remissionem peccatorum non esse specialem, nec huius, nec illius'.

[2] See for example Hardwick *Hist. of the Articles* p. 172. Whitgift was assisted at the conference by Richard Fletcher, Bishop of London, and Richard Vaughan, Bishop-elect of Bangor.

[3] Strype, ii 251.

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had submitted to be guided by him, he writes (Sept. 30),[1] he prayed them 'to give strait and earnest charge, that no man in pulpit within the University should deal in these causes, to or fro, until further order were taken'. It seems likely therefore that the Cambridge propositions were brought to Whitgift by his command. The question that has arisen is, how much may be claimed on behalf of the freedom of the will without impiety to God? Presumably, therefore, the Archbishop will have asked the Cambridge authorities to set down all they claim as God's doing in the work of man's salvation or damnation. We shall expect to find the original Cambridge propositions limited in their scope; for the Archbishop has already ruled out irrespective reprobation, and absolute assurance as regards the future. I hope to make it good that the changes which the Archbishop and his assessors introduced, though verbally slight, were of the utmost importance, and redeemed the series of Articles from whatever of fatalism was originally in it. The Archbishop seems to have kept his own counsel, and the world failed to see that he had framed a rule to keep the extreme predestinarians in check. The courtiers of Elizabeth denounced the Articles as fatalistic,[2] but she herself 'was persuaded of the truth of the propositions'.[3] Baro perceived that they 'scarcely touched the state of the controversy',[4] and confessed that they were all true.[5] Even Lancelot Andrewes found them almost correct, though he saw what might and did actually ensue. 'Materia huius litis futura est: quisque ut affectus est, utque animum habet, voculam aliquam pertrahet ad opinionem suam; si desit, supplebit de sensu suo.'[6] Matthew Hutton, Archbishop of York, an Augustinian who rejected the doctrine of irrespective reprobation, suggested three slight changes, which if made, 'ipse Momus non haberet quod contra diceret.'[7] Some fifty-five years later the author of *Articuli Lambethani* gave a non-fatalistic interpretation to each article in turn; and with his, Baro's, Andrewes's, and Hutton's comments I shall now deal. Hutton's and Andrewes's[8] were written at the request of the Archbishop, no doubt after the lay mind had found fault with his work. Baro's were written and sent to the Archbishop to make it manifest that he had not contradicted the articles as they might be conveniently expounded.[9] The author of *Articuli Lambethani* (London 1651) describes himself as 'F. G. Sancti Nicolai apud Trinobantes Minister'.

W. D. SARGEAUNT.

[1] Strype, ii 268. [2] *Articuli Lam.* p. 4.
[3] Strype, ii 284. [4] *Ib.* ii 288. [5] *Ib.* ii 295.
[6] *Articuli Lambethani* p. 32. [7] Strype, ii 314.
[8] 'Rogatus sententiam meam de his articulis, idque a Dominatione tua, cui non parere Religio fuit'—obviously the Archbishop (*Artic. Lam.* p. 21).
[9] Strype, iii 340.

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THE RULE OF ST BENEDICT.

III

THE INSTRUMENTS OF GOOD WORKS.

THE fourth chapter of St Benedict's Rule is a list of 72 (73) moral and spiritual precepts or aphorisms which he calls 'Instrumenta bonorum operum'. The question of possible sources for this collection has long exercised, and still exercises, those interested in the literary history of the Rule. It was recently proclaimed that the source has been discovered in the *Didache*. This theory I examined in a Note in these pages in January 1910 (xi 283); I shewed that it cannot be admitted, and that there is no reason for supposing St Benedict was acquainted with the *Didache* in any of its forms. It has since been pointed out to me that Dom Leclercq maintains that St Benedict's fourth chapter does depend on the *Didache*, not directly indeed, but mediately, through a document which (so he considers) contains a series of monastic canons drawn up at the Council of Alexandria in 362.[1] This document exists in three closely allied forms:—(1) the Greek ps.-Athanasian 'Syntagma Doctrinae ad Monachos' (inter Athan. Op., Migne *P. G.* 28, 835); (2) another Greek redaction entitled 'The Faith of the Holy 318 Fathers at Nicaea' (Migne *P. G.* 28, 1637); (3) a Coptic redaction, allied to (2), published, with translation, by M. Revillout in *Le Concile de Nicée d'après les textes coptes* ii 474.

(3) stands in what claims to be a Coptic version of the Acts of the Council held at Alexandria in 362 under St Athanasius, and Revillout accepts the attribution. Leclercq also accepts it in the aforesaid article; but in his Notes to the Farnborough edition of Hefele's *Councils*, he makes no use of all the important fresh material thus supplied, though he does refer to Revillout and to his own article. In this silence he is probably well advised; for nothing can be more precarious than the redactions of Councils found only in Coptic or other Oriental sources.

In the *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie*, however, Leclercq sees in this Coptic document a code of monastic legislation issuing from the Council of 362, and presenting 'l'intérêt le plus vif. On y trouve un nombre considérable de textes qui sont passés mot pour mot dans les règles occidentales et dans la plus célèbre de toutes, celle de S. Benoît'

[1] *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne*, art. 'Alexandrie: Archéologie IV' (col. 1163–1166).

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(col. 1164). This is the point I wish to investigate, in view of the collection of sources of St Benedict's Rule I am making for the edition that I have in preparation. It has been recognized since the fact was pointed out by Mr Rendel Harris in 1885, that the *Syntagma* is in great measure derived from the *Didache*. Leclercq prints in four parallel columns passages from the opening of the *Didache*, of the *Syntagma* both in its Greek and Coptic forms, and of c. iv of St Benedict's Rule; and certainly, as presented by him, the resemblances are so striking as to seem quite convincing. But an examination of the documents themselves reveals the fact that they have been subjected to a process of selection and of pruning that distorts the actual facts.

There is no need to reproduce the piece from the *Didache*; nor the double form of the *Syntagma*, because Mgr Batiffol, the scholar who has investigated the subject, shews that the three extant forms go back to a primitive form x[1]; and in the portion under consideration it is possible to reconstruct Batiffol's x with certainty. Accordingly I print the beginning of the relevant portion of the *Syntagma* and of St Benedict's fourth chapter. It is to be understood that both texts are given in their entirety:—by omitting from the Coptic form (the one with which he directly confronts St Benedict's text) the clauses marked with a †, Leclercq unduly enhances the similarity.

Syntagma.	*Instrumenta.*
Πρῶτον, κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἀγαπήσεις ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου,	In primis, Dominum Deum diligere ex toto corde, tota anima, tota virtute:
καὶ τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν.	deinde proximum tamquam seipsum
οὐ φονεύσεις	Deinde non occidere
οὐ μοιχεύσεις	non adulterari
†οὐ πορνεύσεις	
†οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις	
†οὐ φαρμακεύσεις	
οὐ κλέψεις	non facere furtum
	†non concupiscere
οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις	non falsum testimonium dicere
†οὐ μαγεύσεις	
†οὐ διχοστατήσεις	
†Ἀπέχου πνικτοῦ καὶ εἰδωλοθύτου καὶ αἵματος	
	honorare omnes homines

[1] *Studia Patristica* Fasc. 2, 1890.

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It seems strange that it should be supposed that the *Syntagma* could have been St Benedict's source in this place; as a matter of fact his sources are perfectly obvious: they were, for the Two Great Commandments, Mark xii 30, 31; for the rest, the Decalogue as found in Exod. xx or Deut. v, or perhaps more probably the summaries in Lk. xviii (Matth. xix) and Rom. xiii. The truth of this is evident at a glance.

Exod. xx 13–17 (Deut. v 17–21)	Lk. xviii 20 (Matth. xix 18)	Rom. xiii 9
non occides	non occides	non adulterabis
non moechaberis	non moechaberis (non adulterabis)	non occides
non furtum facies	non furtum facies	non furaberis
non loqueris contra proximum tuum falsum testimonium	non falsum testimonium dices	non falsum testimonium dices
non concupisces domum (uxorem) proximi tui		non concupisces
	honora patrem tuum et matrem	

There is no room for the surmise that St Benedict omited οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις 'par délicatesse'; nor is any countenance given to the idea that he knew Greek, for which there is no evidence that I know of.

Dom Leclercq gives some further instances of parallelisms between the *Syntagma* and St Benedict's Instruments, again using the Coptic document as the standard of comparison. In the following Table the numbers prefixed to each of the Instruments is the place it occupies in St Benedict's list. It will appear that whether we consider order or matter, the notion that the *Syntagma* was St Benedict's source cannot be maintained.

Φυλάττεσθαι μὴ εἶναι

δίλογον (Copt. parole mauvaise)	54. Verba vana aut risui apta non loqui
μὴ δίγνωμον	28. Veritatem ex corde et ore proferre
μὴ ψεύστην	52. Os suum a malo vel pravo eloquio custodire
μὴ κατάλαλον	40. Non (esse) detractorem

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*μὴ ἀκαιροπεριπάτητος al ἀκαιροπερίσπαστον	
*(Copt. translates two of these members:	
ne point marcher avec effronterie	34. Non esse superbum
ni d'un air évaporé)	67. Elationem fugere
μὴ ἀναίσχυντον	
*μὴ ῥέμβον	
*μὴ ἀναίσθητον	
μὴ αὐθάδη	
μὴ σαπρὸν λόγον ἐκ χειλέων προφέροντα	
(Copt. inserts: ne maudissez jamais de votre bouche)	32. Maledicentes se non remaledicere, sed magis benedicere
μήτε ὅρκον ὅλως τὸ παράπαν	27. Non iurare, ne forte periuret

Dom Leclercq proceeds to give parallelisms to various passages in other chapters of the Rule. It must be conceded that in some of these he is happier; especially is there a resemblance in the regulations concerning the use of baths:—

Εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ νόσῳ ἀναγκασθῇς, λουτρῷ χρῆσαι ἕως ἅπαξ καὶ δίς· ὑγιαίνων δὲ βαλανείου οὐ χρείαν ἔχεις.	Balneorum usus infirmis, quoties expedit, offeratur. Sanis autem et maxime iuvenibus tardius concedatur (c. xxxvi).

But I do not think that it affords warrant for the supposition that St Benedict knew the *Syntagma* in any of its shapes. In another place (*Rev. Bén.*, 1901, p. 77) Leclercq points out resemblances even more striking between St Benedict's chapter on the Cellarer and the corresponding chapter of a Coptic rule, perhaps that of Schenute; but it is altogether incredible that St Benedict had any knowledge, direct or indirect, of this rule which exists only in Coptic. It is a useful reminder that such resemblances may indicate nothing more than similarity in the ground ideas of different monastic legislators.

It seems ungenerous thus to pursue on a single point a worker so indefatigable and of such astounding knowledge and such prodigious productiveness as Dom Leclercq. But any subject to which nearly four columns of the *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie* are given up must be worth probing, especially as the intention is announced of treating the subject more fully in a future article. And the question of St Benedict's sources is just now one of practical concern to me.

And so I take the opportunity of dealing with the general question of the sources of this chapter of the Rule: 'Quae sunt Instrumenta

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bonorum operum.' There seems to be a widespread consensus of opinion that St Benedict probably did not himself form the list of Instruments, but incorporated some earlier code of moral precepts. In former times it used to be supposed that this source was the spurious Epistle of Clement to James, prefixed to the False Decretals of Isidore Mercator, towards the end of which are found the Instruments in a different order (Migne *P. L.* 130, 35). The first portion of this letter was translated by Rufinus, but the latter portion was made up by Isidore from various sources, as has been held from Mabillon to Hinschius, the latest editor of the Decretals. Dom Edmund Schmidt has put in a plea for the old view[1]; he urges that the Letter cannot have been composed by Isidore, as no forger would have put at the head of his collection a piece taken from a work so widely circulated and so well known as was St Benedict's Rule at that date. He admits that even if this argument be valid, it need not follow that the Letter in its present shape is as old as St Benedict's time—indeed it contains passages taken from writers of a later date. The point he raises, however, is sufficiently met by the fact that this chapter had a wide circulation as a separate piece. Agimund's 'Magnum Instrumentum', spoken of in the previous Note (*J. T. S.* xi 286), is one such instance; Dr Plenkers gives a list of a dozen MSS wherein the 'Instrumenta' are found thus separated from the Rule.[2] They were incorporated by Pirminus in his *Scarapsus* (Migne *P. L.* 89, 1047), by Theodulph of Orleans in his Capitulary (*P. L.* 105, 197), and elsewhere. So that there is no need to suppose that Isidore took them directly from St Benedict's Rule.

To come to recent views: in a highly interesting review of Wölfflin's edition of the Rule,[3] Dr Weyman cited sayings from Greek gnomic collections that resemble certain of St Benedict's Instruments (see below); and he expressed the view that the whole chapter was in large measure derived from some such source. Traube pronounced Weyman's presentation of the case to be convincing,[4] and Plenkers[5] and Wilmart[6] hold it to be very probable.

But it remains a fact that up to the present no such source has been produced. The Greek collections cited by Weyman afford parallels only to a couple of the Instruments; the *Doctrina Hosii* (Pitra *Analecta Sacra* v p. 117), to which Weyman refers, affords no parallel at all; nor does the *Doctrina Severini* (*P. L.* 74, 845); nor do two collections of monastic aphorisms recently published by Dom Wilmart in the *Revue*

[1] *Studien und Mittheilungen*, 1883, ii 16.
[2] *Zeitschrift für die österr. Gymnasien*, 1902, Heft ii.
[3] *Wochenschrift für klass. Philologie*, 1896, p. 209.
[4] *Textgeschichte der Regula S. B.* 705.
[5] *loc. cit.*
[6] *Rev. Bén.*, 1910, p. 232.

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Bénédictine—the *Monita Porcarii* (Oct. 1909) and an old translation of St Basil's *Admonitio ad Monachos* (Apr. 1910): these, I believe, are the only known collections of the kind prior to St Benedict. In two Latin Rules known to St Benedict are found a string of moral precepts: viz. in § 149 of the translation of the *Regula Pachonii*, and in §§ 1–9 of the *Regula Macarii* (Holsten *Codex Regularum*). But St Benedict has borrowed nothing from them. And I have shewn in these pages that the *Didache* was not a source, either itself or through the *Syntagma*.

It was pointed out to me that in No. xxiv of the 'Sermones S. Ambrosio hactenus ascripti', among the Spuria of S. Ambrose (*P. L.* 17, 651 or 673), there stands in § 11 a passage containing several of the Instrumenta. The opening of the Sermon is identical with one of those now attributed to Caesarius of Arles, and the Benedictine editor tentatively suggests that this Sermon of ps.-Ambrose may be by Caesarius. Were this the case we should at last have obtained definite reason for believing in the existence of the Instrumenta before St Benedict. But Dom Morin, who has made the Caesarian literature his special study, has kindly given me evidence abundantly justifying his verdict, that the Sermon is 'un centon d'époque relativement basse'.

The following are the only cases, apart from biblical texts, in which I have up to the present found passages that can with any show of reason be regarded as the source of any of the Instruments:—

Instrument.	*Source.*
21. Nihilamori Christi praeponere.	Nihil amori Christi anteponendum (*Vita S. Antonii*, versio antiqua, 13, *al.* 14).
(This suggests also Cyprian *De dom. orat.* 15: Christo nihil omnino praeponere; but this latter is reproduced by St Benedict in c. lxxii.)	
30. Iniuriam non facere, sed et factas patienter sufferre.	Iniuriam facere non nosse, factam posse tolerare (Cyprian *De dom. orat.* 15; but without doubt St B. derived this from the *Regula Macarii* 21).
42, 43. Bonum aliquod in se cum viderit, Deo adplicet, non sibi. Malum vero semper a se factum sciat, et sibi reputet.	Πάντων ὧν πράττομεν ἀγαθῶν τὸν θεὸν αἴτιον ἡγώμεθα· τῶν δὲ κακῶν αἴτιοι ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν οἱ ἑλόμενοι. (Porphyrius *Ad Marcell.* xii p. 282: cited by Weyman.)
	Quidquid boni habet, illi retribuat, a quo factus est: quidquid mali habet, ipse sibi fecit (Augustin. *Serm.* xcvi 2).

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47. Mortem quotidie ante oculos suspectam habere.	Omni hora ponat sibi (monachus) mortem ante oculos suos (*Verba Seniorum*, apud Rosweyd *Vitae Patrum* iii 196).
50, 51. Cogitationes malas cordi suo advenientes mox ad Christum adlidere, et seniori spiritali patefacere.	Nullas penitus cogitationes prurientes in corde perniciosa confusione celare, sed confestim ut exortae fuerint, eas suo patefacere seniori (Cassian. *Inst.* iv 9).

(The idea 'ad Christum adlidere' is the traditional exegesis of Psalm. cxxxvi 9; e. g. Hilary, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine.)

68, 69. Seniores venerari; iuniores diligere.	Πρεσβύτερον αἰδοῦ· νεώτερον δίδασκε. Early Latin version: Maiorem vereri, minorem emendare *al* regere. (Sosiades in Stobaeus *Florileg.* III i 173, cited by Weyman.)

Weyman proposes *dirigere* as an obvious emendation in the text of the Regula, and the proposal has found favour in some quarters. Traube, however, while accepting the view that St Benedict derived his Instruments in this place from the alleged parallel, holds that in his immediate source he must have found *diligere*: in this Traube is surely right, for in c. lxiii we find 'iuniores priores suos honorent, priores minores suos diligant,' and in neither place is there any variant for *diligere* in the MS tradition of the text.

To sum up: there is as yet no evidence to give countenance to the suspicion that St Benedict incorporated an earlier document in his chapter iv; and I know of no reason that should cause us to hesitate in believing that he compiled the list of Intruments of Good Works himself.

One point more: Dom Morin has directed my attention to the fact that Martin of Braga seems to have known the 42nd Instrument, cited above; for he says of humility 'quae totum quod boni est obtinet, Deo hoc semper applicando, non sibi.' The Opuscule in which these words occur was written between 570 and 580.[1] A decade earlier we find in the Regula of Ferreolus,[2] bishop of Uzès (Dep. Gard), clear signs of an acquaintance with St Benedict's Rule.[3] So far as I know this is the

[1] Migne *P. L.* 72, 42; cf. Bardenhewer *Patrology*.

[2] Holsten *Codex Regularum* (*P. L.* 66, 959).

[3] Here I find myself in disagreement with Dom Besse (*Moines de l'ancienne France* p. 57). The points on which I rely are as follows:—

(1) F. 6: Monachum omnino sive clericum alterius loci vel monasterii recipi sub qualibet causa nolumus, interdicimus, prohibemus: prospicientes talia studio

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earliest evidence we possess of a literary use of St Benedict's Rule.[1] The probable date of the composition of the Rule lies between 520 and 540; it is interesting to find that by 560 and 570 copies had penetrated to southern Gaul and north-western Spain. But it is not until a considerably later date that there is evidence of its being in use in either country as the rule of life of any monastery.

E. CUTHBERT BUTLER.

A SIDE-LIGHT ON THE METHODS OF TATIAN.

IN St Ephraim's Commentary on the Diatessaron (Moesinger, pp. 140–147) the conversation of Jesus with the Samaritan woman (Jn. iv) is followed by the cleansing of the leper in Galilee (Mt. viii 2–4; Mk. i 40–45; Lk. v 12–16). Then comes the healing of the infirm man at the pool of Bethesda in Jerusalem (Jn. v). This order is also found

caritatis, ne novum aliquod forte scandalum surgentes inducant. Dicit enim Scriptura: *Quicquid tibi non vis, alii non feceris.*

Cf. B. 61: Caveat abbas ne aliquando iam de alio noto monasterio monachum ad habitandum suscipiat sine consensu abbatis eius aut literis commendatitiis; quia scriptum est: *Quod tibi non vis fieri, alio non feceris.*

On this text see Note in *J. T. S.*, Jan. 1910, p. 283; the significant point here is its use in the two Rules in illustration of the same context.

(2) F. 37, of the abbot: faciens se ab omnibus, eo quod vitia oderit, plus amari.

This seems to be made up of the two pieces of advice which St Benedict gives to the abbot in c. 64 'Oderit vitia, diligat fratres'; and 'studeat plus amari quam timeri';—which are themselves taken verbally from different places in St Augustine.

(3) In the chapter on silence (F. 29) the same two texts are used as by St Benedict in the Ninth Degree of Humility.

The Rule of Ferreolus is fundamentally one of the Lerins series, being based on those of Caesarius and Aurelian; but it is considerably enlarged, and the above points of contact with St Benedict were introduced by him. I think they prove that he knew St Benedict's Rule.

[1] Here again I have to differ from Dom Besse, and even from Mabillon (*op. cit.* p. 56): I see nothing in the Rule of Aurelian c. 550 (*Cod. Regularum*) that suggests an acquaintance with that of St Benedict. On the other hand (once more against Besse, p. 55), I believe that St Benedict knew, and in places used, the Rules of Caesarius; but any discussion must stand over till my edition of the Regula, with the Sources, is published.

Dom Chapman has directed my attention to c. xxvii of the *Vita Fulgentii Ruspensis* (*P. L.* 65, 143), written, perhaps by Ferrandus the Deacon, at any rate within a few years of Fulgentius's death, 533. He raises the question whether certain turns of expression in this passage, describing St Fulgentius as abbot of his monastery, do not bespeak an acquaintance with St Benedict's Rule. The words 'ut neminem puro nomine clamitaret' do recall St Benedict's 'puro appellare nomine' (c. 63); but they hardly justify any definite conclusion. The other resemblances are vague and doubtful.

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in the Arabic Diatessaron. Ephraim's remarks on the second of these miracles contain nothing, taken by themselves, which leads us to suspect that in the text on which he is commenting any other Gospel incident has been identified or combined with the account given in Jn. v. The only points which attract attention are (1) that his copy of the Diatessaron contained the verse which tells of the moving of the water by an angel, and (2) that in quoting our Lord's words to the infirm man he seems to confuse them with those addressed to the paralytic at Capernaum (Mt. ix 6; Mk. ii 11; Lk. v 11). He cites the words thus (Moes. p. 146): 'Surge, tolle grabbatum tuum et *vade*': 'Sta in pedibus, sume grabbatum tuum, et *vade in domum tuam*': 'Is qui me sanavit, dixit mihi: Surge, tolle lectum tuum et *vade*.'

It may be added that the Curetonian MS of the Old Syriac version has similarly at Jn. v 8, 'Arise, take up thy bed, and walk (and) *go to thy house*'. But here, again, we seem to have a mere reminiscence of the words spoken to the paralytic. On such slender evidence we should not be justified in invoking the Diatessaron, and supposing that Tatian was bold enough to identify the paralytic of Capernaum with the infirm man at Bethesda, and to combine the two accounts. Yet it appears that this is precisely what Tatian did do.

In the *J. T. S.* of July 1907 (vol. viii pp. 581 ff) I pointed out that Jacob of Serûgh († 521) sometimes made use of Tatian's Harmony, and apparently followed its order in a series of Homilies on the passion. Now in Bedjan's edition of the Homilies of Jacob there is one entitled 'On that paralytic of thirty-eight years whom our Lord healed' (vol. iv pp. 701–724). The author begins by picturing the plight of the world, sick with sin and waiting to be healed by the waters of baptism. It resembles the 'paralytic' who was waiting for the moving of the waters at Bethesda. I proceed to give in his own words an outline of Jacob's treatment of this miracle.

(p. 703) "The world resembled that sick man, who was paralysed by the sickness of which he was ailing: thirty-eight years had he been afflicted on the bed of disease, and then he was healed of his sickness. (p. 704) For he also was waiting for the moving of the waters . . . and to Siloam he had recourse and took refuge, that it might heal his disease . . . And he was waiting for the moving of the waters, that by it he might be made sound (ܫܠܡ) . . .

The waters were moved with a mystery of Baptism; and the first disease which went down was healed. The diseases of the world were surrounding that House of Kindness (*Bêth Ḥesdâ*), and waiting for the moving of the waters to make them whole. (p. 705) The diseased were many that were to be healed by Siloam; and each disease was healed only at a long interval. The ailments and diseases were round

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about the baptism, that when the angel moved the waters they might be made whole . . . By an angel the waters were moved there; and the first who went down and bathed was healed . . .

(p. 708) He (Jesus) took away the mystery from Siloam, that it should heal no more . . . He saw the sick lying in that House of Kindness (*Bêth Ḥesdâ*), and waiting for the moving of the waters to heal them . . . He saw the paralytic, whose diseases had vexed him a great while; and He drew near to him to speak to him gently . . . He drew near to him then, and He asks him: 'If thou wouldst become whole (ܐܝܟܐ ܕܒܥܐ ܐܢܬ), hide it not from me' . . . (p. 709) 'Lord, I have no man to raise me up over the spring and, when the waters have moved, to throw me (ܕܢܪܡܝܢܢܝ[1]) into it, that I may be healed. My limbs are paralysed, and to approach and push my way I am not able; and caretakers (ܠܝܬ ܠܗ ܢܛܪܝܢ) are not found for me to stand up on my behalf.' . . .

(p. 710) He drew near to him, and asks him, as ye have heard, if he would become whole (ܐܝܟܐ ܕܒܥܐ ܐܢܬ) of his sickness . . . 'If thou wouldst become whole, thou canst[2]: Thy sins are the cause of thy diseases, and they are forgiven thee (Mt. ix 2, and parallels). Arise, be made sound (ܐܬܐܣܝ) of thy disease which ails thee: lo, I have given thee the power. Thy sins are forgiven: give thy consent to the healing.' (p. 711) Albeit (these words) were spoken to the paralytic alone, (yet) the whole world received tidings of its healing . . . 'With the cord of debts thou art tied, O man, and I loose thee. I ask of thee only that thou will, and I will heal thee . . . If thou wouldst become whole (ܐܝܟܐ ܕܒܥܐ ܐܢܬ), there is a means: thy debts are forgiven: do not resist me as to thy healing.' . . .

(p. 712) He was asking him: 'If,' said He, 'thou wouldst, thou art healed . . . If thou wouldst become whole, thou canst . . . If thou wouldst, healing also is given thee.' . . .

(p. 716) Our Lord says: 'Thy debts are forgiven, my son, be of good heart' (cf. Mt. ix 3) . . . The head and chief of physicians visited the paralytic, and forgiveness of debts He held out (and) gave to him with healing. In the beginning of His healing He first visited that festering sea of sins; for it is the cause of all diseases . . . 'Thy debts are forgiven,' He said to him that was paralysed . . . Sins He forgave him, from which also the sickness was sprung, that by forgiveness he might be made sound (ܢܬܐܣܝ) before the healing. (p. 717) The Good Physician bound up the soul before the body, that it first might become whole which was (first) sick . . . 'Be of good heart, thy debts are forgiven' (Mt. ix 3), He was saying to him; and they that

[1] Lit. 'That they should throw me.'

[2] Thus far Jn. v 1–7: except that the sick man is called a 'paralytic'.

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heard doubted of His forgiveness. The people saw Him, that He drew near to him that was paralysed; and the multitudes thronged to look upon Him, what He would do. It was the festival that assembled the people to Siloam, and a holy day, on which every one is idle from work. And as the crowds were thronging each other to look upon Him (cf. Mk. ii 2), every man's ear was bent to hear what He would say to him; (p. 718) and the priests were filled with envy and rage at His healing, and the scribes were making an uproar with their arguments to snare Him; and they were blaming Him because that He had promised forgiveness of sins, (saying): 'Who is this that lo, He boasts of that which is not His? It is God's alone,' say they, 'to forgive sins (Mk. ii 8, Lk. v 21): why does this man promise to forgive, whereas he is not able?' . . . They confessed that He who forgives is also God; and seeing that our Lord forgave sins, it is manifest that He is God . . . He promised to forgive sins to him that was paralysed; and the scribes objected against Him, that He is not God, neither does He forgive. And that He might shew them that He is both a forgiver and God, He wrought an open sign before them and put them to shame. He saw their mind (Mt. ix 4, and parallels), that it was doubting concerning the forgiveness . . .

(p. 719) 'O ye gainsayers, who have denied the truth with your questionings, whether is easier, that I should forgive debts, or that I should heal? I have authority both to forgive and to heal' (cf. Mt. ix 5–6, and parallels) . . . Our Lord said to him: 'Take up, O man, thy bed and walk.' . . . The voice of the Son stimulated the paralytic, and he left his sufferings, and freed of disease he took up his bed to walk. And the man of sufferings was made sound (ܫܠܡ), (and) arose . . . and without pain he was going about among the multitudes. . . .

(p. 720) The festival was made great by a new sign, full of wonder; and the multitudes were thronging to look upon him that was healed . . They (the scribes) saw that the paralytic was carrying his bed among the multitudes; and they drew near and were blaming and reviling him with their blasphemies: 'Why dost thou carry thy bed on the Sabbath?' They were saying to him: 'Let not the holy day be abused by thy work.' . . . (p. 721) 'It is not lawful for thee to take up thy bed' (Jn. v 10), they were saying to him. And he turned to answer them gently: 'He that commanded the disease and it fled from my limbs, He also commanded me, and I have taken up my bed to walk. . . . The diseases of my limbs were not keeping Sabbath, and how do ye force me to keep it?' . . .

(p. 722) Jesus triumphed both by forgiveness and by healing; for the open sign proclaimed among the multitudes that He is the Son of

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God. It shewed that He is Lord of the Sabbath and of Siloam, and that He has authority to forgive sins, likewise to heal."

Follows an exhortation to sinners to receive health from the Divine Physician.

It is perfectly plain that Jacob of Serûgh identified the healing of the paralytic at Capernaum with that of the infirm man at Bethesda; and there can be no reasonable doubt that he did so on the authority of the Diatessaron. We have seen that St Ephraim's commentary and the Arabic Diatessaron place the miracle of Bethesda immediately after the cleansing of the leper (Mt. viii, Mk. i, Lk. v). This is the very place where the healing of the paralytic comes in St Mark and St Luke. When, therefore, St Ephraim represents our Lord as saying to the infirm man, 'vade in domum tuam', it would now appear that these words are not a mere accidental reminiscence of Mk. ii 11, Lk. v 24, Mt. ix 6, but an actual survival of the account of the healing of the paralytic, which is here in its natural place, but has been mixed up with and partly displaced by another narrative. In other words, the phrase 'vade in domum tuam' is due not to St Ephraim but to the Diatessaron. And the addition in the Curetonian MS, 'arise, take up thy bed, and walk (and) *go to thy house*', probably had the same origin. In both the Arabic Diatessaron and Victor of Capua's Harmony (*Codex Fuldensis*) the account of the paralytic has been disengaged from that of the man at Bethesda, and given earlier (though not in the same setting). Ephraim does not comment on the healing of the paralytic as an independent incident.

One or two peculiarities which are shared by Jacob and St Ephraim may be noticed.

(1) Jacob makes the name of the pond Siloam (he uses *Bêth Ḥesdâ*, 'House of Kindness', rather as an epithet than a proper name). So Ephraim (Moes. p. 146): 'Si enim credunt, per aquam Siloe angelum sanasse infirmum,' &c. (cf. Jn. ix 7, 11).

(2) Jacob (Bedjan, p. 709), after quoting: 'Lord, I have no man,' &c., goes on: 'My limbs are paralysed, and to approach and push my way I am not able, and *care-takers* (ܫܩܠܝ ܛܥܢܐ) are not found for me.' The expression 'care-takers' here, though somewhat peculiar, would scarcely deserve remark, were it not that St Ephraim (Moes. p. 146) actually quotes: 'Non est mihi *adiutor*': where Dr J. Armitage Robinson renders the Armenian, 'I have no *guardian*'.[1] I think it very probable that Jacob has given us the actual Syriac expression used by St Ephraim, and that the Diatessaron had ܠܝܬ ܠܝ ܫܩܠ ܛܥܢܐ, 'I have no care-taker'.

[1] Cf. Hamlyn Hill *Earliest Life of Christ* p. 355.

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This Homily of Jacob of Serûgh is of importance in two respects: it shews the freedom with which Tatian sometimes handled the Gospel narratives; and it suggests considerable caution in the use of the Arabic version. The Syriac recension from which that version was made was evidently one in which the original Harmony had received a certain amount of castigation other than merely textual. In the present case a narrative in which two Gospel incidents were combined has been rejected, and the two incidents have been given separately. The same thing may have occurred elsewhere,[1] with the possible result that the Arabic Harmony is a much larger volume than the original Diatessaron of Tatian.

R. H. CONNOLLY.

CURIOSITIES OF LATIN INTERPRETATION OF THE GREEK TESTAMENT.

CONSIDERING the natural pitfalls in the way, and the scanty equipment which many of the earliest rolls of New Testament books will have possessed in matters of accents, breathings, and punctuation, it is perhaps wonderful that blunders of translation and interpretation were not more numerous. But it may not be without interest if I jot down the details of three cases which I happen to have lit upon in the course of my own reading of the Latin fathers; and doubtless other scholars would be able to furnish their quota.

1. Jo. i 18.

μονογενὴς θεὸς [*or* *ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς*] *ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκεῖνος ἐξηγήσατο.*

The difficulty of the construction of *ἐξηγήσατο*, without an object following it, is manifest enough: and one branch of the Old Latin text—not perhaps the African, but certainly the earliest known European text—as represented by Tertullian, Novatian, and the codex Vercellensis, *a*, of the Old Latin Gospels, attempted to solve the difficulty by making *κόλπον* accusative after the verb. Sabatier has quoted none of the following passages save two from Tertullian, and of one of these he has given an unrevised text. Mr Fausset's note in his edition of Novatian in the *Cambridge Patristic Texts* is the starting-point of my list: but I have added some new references.

[1] I believe the original Diatessaron contained only one miracle of feeding the multitudes, whereas the Arabic has both (see *J. T. S.* vol. viii p. 573 ff).

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a 'nisi unicus filius solus sinum patris ipse enarravit'.

Tert. *adv. Praxean* 8 (ed. Kroymann *C. S. E. L.* vol. xlvii p. 238. 6) 'solus filius patrem novit et sinum patris ipse exposuit'.

ib. 15 (254. 20, 23) 'deum nemo vidit umquam . . . quem deum? scilicet patrem, apud quem deus erat sermo, unigenitus filius qui sinum patris ipse disseruit'.

ib. 21 (264. 8) 'hic unus sinum patris disseruit, non sinum suum pater' [the MSS have 'unius': Pamelius conjectured 'unus', Kroymann accepts from Engelbrecht 'unicus'].

Novatian *de Trinitate* 18 (ed. Fausset p. 68. 5) 'Ioannes hunc eundem qui sinum exponit patris, verbum dicit carnem factum esse, ut sinum patris posset exponere'.

ib. 28 (101. 16) 'cum nondum sinum patris Christus exposuisset'.

Ps.-Origen *Tractatus* ix (ed. Batiffol, 102. 16) 'manducabitis caput et pedes et quae sunt interiora . . . caput enim Christi pater est, interiora vero ipse sermo divinus qui sinum patris enarravit'.

But if these authorities, or the version which lies behind them, took κόλπον as the object of ἐξηγήσατο, they only avoided one difficulty at the expense of falling, as it would seem, into another and a worse one; for how could they now construe the previous words ὁ ὢν εἰς?

I believe that the answer is that they read the Greek as though it were not ὁ ὢν εἰς but ὁ ὢν εἰς. Hence the 'solus' in *a* and in *adv. Praxean* 8; hence also the 'unus', if that be (and I think it is) the true reading, in *adv. Praxean* 21.

2. Rom. iii 27.

ποῦ οὖν ἡ καύχησις; ἐξεκλείσθη.

Tyconius, the African Donatist, in his Third Rule for the understanding of Scripture (p. 19. 13 of Prof. Burkitt's edition) understood his Latin Bible at this point to say 'ubi ergo gloriatio exclusa est?', putting the interrogation after 'exclusa est' and not after 'gloriatio'. He is thus driven to explain that 'excludi' has the meaning 'exprimi, produci, effici', so that he translates 'whence then is glory extracted? by what law? of works? no: but by the law of faith'.

It is true that Prof. Burkitt retains the ordinary punctuation of the verse. But I think that the context is quite decisive in favour of the rather odd interpretation that I have adopted. Tyconius has been arguing that faith is as old as the law, and that the righteous of Israel when they came to Christ were called from faith into the same faith: and so the idea of 'glory' comes in because of the apposite parallel in

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2 Cor. iii 18 'we all with unveiled face beholding the glory of the Lord are changed into the same image' *a claritate in claritatem*. 'The Apostle asserts both that there was a glory before the Passion of Christ and that it could not be extracted, that is produced, by the Law, so that it must clearly have been by faith'. 'We have passed into glory from the same glory, and this original glory was not from the Law' or from works, but by faith and the grace of God. The 'gloriatio' of Rom. iii 27 is thus identical with the 'gloria' or 'claritas' of 2 Cor. iii 18: it was something desirable, and it came not from works but from faith.

This complete inversion of the turn of the particular phrase may however, I suspect, be due rather to Tyconius himself than to the translator of his Latin Bible. The Latin translation would be as innocent of punctuation as its Greek original; and Tyconius blundered because he read 'ubi ergo gloriatio exclusa est' as one clause instead of two.

3. Rom. vii 13 *b*.

ἵνα γένηται καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἁμαρτωλὸς ἡ ἁμαρτία διὰ τῆς ἐντολῆς.

St Augustine in numerous passages quotes this verse in the rendering 'ut fiat supra modum peccator aut peccatum per mandatum'. Sabatier adduces at least a dozen references: it may suffice to cite particularly *ep.* lxxxii § 20 and *contra duas epistulas Pelagianorum* i 14—the first because we have of the letters a critical text by A. Goldbacher in the Vienna Corpus (vol. xxxiv p. 372. 5), the second because I found in the Bibliothèque Nationale an early fragment of two guard leaves (*nouv. acq.* 2199), from a MS of the *contra duas epp. Pelag.* which contains the quotation. The explanation of 'peccator aut peccatum' is of course that the translator was rendering not ἁμαρτωλὸς ἡ ἁμαρτία, but ἁμαρτωλὸς ἢ ἁμαρτία.

C. H. TURNER.

OSSIUS (HOSIUS) OF CORDOVA.

IT is a curious coincidence that neither for bishop Hosius himself, nor for the council of Sardica at which he presided, do we use the form of name familiar to the Latins of the fourth century. The Greeks spelt the two words Σαρδική and Ὅσιος, and it is I suppose ultimately from Greek influence that Latins came to say Sardica and Hosius: but the bishop's contemporaries called him Ossius, and the council (and the town where it was held) Serdica. The latter fact is well enough known,

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and I need not labour the proof: but, if I may judge by my own ignorance until lately on the subject, the former is sufficiently unfamiliar to justify an enumeration of the evidence in some detail.

So many proper names among Christians, Greek and Roman, were of moral or specifically Christian significance that in transliterating the name of the bishop of Cordova it was an obvious course to take advantage of so near-lying a word as ὅσιος: Ὅσιος took his place by the side of Εὐσέβιος and Μακάριος and Γρηγόριος and Ἀθανάσιος. And so St Athanasius plays on the word: Hosius is ἀληθῶς Ὅσιος, 'worthy of his name': cf. *Apol. de fuga* 5 περὶ γὰρ τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ εὐγηροτάτου καὶ ὁμολογητοῦ ἀληθῶς Ὁσίου περιττόν ἐστιν ἐμὲ καὶ λέγειν, *Hist. Arian.* 45 ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Ἀβραμιαῖος γέρων ὁ ἀληθῶς Ὅσιος ἐφρόνησέ τε καὶ ἔγραψε . . . πᾶσι γὰρ γνώριμος ἦν ὁ ἀληθῶς Ὅσιος καὶ ὁ τούτου βίος ἀνεπίληπτος. But just because the assimilation was so obvious in Greek, we cannot argue back from Ὅσιος to a Latin Hosius.

No doubt there is a certain amount of Latin evidence for Hosius. But there is much more for Osius than for Hosius: in the lists of signatures to the Nicene council in *Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiquissima* i pp. 36, 37 I printed Osius in the text of each of the five groups, and among all the MSS there used I have only recorded one instance of Hosius.[1] And just as Osius becomes more common, as we get further back, than Hosius, so in the same way there is evidence, as we get further still, pointing behind Osius to Ossius. In the fourth and fifth columns of my Nicene lists, I ought certainly to have printed Ossius, following in the one case the original hand of the oldest MS, and in the other the reading of the oldest and original reading of the next oldest MS. For the canons of Sardica the two MSS which give the purest and least adulterated text are Vat. Reg. 1997 (I) and the small collection prefixed to the main body of canonical matter in Monac. 6243 (F_2): the original hand of the former has Ossius quite regularly, in the latter it varies with the curious alternative Dyssius, for which I have no explanation to offer. On the strength of their authority I had begun to print Ossius in the text of the canons before I lighted upon the other evidence which seems to me to demonstrate that it and nothing else was the original form of the name.

For (1) in St Hilary of Poitiers 'Ossius' is the true form. Maffei, although in the *de synodis* and the *contra Constantium* he prints Osius

[1] Paris 12097, saec. vi, from Corbie (C). Possibly Hosius was a Gallic variant: in the canons of Sardica I find that no Italian MS uses the aspirate; two early MSS from Gaul, Toulouse 364, saec. vii, from Albi (T) and Cologne ccxii, saec. vi–vii, from Provence (K), vary between Hosius and Osius, Husius and Usius, while three eighth-century transalpine MSS, Brussels 2493 (*bb*), Munich 6243 (*F*), Berlin Phillipps lat. 84 (R), give Hosius only.

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in the text (e.g. *de syn.* 3, 11, 63, 87: *contra Const.* 23), yet reveals in a note that the older MSS were faithful throughout to the form Ossius: ii 460 c 'in antiquis libris Osi inomen cum duplici ss constanter pingitur, puta Ossii'. In the *fragmenta ex opere historico* he regularly gives Ossius in the text.

(2) In the *libellus de confessione verae fidei* which the Roman presbyters Marcellinus and Faustinus presented to the emperor Theodosius about the year 383, the editor of the Collectio Avellana, vol. xxxv of the Vienna Corpus p. 15 l. 1, notes of the unique MS of the collection 'Ossius V, et sic semper per duplicem s'.

(3) Of St Augustine's treatise *contra epistulam Parmeniani* we have now Petschenig's edition in vol. li of the Vienna Corpus: and on the authority of the best MS—Casinensis 163, saec. xi, 'ex archetypo saeculi sexti uel septimi diligenter descriptum'[1]—'Ossius' is regularly printed in the text (26. 9, 17; 29. 5; 33. 19, 21).

(4) In Isidore of Seville's supplement to the *de viris illustribus* of Jerome-Gennadius Arevalo's edition gives, it is true, Osius; but a Hereford Cathedral MS of the tenth century, O 3. 2, spells it Ossius, and so do two twelfth-century MSS in the Bodleian, Bodl. 391 from St Augustine's Canterbury, and Bodl. e Mus. 31 from Bury St Edmunds. But I imagine that these three MSS are not independent of one another.

Perhaps it is worth adding that place-names beginning with Oss- are not quite uncommon in the Spanish provinces: the *Corpus Inscriptionum* gives Ossonoba, Osset, and Ossigi.

C. H. TURNER.

FURTHER NOTES ON THE FLEURY PALIMPSEST (*h*).

THE publication of H. von Soden's *Das lateinische Neue Testament in Afrika zur Zeit Cyprians* (Leipzig 1909) has led me to another revision of the text of the Fleury Palimpsest. Von Soden has published a study of the text of *h* for which all students of the New Testament will be grateful, and I have followed his reduction of the text to its corrected form with the greatest interest.

He has left little for any future pen to add, but nevertheless in a few

[1] I should like, in passing, to call attention to its orthography of the name Ezechiel, which is invariably written Iezech-, while in two cases out of five the accusative is Iezechielum: see *J. T. S.* ix (Oct. 1907) pp. 62 ff.

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readings and restorations I am not in full agreement with his conclusions; and there are also a few typographical errors (inevitable in a first edition) which I have noted.

To begin with the Acts, v. 36 *nomen* is, I agree, not a blunder and is rightly edited intact; vi. 10 *spūi sc̄o quo loquaebatur et quod reuincebantur ab eo* is the MS text: *et quod* von Soden corrects into *eo quod*; but I am convinced it should be *et quo*: *quod audito* is found in *b* and *ff* for *quo audito*, and in all fifth-century N.T. MSS the ablative and accusative cases are frequently confused; vi 12, 13 *populu]m* is too long and should be *plebe]m*, and *deficit* is too short and should be *quiescit* (*gig.* xx 1 also translates παύομαι by *quiesco*); ix 8 *nihil uidens* is the true text; ix 11 *in uicum [qui uoca]tur* or *in uicum [ut uoca]tur* is the reading of *h*, and I see no need to add *rectus*, which is another such addition as *titus* before *iustus* in xviii 6; xiv 9 *nostri dn̄i fili d̄i* of the MS appears as *domini nostri* with the last two words omitted; in the next verse von Soden is, I believe, right in restoring *similauerunt*; xiv 13 *accurentes* is a misprint for *accurrentes*; xiv 16 *dimisi omni gentis* is corrected into *dimisit omni genti*: *dimisit omnes gentes* I should give, especially since *omni* is found elsewhere (1 St John ii 23) for *omnis*; xiv 22 the second *in* is not in the MS.

In xiv 20 the text is *cum disce]ssisset populus uespere leuauit se* and von Soden edits *cum surre]ssisset paulus uespere leuauit se*. It is true that *populus* is found for *paulus* in *vv.* 8 and 9, but the context here gives no just reason for suspecting a blunder. The double *s* forbids Berger's restoration *surrexisset*, but allows either *discessisset* or *recessisset*, one of which I am convinced was the original reading. In xviii 8 *quando* appears in the text (not in the notes) instead of *quomodo* (for *quomodo* in *h vide* v 24, 26); xxvi 22 *d[icens eis* should be *d[icens quā*; *lux annuntiabit plebi* is changed by von Soden to *lucem ann. plebi* without any sufficient reason since *annuntio* (*nuntio*) is used intransitively in the MS with a dative of the person evangelized (*cf.* xiv 14, 21); xxvii 5 [*diebus duodecim*] should be [*diebus*] *quindecim*, XU being misread as xii by the editor; xxvii 8 *uenimus* should be *deuenimus*; and in the next verse *plures* is the reading of *h**, not *paucos*, as Mr Valentine Richards first pointed out to me before 1907.

In the Catholic Epistles 1 St Pet. v 7, 8 *de uobis sobrii estote uigilate autem* is the reading of *h**: von Soden edits *de uobis. Sobrii estote uigilate* &c., and omits *autem*: I would edit, *de uobis sobrii estote. Uigilate autem*, &c. In v 12 *haec* surely is a blunder of the scribe for *hanc* which should be edited: 2 St Pet. i 3 *et [per haec effic]imini* is corrected (wrongly I believe) into *ut [per haec effic]iamini*. In the preceding verse the comma after *donantur* should be deleted. In i 4 *effugientes* is the

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reading of the MS, not *et fugientes*; i 8 *cognitio]nem* should be *recognitio]nem*, as in *vv.* 2 and 3; i 19 *firmiorrem* is a misprint for *firmiorem*; ii 6 *ut* is misprinted for *et* and *impie* for *inpie*.

In 1 St John ii 11 the note should be *obscaecauerunt h**; *v.* 13 delete comma after *cognouistis*; *v.* 17 *mundus* should be *et mundus* (*saeculum h*); *v.* 20 I would now edit thus: *nobiscum, sed ut praesto . . . omnes ex nobis et uos . . . sancto. Scitis quoniam*, &c.; *v.* 28 the MS clearly connects *in praesentia* with the text which follows it, and I see no reason for going against the MS and connecting it with the preceding text.

In iii 3 I would punctuate *hanc in eo*, not *hanc, in eo*; in *v.* 10 (note) *facit iniustitiam* should be *non facit iustitiam*. In iii 14 *transiuimus* should be edited: *h** has *-bimus*, *h*[a] *-uimus*. In iii 16 *de fratribus* is rightly, I believe, edited without comment: I was once inclined to think *de* an error for *pro*, but *de* in *h* is used elsewhere with the meaning of *propter* or *per*, viz. in Apoc. ix 2 *de fumo* and xv 8 *de claritate dei*.

In the Apocalypse: i 4 *uenturus* [*et a sep*]*tem* is what I now believe *h* wrote and not *uenturus* [*est et sep*]*tem* as von Soden edits (for omission of *est* cf. 1 St John i 9); in the same verse *et quae* is corrected to *qui*, but why not to *et qui* (= *etiam qui*)?; in the same verse *eclesiis* is a misprint for *ecclesiis*; *v.* 9 von Soden's punctuation *patientia, in xp̄o iħu fui* I now think is right and *patientia in xp̄o iħu, fui* wrong; ii 1 *angelo* should be *et angelo*; viii 12 *obscu]raretur* is what the MS undoubtedly read here and not *tenebri]caretur*, nor *teneb]raretur* as I once believed—the letters *raretur* are clear: *tenebricauit* was read in ix 2 and von Soden rightly edits it in place of *tenebrauit* which I gave at first after Berger (cf. *b* St Mark xiii 24); *v.* 13 *in]habitantibus* was, I now believe, the reading of *h*, not *habitantibus*; ix 5 *cruciarent[ur* should be *cruciarent* [*eos*; xi 16 *sedent* not *sedebant* is the real text of *h*; *profetis* should be *et profetis*; xii 4 *draco* should be *ipse draco*; *v.* 10 *đi nostri đi* [*die e*]*t nocte* = *h*; von Soden rejects the second *đi* as a blunder: I do not think he is right in doing this; xv 2 *citharas* should have a comma, not a full stop; *v.* 8 *intrare*, not *intrare in*, is the reading of *h* (cf. Acts xiv 22); xvi 2 von Soden supplies *et* before *in simulacrum* rightly I think: *in sim.* = *ad sim.* (or *ante sim.*).

The following are a few additional notes: Acts iii 16 I would edit *super fidelitatem* (so in vii 58 *extra ciuitatem*); iv 13 the comma should be before *persuasi*, not after it; iv 15 *ab* has no need of correction to *ad*, notwithstanding the fact that *adduci* just before is, I agree, a miscopying of *abduci*; v 27 [*incipit*] is no improvement on [*incepit*]; vii 60 *neci stephani* may, or may not, be a blunder for *necis stephani*; ix 4 *h*[b] expunctuated *pauore* and substituted (not added) *terram*; ix 5 I cannot understand why *nazarenus* should be accepted here and *nazaraeus*

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thrust into its stead in iii 6 and iv 10; xviii 6 there should be a colon after *ego*, and in *v.* 9 a comma after *loquere*; xxiii 15 *ad* is corrected to *et*, but more probably it stands for *adq.* or *ac*; xxvi 29 a comma is wanting after *sum*. In 1 St John ii 11 I have recently discovered *h** wrote *am*[*bulat*, not *ea*[*t*; in *v.* 14 *ag*[*nouistis*, not *co*[*nouistis*; in *v.* 19 *palam*, not *praesto*; and in iii 2 *ignorat*, not *egnorat*. In Apocalypse ix 1 I would punctuate after *fornace* with a full stop, since *qui* which follows must refer to *angelus*.

The brackets employed for restoring clipped away letters might with advantage have been omitted in many places where the Editor has inserted them, viz. 2 St Peter i 5 *subminis*[*trate in*] *fide*, *v.* 7 [*amorem*], *v.* 11 *int*[*roitus in*]; Acts xviii 12 [*cum*] *esset*, *v.* 17 [*se non*] *uidere*; Apocalypse xii 13 [*perse*]*cutus* and *perper*[*erat*]. In these and not a few other instances the reading is by context and by space and by surviving letters nowise doubtful.

In conclusion I would take this opportunity to add two new restitutions to the text of *h* in Acts xviii 2, [*iudea pris*]*cilla* and *claud*[*ius caesar*. Also from my recent rescript of the Old-Latin Version of the Catholic Epistles from the Perpignan MS (*p*), which I hope to publish in the next number of the *Journal of Theological Studies*, I would supply from *p* in 2 St Peter i 8 *cum* which has fallen out of the MS after *uobis* (von Soden has already proposed *si*), and in *v.* 17 I would with *p* now edit [*accepit eni*$^{-}$] for [*accipiens*].

In the *Journal of Theological Studies* for July 1910 Dr Alexander Souter suggests that in Acts xxvi 22 *co*[*nsecutus* should be read in *h* for *co*[*nfisus*. The space at the end of a line cannot determine absolutely the number of letters clipped away, and, therefore, though *consecutus* seems a little too long, no argument can be final on merely space considerations. But *gig* has *usus* which looks like a miscopying of *fisus*, and *confisus* I think is more Pauline in thought than *consecutus*. In 2 Cor. ii 4 St Paul joins *confidentiam* and ability to stand. In spite of my learned friend's advocacy of *consecutus*, my own vote is still for *confisus*.

E. S. BUCHANAN.

IRISH PSALTERS.

THE glossed Coupar-Angus Psalter (MS Vatic. Palat. lat. 65), of which I have recently given a short description, prefixed to 'Specimen pages of two manuscripts of the Abbey of Coupar-Angus in Scotland' (*Codices e Vaticanis selecti phototypice expressi*, &c. Series minor. Vol. ii. Roma

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1910), seemed to demand in addition not only a full list of its contractions (see *Keltische Zeitschrift für Philologie* viii pp. 246–257) but a short note as to its liturgical evidence.

In this Psalter of insular script, which was copied at the end of the twelfth or even the beginning of the thirteenth century and was in the possession of the Coupar-Angus house in the thirteenth, there are inserted, after Psalms l, c, and cl, the seven Old Testament Canticles which the Roman Breviary assigns for use at Lauds from Sunday until Saturday, and four prayers; the arrangement, however, is not consistent, for whilst the Canticles precede the Prayers after Psalms c and cl, the Prayer comes first after Psalm l; the sequence is:

After Ps. l.	Prayer i	Deus altissime.
	Canticle i	Benedicite omnia opera.
	„ ii	Confitebor tibi domine.
	„ iii	Ego dixi in dimidio (the end is missing as a leaf has been cut out).
After Ps. c.	Canticle iv	Exultavit cor.
	„ v	Cantemus domino.
	„ vi	Domine audivi.
	Prayer ii	(inserted by a later hand) Deus quem exercitus.
After Ps. cl.	Canticle vii	Audite celi.
	Prayers	(by the later hand)
	iii	Te dominum de celis.
	iv	Deus qui exeunti.

This, however, can scarcely represent the use of a Cistercian house at the time when the MS was written; it is more probably a copy, more or less accurate, of the exemplar which, in this instance, to judge by some palaeographical marks, was probably the product of some North English scriptorium in the eighth century.

It would have been interesting to trace the gradual developement of the Psalter by the addition of canticles and prayers, the former of which go back to Esdras, who is said to have collected the Biblical Canticles and added them to the book of Psalms; the latter to the Eastern usage, which is as early as the fourth century, of saying a collect instead of *Gloria patri* at the end of each psalm; and it would have been easy to draw up an eight or ninefold division of psalters, whether copied for public or for private use, founded on the insertion of collects or canticles or both, and their position after each psalm, after Psalm cl or at the end of each third of the Psalter. This might, however, trench on the domain of an English liturgiologist who is treating this subject, and

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the present enquiry is confined to the last subdivision, viz. canticles and prayers inserted after Psalms l, c, and cl.

All known Psalters in insular script which contain anything more than the 150 Psalms and were written in Ireland or Scotland[1] are arranged in this way[2]; and in this respect they bear out the tradition that St Patrick and the early Irish monks recited every day the whole psalter in three divisions.[3] It would not be fair to pass over Mr F. E. Warren's expressed doubt (*loc. cit.*) as to whether these canticles and prayers were added to mark the break into three books and without any special liturgical significance; but it seems more reasonable to accept the traditional use until it can be disproved on historical evidence. At any rate we can compare the extant manuscripts; and, not contenting ourselves with a general statement as to their contents,[4] we are able to reconstruct exactly the arrangement which is common to them all. The MS sources are:

a. **B. M. Cotton. Vitellius F. XI,** of the end of the ninth century, is much damaged by fire; the leaf containing Canticle ii is bound in wrong order, and another one is missing after Ps. l 12, after which follow Canticles ii and iii; Prayer ii and Canticles iv–vi follow after Ps. c. The MS now ends with Ps. cxlv 7.

b. **St John's College, Cambridge, C. 9,** the 'Southampton Psalter', written about A. D. 1000.

After Ps. l Prayer i; Canticles i–iii.
„ „ c „ ii; „ iv–vi.
„ „ cl „ iii; Canticle vii.

c. **B. M. Reg. Galba A.V.,** of the eleventh century, said to have contained the words 'Liber Oswini Regis', probably a copy of a Psalter written at the end of the seventh century. There is a lacuna between Pss. xlix and li.

After Ps. c, Canticles v, vi, ii. The end of the MS is defective; the penultimate leaf extends as far as Ps. cxlviii 4; part of a prayer is visible on the last leaf.

d. **B. M. Add. MS. 36929.** Saec. 13.

After Ps. l; Canticles i–iii.
„ „ c; „ iv–vi.
„ „ cl; Prayer iii, Canticle vii.

[1] The four Irish Psalters at St Gall have the Canticles at the end of the Psalter.

[2] F. E. Warren *The Bangor Antiphoner* ii p. x.

[3] Thomasii *Opp. omnia* ed. Vezzosi II (Romae 1747) ad. Lectorem 1*a* and 2.

[4] Neither the description of the Southampton Psalter in the two volumes of the Irish *Liber Hymnorum* (H. B. S.), nor that of B. M. Add. MS. 36929 in the 1907 Catalogue of Additions to the MSS, gives a complete account of the Prayers and Canticles.

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e. **Vatic. Palat. lat. 65.** See above.

f. **Ambros. C. 5 inf.** The Bangor Antiphoner, saec. vii ex., not being a Psalter, the exact position and relation of its contents is uncertain; but Prayers i–iii are each appointed as a 'Collectio post Laudate dominum de caelis', i. e. Pss. cxlviii–cl and Prayer iv as the first 'Collectio post Cantemus', i. e. Canticle v.

The text of the Canticles, which, with a few variations, is that of the Vulgate, is not here in question.

The four prayers appear in the Vatican MS as

I.

Deus altissime rex angelorum.
deus laus omnium elimentorum.
deus gloria[1] & exultatio sanctorum
custodi animas seruorum tuorum
qui regnas in secula seculorum.[2]

[The above arrangement of this and the following prayer, which does not appear in the MS, is given for the sake of the rhyme.]

In *b* and *f* [1] *gloriae f* [2] wanting in *f*, *b* adds *Amen.*

II. (*By later hand.*)

Deus quem exercitus canit[1] celorum[2]
quemque ecclesia[3] laudat[4] sanctorum
quem spiritus ministrat[5] uniuersorum
miserere obsecro [6] omnium nostrorum[7]
qui regnas in secula seculorum. Amen.

In *a*, *b*, *f* [1] *canet b* [2] *angelorum b* [3] aecclesiae *b* [4] laudet *b* [5] *ymnizat a*, *ymminizat b* [6–7] *servorum tuorum f.*

III. (*By later hand.*) Te dominum de celis laudamus tibi ut canticum nouum cantare mereamur. Te dominum in sanctis tuis uenerabiliter deprecamur ut omnia uota nostra suscipias[1] peccata dimittas Christe[2] saluator mundi qui regnas in secula seculorum. Amen.

In *b*, *d*, *f*

b has the first five words and then continues:

teque omnium regem regum rogamus
tibi uni et trino in quem speramus
cum excelsis angelis imnum canimus
per dominum nostrum et reliqua.

[1] *suscipiet d* [2] wanting in *f.*

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IV. (*By later hand.*) Deus qui exeunti ex egipto populo tuo maria diuisisti & suspensis utrinque marginibus in specie muri eregi[1] fluenta[2] iussisti, animas quoque nostras a diluuio peccatorum liberare digneris ut transire viciorum gurgitem [ualeamus][3] hoste contempto saluator mundi, qui [4]regnas[4] in s[ecula] s[eculorum]. Amen.

In *f* [1] *erigi f* [2] *fluentia f* [3] *ualeamus* [4–4] *cum eterno patre uiuis dominaris ac regnas cum spiritu sancto f.*

We are thus able to reconstitute the typical and, perhaps, primitive Irish psalter as providing one prayer and a canticle or canticles at the end of each of the three books of the Psalter, thus:

After Ps. 1 Prayer i; Canticles i–iii.
„ „ c „ ii; „ iv–vi.
„ „ cl „ iii; Canticle vii.

The only exceptions to the above order are that *c* has the Canticles in different order; and that, the original scribe of *e* having omitted to copy in their proper places Prayers ii and iii, a corrector has inserted them in vacant spaces after the canticle which they should have preceded; and in order to fill up the last page of the MS has inserted Prayer iv which is only found in Irish MSS.

H. M. BANNISTER.

THE SEVEN LETTERS AND THE REST OF THE APOCALYPSE.

IN his important work on the *Letters to the Seven Churches*, for which so many readers feel themselves his debtors, Sir W. Ramsay somewhat provokingly puts forward the theory (c. iv, &c.), that the Letters themselves have no organic connexion with the main portion of the Apocalypse which, he considers, 'is complete without them'. He looks upon them as forming a mere episode, attached loosely to a work of diverse character, as a kind of homiletic addition, the idea of which only occurred as an afterthought to the Sacred Writer during the process of penning the Apocalypse proper. Accordingly, though they are, as a matter of fact, found at the beginning of the book, he holds that there is no reason why they should have been given that position rather than any other, except perhaps for convenience' sake. The link of connexion, therefore, with the rest of the book is, in his view, but a slender, a mere formal one, an artificial bridge to unite the two—

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'He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith to the Churches.'

I venture to submit that this bold theory is a mistaken one; that in the mind of the Sacred Writer, the connexion between the two portions of the book is really organic, that the introductory part cannot be dispensed with and is in its right place; that the true link of connexion in fact is to be sought in what is the very object and aim of the book. Is that object and aim so difficult to ascertain? or is it patent to one who looks at any rate below the surface? It is no doubt true that in the Apocalyptic portion, the abundance of pictorial imagery, like the smoke that veils the general issue to an onlooker on a field of battle, may to some extent obscure the main object of the book, but surely only to a superficial reader. The real purport discloses itself from time to time with vivid, unmistakeable clearness and force. Curiously enough, Sir W. Ramsay himself in one place indicates the very life-breath of the purpose which animates both the Letters and the Sequel, when he describes the book as a 'vision of trial and triumph' (p. 37), while urging also—what in this connexion is much to the point—that the Seven Churches, in spite of their individual characteristics, are nevertheless regarded by the Sacred Writer as ideally representing the whole Catholic Church; so much so that the Letters were not to be sent separately to the several Churches, but collectively to all. The Churches are lost sight of in the Church. And what in the Apostle's mind is the Church but the Agent and Witness for Christ? 'The trial and the triumph'—of whom are they predicated but of the Church? The trial—was it not the trial of the Church, God's instrument in effecting the triumph? The triumph—by whom is it to be achieved but by the Church? only, of course, through living union with its unseen Head; but still by it. And it is then this victory of the Church that is foreshadowed in, and forms the subject of, the whole book. This is saliently brought out in one passage that may be mentioned (of course apparent in others also): viz. c. xvii 14 'The Lamb shall overcome . . . and they that are with him, called and chosen and faithful'. (If any word should be supplied, it should be, as Alf., *shall overcome*. The Lamb, and they that are with him, called, &c., shall overcome. Other supplements, whether of A.V. or of R.V., are unwarranted and injurious.) The vital connexion between the two portions of the book is thus made apparent. Christ's victory is to be achieved through His Church. But if so, then the Church must be 'faithful', must be purged from un-Christlikeness: else it will not be a fit instrument for the functions assigned to it. Hence, before the conflict is brought on the scene, the preparation of the Instrument by the warnings of the Seven Letters, addressed to the Ideal Church.

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I suggest that the Book of the Revelation is in fact a missionary book; the counterpart from an ideal standpoint of the historic matter-of-fact record of the Acts of the Apostles. Both are descriptive of the conflict between Church and World, of 'the trial and the triumph'; the one in narrative of fact; the other in 'vision', the meaning wrapt up always in it, even where what is historical underlies, in the ideal and figurative.

Both books, it may be observed, start from the Ascension; the one, however, narrating the actual event, the other portraying an august ideal picture of the Ascended Lord. Both in the forefront make the purified Church to stand forth as the divinely selected Instrument; the one by the narrative of the event of Pentecost mainly, supplemented in other ways; the other by the figures of the seven lamps or of the seven stars in the hand of Christ; both go on to exhibit the conflict between Church and world; the one in fact of history; the other in figure and ideally. Both also lead up to a certain fulfilment, a stage, but only a stage, of victory. The end of the Acts leaves us with a world-wide spread of the Gospel; the field of the world (then known) occupied, but the obedience to the faith only partial. So the Apocalypse, whilst in idea it overleaps all obstacles and already embraces the end, yet after all exhibits an incomplete issue. It shews a Church established in the world, but the nations (the nations, not, of course, as in A.V., 'of them that are saved') still in need of the healing that comes from the Church, still outside. But it is ever the Church that is the means of making the truth to conquer; the triumph, partial or final, is attained through its trial; through the 'faith and patience of the saints'.

The Book of the Revelation thus regarded is seen to be one coherent whole, and the Letters an essential part of it, occupying their right place, the only suitable one for them.

C. H. Parez.

THE GREEK VERSION OF ISAIAH: IS IT THE WORK OF A SINGLE TRANSLATOR?

In his valuable contributions to this Journal,[1] Mr St John Thackeray has adduced weighty reasons to shew that 'the task of translating the books of Jeremiah and Ezekiel into Greek was in each case divided between two translators'. He finds no evidence that a similar division

[1] Vol. iv 245 ff, 398 ff, 578 ff; cp. also x 301 ff and see now *Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek* i 10 ff.

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of labour was employed in translating Isaiah: on the contrary he has drawn attention to some striking features that are common to many sections of the book, and concludes that 'the translator of the first chapter is also responsible for the last, and throughout all the intermediate portions, notwithstanding varieties of style in the original, there are connecting links of style in the Greek, producing the impression of unity of workmanship'.

Now it is well known that according to certain theories some parts of the book of Isaiah were not *written* till late in the second century B.C.; Duhm, for example, attributes the composition of cc. 24–27 to the year 128 B.C. It is obvious that the evidence of the Greek version, if it is clear and cogent, must have a very important bearing on such theories. *If* the entire version is the work of a single hand and *if* the translation was made early in the second century or even in the third[1] such theories cease at once to be tenable. I am not convinced that the version is necessarily quite so early as Mr Thackeray maintains, though it would seem to me hazardous to place it as late as 128 B.C.: but if the book was translated before 128, either cc. 24–27 were written before that date, or having been written in that year they were subsequently translated and incorporated with the previously existing translation of the rest of the book. The latter alternative may not appear very probable, but it is not impossible; only, if it were true, differences of translation should distinguish cc. 24–27 from the rest of the book, and so with any other sections which may have been written late in the first century B.C.

With these possibilities before me I have, while working at Isaiah for several years past, followed up from time to time what seemed possible clues to difference of translators, with the result that I find no evidence that cc. 24–27 or c. 33 or cc. 34–35 were translated by other hands than that which translated the rest of cc. 1–39.

On the other hand, more or less accidentally in the first instance, I discovered certain differences between cc. 1–39 and cc. 40–66, and these it is my purpose now to record. At the same time I must disclaim any intention of finally deciding the question of the unity or diversity of the version. It will be admitted that in cases of this kind differences are in general more significant than resemblances; but the marks of unity have very probably not yet been fully presented and the differences may be capable of more than one explanation.

Before proceeding to the differences I will briefly recall certain common features claimed for the entire work. In respect of style, Mr Thackeray groups Isaiah with the Pentateuch and parts of Joshua translated in the third century B.C. and with 1 Maccabees translated in the first century B.C. as translations in 'good κοινή Greek'.[1] Though

[1] Thackeray in *J. T. S.* x 303. [2] *Grammar* p. 13.

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a better stylist, it is claimed that the translator of Isaiah was less competent in rendering his original than the translators of Jeremiah[1]; the degree of justice with which this charge may be made will only be satisfactorily determined if a more thorough investigation can determine the state of the Hebrew text which the translator was called upon to render. A further common characteristic noted by Mr Thackeray is 'a strong resemblance between the vocabulary of the Greek Isaiah and that of the Hexateuch'.[2]

In addition to these general characteristics of the entire version, Mr Thackeray draws attention to certain specific peculiarities that recur throughout the version or parts of it. Of these the most significant is the transliteration of צבאות in יהוה צבאות and similar phrases; except in Isaiah, 1 Kings (four times) and some half dozen times sporadically elsewhere, צבאות is never transliterated in the Old Testament. The occurrences of *σαβαώθ* in Isaiah are as follows:—

In cc. 1–23	there are	40	occurrences.
24–27	„	1	„
28–31	„	6	„
32–35	„	0	„
36–39	„	3	„
40–55	„	7	„
56–66	„	0	„

The absence of *σαβαώθ* in cc. 32–35 and 56–66 is due to the absence of צבאות in these chapters of the original.

The free insertion of *καί, δέ, γάρ*, where there is no corresponding word in the Hebrew, doubtless occurs throughout the book: but other characteristics cited by Mr Thackeray occur in cc. 1–39 only: thus the four occurrences of the 'characteristic phrase' *μικρὸς καὶ μέγας* are in ix 14 (13); xxii 5, xxxiii 4, 19.

Another characteristic phrase noted by Mr Thackeray is *εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα χρόνον*. He observes that this occurs in Exod. xiv 13 and seven times in Isaiah. The following further facts may help to determine more precisely the significance of the usage in Isaiah. The phrase also occurs in Bar. iii 32 (cp. also *τὸν αἰῶνα χρόνον* in v. 13 A Q Γ) and Judith xv 10; these are, I believe, the only occurrences outside Isaiah and Exodus; but cp. *εἰς τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον* in 3 Macc. iii 29 and *εἰς τοὺς ἀεὶ χρόνους* 3 Macc. vii 23. The occurrences of the phrase in Isaiah are in ix 7 (6) A Q (not ℵ B), xiii 20, xiv 20, xviii 7, xxxiii 20, xxxiv 10, 17; this phrase, then, so infrequent elsewhere, occurs several times in Isa. cc. 1–39 (34); it *never* occurs in cc. 40–66, *although there was ample oppor-*

[1] *J. T. S.* iv 583. [2] *J. T. S.* x 302; cp. iv 583.

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tunity for its use, and εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, a less frequent variation of εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα χρόνον in cc. 1–39, does actually occur frequently in cc. 40–66; another variation is ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος. I tabulate the occurrences of all three :—

	cc. 1–39	cc. 40–66
εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα χρόνον	7	0
εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα	4	9
ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος	3	1

Moreover τὸν αἰῶνα occurs once in each part, but whereas in xxv 2 (pr. εἰς א$^{c.a}$) it is yet another variant rendering of לעולם, in lvii 15 it renders עד, treated probably by the translator as an objective acc. after שכן.

I turn now to characteristics not discussed by Mr Thackeray.

For obvious reasons it is less easy to obtain clear evidence either of identity or of difference in the version of Isaiah than in Jeremiah and Ezekiel: the same style and the same recurrent expressions are found throughout the Hebrew text of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, whereas, as is well known, there is a most marked difference between the Hebrew style of Isa. 40–66 and the greater part of 1–39. For good tests of consistent or inconsistent renderings we are therefore reduced to one or two expressions common to all prophetic literature, and the one striking instance of an expression common to both parts of Isaiah. I take the latter first.

1. The phrase קדש ישראל is rendered in three ways :—

(*a*) ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ Ἰσραήλ.

(*b*) ὁ ἅγιος Ἰσραήλ.

(*c*) ἅγιος Ἰσραήλ.

Observe also

(*d*) (α) τὸ λόγιον τοῦ Ἰσραήλ in xxx 11.

(β) τοῖς ἁγίοις Ἰσραήλ in xli 16.

In xxix 19, xli 14, the phrase in Hebrew was passed over by the translators, or treated in a way useless for the present discussion. Another passage, liv 5, is discussed in 2 below.

There is unquestionably a strong preference in cc. 1–39 for (*a*) to the almost complete exclusion of (*b*) and (*c*), and on the contrary in cc. 40–66 there is a strong preference for (*b*) or (*c*). The use and omission of the article in (*d*) harmonizes with this difference.

In view of the numerous textual variants in the MSS of the Greek version, any tabular statement would be misleading; I therefore give the references to the Vatican MS as printed by Swete, noting the variations given in his apparatus.

(*a*) ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ Ἰσραήλ occurs as follows :—

i 4 (om. του, א*), x 20, xii 6, xvii 7, xxx 12, 15 (in ver. 15 om. του A O), xxxi 1, xxxvii 23.

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xli 20 (om. τοu, Γ), lx 9 ('improb. τοu א? (postea revoc)).'

(*b*) ὁ ἅγιος Ἰσραήλ occurs in

v 19 (om. Ἰσρ., A), v 24 (om. ἅγ., A). Observe also τὸν ἅγιον Ἰακώβ = קדוש יעקב in xxix 23.

xliii 3, 14; xlv 11, xlix 7 (pr. τοu, Q), lv 5.

(*c*) ἅγιος Ἰσραήλ occurs in

xlvii 4, xlviii 17 (pr. ο א A^a Q) lx 14.

The chief point to be noted is the marked contrast between cc. 1–39 and 40–66 in the use of the article: in cc. 1–39 τοῦ is prefixed to Israel eight times (two textually uncertain), omitted twice (both omissions open to some slight textual uncertainty); in 40–66 it is prefixed only in two places (both open to slight textual uncertainty), omitted in eight (one textually uncertain).

2. The difference between the two parts of the Greek version in the preference for the use or omission of the article extends beyond the phrase just discussed. I note

(1) The different forms of a similar phrase which generally renders אלהי ישראל, but in lv 5 קדוש ישראל.

(*a*) ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ

xxi 10, xxix 23 (om. τοu א*), xxx 29 (om. τοu, Γ), xlv 15.

(*b*) ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραήλ

xvii 6, xxi 17, xxxvii 16 (om. ο א*), 21.

xli 17 (ὁ ἅγιος Ἰσ. Q), xlviii 2 (pr. τοu א A Q).

(*c*) θεὸς Ἰσραήλ

xlv 3, xlviii 1, xlix 7 (pr. ο א*), lii 12 (pr. κς ο א A Q), liv 5.

Here the double omission of the article is peculiar to cc. 40–66; the double use of it occurs in but one passage in that part of the book; but the genitive article before Ἰσραήλ which is common in cc. 1–39 in the phrase ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ Ἰσ. is in this phrase more frequently absent than present.

(2) Apart from the phrases already noticed there are about fifty-three occurrences of Ἰσραήλ; though there are various readings here too, the relative preference of cc. 1–39 for the article can be represented with substantial accuracy as follows: the number of occurrences are of

	in cc. 1–39	in cc. 40–66.
ὁ Ἰσραήλ	16	27
Ἰσραήλ	6	4

3. The phrase כה אמר is rendered in three ways:—

(*a*) τάδε λέγει.
(*b*) οὕτως εἶπεν.
(*c*) οὕτως λέγει.

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Here there is much less uncertainty due to various readings: nevertheless in xxx 12 B has phrase *a*, א[a, b] A Q phrase *c*. In order not to enhance the difference between the two parts I adopt the latter reading in tabulating the usage

	in cc. 1–39	cc. 40–66
a	occurs 12 times	6 times
b	„ 4 „	0 „
c	„ 5 „	23 „

Note also οὕτως ἐρεῖτε = כה תאמרון in xxxvii 6.

Here the first point to note is that whereas in cc. 1–39 כה is rendered more frequently by τάδε than by οὕτως, in cc. 40–66 οὕτως is all but four times as frequent as τάδε; and next that *b* never occurs in cc. 40–66.

Next the distribution within the two main sections may be noted: of the twelve occurrences of *a* in cc. 1–39, eight are in cc. 36–39, and of the six in cc. 40–66, five are in cc. 56–66. If we separate cc. 36–39, then the case stands thus: each of the three phrases occurs an equal number of times (four) in cc. 1–35, but in cc. 40–66 *b* does not occur at all, and *c* is four times as frequent as *a*.

In cc. 40–55 *a* occurs once (lii 3), *c* occurs twenty-one times.

The significance of these facts is rather increased when they are considered in connexion with

4. The renderings of נאם. These are

(*a*) τάδε λέγει.
(*b*) λέγει.
(*c*) εἶπεν.

Here the difference between cc. 1–39 and cc. 40–66 is very striking: *a* is the regular rendering in the former, *b* in the latter; of *c* there are only two well-attested readings, lvi 8, lxvi 17; it is also read by א* in lxvi 22 and in Q[mg] in lix 20 where other MSS do not render the phrase at all. It is worth questioning whether even in lvi 8, lxvi 17, εἶπεν may not be due to contamination of the Greek text.

There is only one other matter of text that need be noticed: in xxx 1, B reads λέγει, but א A Q Γ τάδε λέγει: the latter reading may be reasonably adopted, and in lxvi 22 I retain λέγει against the εἶπεν of א*. The usage of *a*, *b* (*c* may be neglected) can now be tabulated: the occurrences are

	cc. 1–39	cc. 40–66
(*a*) τάδε λέγει	11	2
(*b*) λέγει	1	7

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The two occurrences of *a* in 40–66 are in a single verse—lii 5; the single occurrence of *a* in cc. 1–39 is in xiv 22, where *b* also occurs. There was not improbably another occurrence of *b* in the original text of xliii 12; cp. the Hebrew with the Greek variants.

5. The synonyms *ἔναντι, ἐναντίον, ἐνώπιον.*

Here the main fact is that cc. 1–39 shew a marked preference for *ἐνώπιον*, cc. 40–66 a still more marked preference for *ἐναντίον*. In detail: *ἐναντίον* occurs but once (xxxvii 14) in cc. 1–39, *ἔναντι* thrice[1]—twice in a single verse—xxiii 18 (A* omits one occurrence) and in viii 4. The form *ἔναντι never* occurs in cc. 40–66, except in two readings (xlix 4, 5), peculiar (in Swete's apparatus) to ℵ; on the other hand *ἐναντίον* occurs in cc. 40–66 twelve times, or, if ℵ* should preserve the original text in xlviii 19, lxv 6, fourteen times. Ἐνώπιον occurs seven times in cc. 1–39, six times, or, adopting the readings of ℵ* just referred to, only four times, in cc. 40–66.

Ἐνώπιον is nearly twice as frequent as *ἐναντίον* and *ἔναντι* together in cc. 1–39, it is but half, or perhaps less than a third, as frequent as *ἐναντίον* in cc. 40–66 (where *ἔναντι* does not occur).

6. I now tabulate the usage of certain particles that occur exclusively or almost exclusively in cc. 1–39. The numbers in brackets give the number of cases marked as uncertain in Hatch and Redpath.

	cc. 1–39	cc. 40–66
πάλιν	7	0
δή	7 (1)	1 (1)[2]
διότι	22 (7)	1 (1)
τοίνυν	4	0

On *διότι* see Thackeray *Grammar* p. 139, where the use or avoidance of this particle will be seen to distinguish parts of Ezekiel and Jeremiah proceeding from different hands.

7. An otiose use of *ἄνθρωπος* in rendering Hebrew adjectives occurs with some frequency in cc. 1–39 (xxv 3–5 (more than one instance), xxix 11 (cp. xxix 12), xxxi 2, see also viii 2); but never in cc. 40–66. I discuss this usage more fully in a note that will appear in a forthcoming number of the *Zeitschrift für die alttest. Wissenschaft.*

I cannot, for the present at all events, carry this investigation further; but taken in combination the differences to which I have drawn attention may I think be regarded as making a certain prima facie case for the conclusion that the Greek version of Isaiah was not the work of a single hand. Before that conclusion could be safely used a more exhaustive

[1] Note also *κατέναντι* once (xxxviii 20) and *ἀπέναντι* twice (i 16, xvii 13).

[2] I cannot trace this instance: the reference to xlvii 13 in Hatch and Redpath must be a misprint.

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proof would certainly be desirable; but meantime, until the differences have been explained, it would be unwise to base much on the opposite assumption of unity of workmanship throughout the entire translation.

In conclusion I remark that much that suggests the possibility of difference of origin for cc. 1–39 and cc. 40–66, increases at the same time the probability previously established of identity of origin of the various parts of cc. 1–39.

G. BUCHANAN GRAY.

'PER OBSEQUIUM PLEBIS TUAE.'

IN the last volume of the JOURNAL (vol. xi p. 575) Dr Feltoe, rightly as it seems to me, criticizes Dr Gore's rendering of the words 'per obsequium plebis tuae' in the prayer *Sanctificationum omnium auctor* of the *Missale Francorum* and the *Gelasianum*. Dr Feltoe himself finds a difficulty in the phrase, and only reaches the vague conclusion 'that the words mean that the loyal co-operation of the laity is a necessary element in the consecration of the Elements'. But I conceive that the meaning is something much more definite than this. The 'obsequium' of the people is surely their offering of bread and wine—or at least the 'rationabile obsequium' (Rom. xii 1) which is expressed by their 'obsequia'—by which the presbyter is supplied with the matter of the sacrament and is so enabled to consecrate. It would scarcely have occurred to me that the phrase had any other meaning, even if it stood alone and no like use of 'obsequium' could be quoted. The use is not a common one; but in *secretae* of the masses of the *Leonianum* we have 'huius oblationis obsequium' (ed. Feltoe 6); 'obsequia munerum' (*ib.* 54); 'omnium nostrum Domine quaesumus hostias propitius intuere ut et quod actum est per obsequium deputatum et fidelium vota populorum tua potius dignatione firmetur' (*ib.* 130)—in which last perhaps the 'obsequium' is that of the priest in offering the 'vota' of the people. In the *post nomina* of a *missa dominicalis* of the *Missale Gothicum* (Neale and Forbes *Gallican Masses* 146) we have 'suscipe nomine (*leg.* nomini) tuo debita honoris obsequia'; and in the *post nomina* of the Mozarabic mass of St Andrew's day (Migne *P.L.* lxxxv 150) 'offerentium obsequia a te clementer accipiantur'. And the use of 'obsequium' in general relation to the offering is illustrated by the Mozarabic *post nomina* of the third Sunday after Easter (*ib.* 578), 'ut

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sacrificia haec quae tibi ob sacramenta divini corporis offeruntur, tam acceptabilia tibi nostro facias obsequio, quam sunt divino instituta mysterio'.

F. E. BRIGHTMAN.

THE WATERS OF SHILOAH THAT GO SOFTLY: A NOTE ON ISAIAH VIII 6.

WE read in Isaiah viii 6 ff: 'Forasmuch as this people refuseth the waters of Shiloah that go softly, *and rejoice in Rezin and Remaliah's son*; Now therefore, behold, the Lord bringeth up upon them the waters of the river, strong and many, even the king of Assyria, and all his glory: and he shall come up over all his channels, and go over all his banks: and he shall pass through Judah.' The greater part of this is perfectly intelligible; the language of the A. V., which I have quoted, is a little stiff and old-fashioned, but it does not need a learned commentary to discover that the Prophet wishes to tell his countrymen that since they have not learnt their lesson from their recent comparatively light calamities they will be exposed to the immeasurably greater calamity of an Assyrian invasion. The recent calamity had been the invasion of Judah by Israel and Damascus; this Isaiah speaks of as the little stream of Shiloah, perhaps already conducted in an artificial channel; the coming invasion would be like an inundation of a mighty river.[1] But all this does not explain why the people of Judah should *rejoice in* (or *with*) Rezin. A foreign invasion is never pleasant: even Mr Keir Hardie or Mr Redmond would hardly 'rejoice with' the Germans, if they landed in this country. It is evident that something is wrong with the text, or with our interpretation of it.

It has long been noticed that two marginal glosses or foot-notes have been incorporated into the text of Isaiah vii. From the time of Gesenius and Hitzig the words את מלך אשור in vii 17 and במלך אשור in vii 20 have been regarded as 'interpolations'. These words ('even the king of Assyria', 'by the king of Assyria') break the construction and spoil the rhythm, if regarded as part of the actual discourse. 'Interpolation' is, however, rather a hard word for them. They are rather of the nature of explanatory notes which have got incorporated with the text; for aught that appears to the contrary they may have been set down in the margin by Isaiah himself, or whoever first wrote down the discourse. Now in viii 6, 7, we have another pair of notes of the same kind; we

[1] Compare Jeremiah xlvii 2.

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may safely relegate to the margin את רצין ובן רמליהו[1] in verse 6, and also את מלך אשור ואת כל כבודו in verse 7. This leaves in the most difficult word ומשוש, out of which all the ideas of 'rejoicing' come. Let us omit that also for the present, and see how the passage runs without it. We get (modernizing the A. V.):

'Seeing that this people has refused the waters of Shiloah that flow gently . . ., therefore, lo, Adonai will bring upon them the waters of the River mighty and great, and it will rise . . . and sweep onward through Judah.'

This is quite clear and satisfactory. What, then, are we to conclude about the missing word ומשוש? Not, I venture to suggest, that it is not genuine, but that its meaning should be something that does not materially alter the picture we have formed. It may fill up the sense: it must not change it.

Now מְשׂוֹשׂ is usually parsed as the construct state of מָשׂוֹשׂ 'rejoicing', from the root שוש. Why should we not take it as equivalent to מסוס in Isaiah x 18, and derive it from משש = מסס? The root מסס, generally used in Niphal, means to drip, to become liquid, like wax in the fire, &c.; it might therefore be used here of the trickling waters of an intermittent or slow-flowing spring, as opposed to the rush of a great river in flood. As for the spelling with שׂ, the Arabic evidence tends to shew that this is the correct spelling. The corresponding root in Arabic is مش, the derivatives from which all have to do with moisture and soft marrow; in fact *mushāsha* is said to mean a stratum of ground in which water percolates and from which you can gradually fill a bucket with water.

I therefore suggest that מְשׂוֹשׂ here means 'oozing' or 'trickling', the construction being an Infinitive Construct like שְׁחוֹחַ in Isaiah lx 14. The whole passage (with its elucidatory marginal notes) will then run as follows:

Seeing that this people has refused
  [a] the waters of Shiloah
  that flow gently and trickling [a],
therefore, lo, Adonai will bring upon them
  [b] the waters of the River
  mighty and great [b],
and it will rise over all its channels
  and flow over all its banks,
  and sweep onward through Judah.

[a]...[a] Rezin and Ben Remaliah.

[b]...[b] The king of Assyria and all his glory.

F. C. BURKITT.

[1] Notice the absence of a repeated את before בן—quite in the style of a note.

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ON MATT. XI 27, LUKE X 22.

So much has been written about this famous passage, that I almost hesitate to add to the amount, were it not that I have for some time been haunted by a suspicion that the first clause *πάντα μοι παρεδόθη* has been seriously misunderstood, and thereby the sense of the whole passage has been obscured.

The main point is this: *πάντα*, 'all things', is generally taken in connexion with Matt. xxviii 18 (*ἐδόθη μοι πᾶσα ἐξουσία*), rather than with Matt. xi 25 and the preceding verses. That is to say, 'all things' has been understood to mean 'all authority', or 'all my doctrines',[1] and not 'all my experiences', 'success and failure'.

When we are asked what a Saying of Jesus means, surely the first thing to ask is the context in which it has been transmitted. Now both in Matthew and in Luke 'I thank Thee, Father,' is given after 'Woe to thee, Chorazin!' In Matthew it follows with no break at all, in Luke it is only separated by Luke x 17–20 (which describes the return of the Seventy-two, the Woes on Chorazin and the other towns having been curiously given by the Third Evangelist as part of the valedictory address). It would seem therefore highly probable that the Woes on the Cities and the *Confiteor* followed one another in Q.[2] Is it not probable that they should be interpreted together? Both start from the rejection of the Message of Jesus, from the non-recognition of Jesus by the 'wise' and 'prudent'.

No one, neither Chorazin, nor Bethsaida, nor Capernaum, recognizes (*ἐπιγινώσκει*) the Son of Man when He came among them. Similarly they had failed to recognize Elijah (Matt. xvii 12 *οὐκ ἐπέγνωσαν*). They, like all Jews, in their prayers call God their Father, but they do not recognize His spirit (Matt. xii 28, also Luke x 9): no one recognizes the Father but the Son, and the Son's disciples.[3] God and this generation will be strangers at the Day of Judgement, so soon to arrive.

I have tried to avoid discussing the text, whether we are to read *ἐπιγινώσκει*, or *ἔγνω τίς ἐστιν*, or *γινώσκει τίς ἐστιν*. In any case the meaning is much the same: it is a question of *recognition*,—not of knowing a person's inner nature, but of recognizing him when he is in

[1] So both Harnack and Wellhausen: H. J. Holtzmann, however, interprets the first clause of Matt. xi 27 of 'success and failure'.

[2] *Confiteor* seems to me a better word for Matt. xi 25 ff than Harnack's *Lobpreis*.

[3] Compare the double alternative, John viii 39, xiv 7.

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sight. Our Lord had proclaimed that the Kingdom of God was at hand: the towns of Galilee had not recognized the signs of the crisis.

I add a paraphrase of Matt. xi 20–27, to bring out the meaning here suggested.

Sayings of Jesus, when the announcement that the Kingdom of God was at hand failed to stir the towns of Galilee to general repentance.

'Alas for Chorazin and Bethsaidan! If Tyre and Sidon had had like opportunities, they would have recognized that the day of judgement was at hand. And as for Capharnaum, the judgement on it will be severer than that on Sodom! But I acknowledge that this, like everything else, is the Will of my Father in heaven: He has blinded the eyes of the Rabbis and the Pharisees, and on the other hand He has opened the understandings of some simple folk to receive the message. For both I bless His Name, because all things—success and failure—come to me from my heavenly Father. I can stand alone unrecognized, for He recognizes me; I stand alone, I and my disciples, but it is we who know God and recognize the signs of His visitation.'

F. C. BURKITT.

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REVIEWS

THE PERSON AND PLACE OF JESUS CHRIST.

DR FORSYTH'S lectures on *The Person and Place of Jesus Christ* (Congregational Union and Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1909) recall two books to my mind; first, Dr Dale's *Atonement*, originally given in the form of lectures on the same foundation, and secondly, Dr Moberly's *Atonement and Personality*. Dr Forsyth's work seems to stand as the rightful successor to both those great works. His whole heart is in Christianity as above all the religion of final atonement, and his presentation of that fact unites him more closely (though not without important differences, or rather developements) with Dr Dale than with Dr Moberly. On the other hand, he is much nearer to the Oxford thinker in the way in which he unites Soteriology with Christology and ethical with dogmatic interests. And on these lines I do not feel that it is at all excessive to say that Dr Forsyth's book is much the most important English contribution to the fundamental problems of theology since Dr Moberly's.

Dr Forsyth begins with three chapters which state with great insistence and wealth of phrasing the real problem confronting the Church to-day. And the problem is this: Are we to regard Christianity as *a* revelation or *the* revelation? Shall we speak mainly of its place in an evolutionary process which includes religion as it includes all else, or of its finality as the act of God in Christ? Are we to believe in Christ or to believe with Him and like Him? Naturally much is said of the new religious-historical school with its 'religion of Jesus'. But Dr Forsyth, using the testimony of the leaders of that school, points out that this modern interpretation of Christianity cannot possibly be derived from the New Testament, where Christ is never the first Christian, the supreme example of faith, but the object of the Church's faith equally with the Father. 'As far back as we can go we find only the belief and worship of a risen, redeeming, and glorified Christ, whom they could wholly trust but only very poorly imitate; and in His relation to God could not imitate at all.' It is to the deepest consideration of all that this primitive faith must have meant, to an understanding of what it was in the Person of Jesus which rendered this faith inevitable, that Dr Forsyth calls us.

The centre of the book is occupied with what is ever near to the author's thought, the testimony of experience. Christ's own self-consciousness, the meaning and value of the Apostles' thought about

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Him, and the continual stream of experience in the soul and in the Church are passed in review. It is an argument which needs careful handling. 'Experience' may be and often is with popular apologists a much-abused word. An adequate historical, and still more an adequate ethical, culture is necessary, if it is not to degenerate into a superficial emotionalism or a pragmatism without foundations. As to Christ's self-consciousness, Dr Forsyth follows on lines already well developed. He takes note of Harnack's famous statement that 'what belongs to the Gospel as Jesus preached it is not the Son, but the Father alone', and points out that even this proposition as it stands does not necessarily lead to the conclusion that Jesus is not central to the Gospel, since it is a crucial question whether the Gospel can be limited to the teaching of Jesus during the Galilean ministry, with His death and all that followed it omitted. The chapters on apostolic inspiration are more original and of great value. In brief, the view put forward is that the Apostles were the organs of Christ, necessary to Him for His final expression. Their inspiration was their sense of the meaning of Christ in the light of His finished work. And if it be argued that they put Him into a place which He would have repudiated, then we are shut up to the belief that those to whose training He devoted more and more of His time as the ministry drew to a close, understood Him less and valued Him far more untruly than Caiaphas and His bitterest enemies. And the experience which the Apostles had of Him, and the redemption they found in Him, has been continued in the individual soul and in the Church as an experience proper to the conscience, the moral and deepest part of man. The action of Christ is creative in the moral sphere, and not merely for the individual, but on the scale of history.

The last five lectures deal with the dogmatic expression of this original, and final, Christian Gospel, and are an attempt to make the Incarnation more intelligible for our age by the use of a metaphysic of ethic rather than a metaphysic of substance. An undogmatic Christianity Dr Forsyth repudiates with all his force, but there may be more than one category fit to serve the need of the theologian. Dr Forsyth looks to Kant for his philosophical calculus, and sees in the doctrine of the Incarnation, when duly ethicized, a fuller and deeper meaning than was possible for the theology which expressed itself in the two-natures formula, and made the work of Christ depend for its value on the possession by Christ of a divine nature—a theory much too mechanical and not ethical enough for our age. Dr Forsyth's statement of the union in Christ of the human and the divine combines a doctrine of real *kenosis*, which to him is as much a moral as a theological necessity, with all that was true in the old adoptianism. He sees in Christ a mutual involution of the human and the divine. The Incarnation is the result of the Son's pre-temporal moral action.

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The Cross was at once 'the nadir of that self-limitation which flowed from the supramundane self-emptying of the Son, and the zenith of that moral exaltation which had been mounting throughout the long sacrifice of His earthly life'. Over against the *kenosis* stands the *plerosis* as its necessary moral correlate. The whole personality of Christ is not something given at the start by the existence side by side of the divine and the human natures, but something achieved by His life's action.

How thoroughly Dr Forsyth works out this principle can only be learned by a study of the book itself. For him the doctrine of *kenosis* is no mere way out from an otherwise impossible position, but an absolute necessity if the life of Christ is to have full moral value. Christ was not only without full knowledge of science and history, of the form of the future as well as of the past: it is also impossible to think of Him as always conscious of all He was, and of the fact that He could not sin. We cannot think of Christ as able to sin, even if Dr Forsyth's arresting idea that 'potentiality is only actuality powerfully condensed' fails to satisfy; but it is hard to see how we can look on His temptation as real if He knew that this was so. But the difficulties of so thoroughgoing a view pass away when once it is realized that the conditions under which He lived were the moral result of a moral pre-mundane act, an act in virtue of which, and of its moral quality continued throughout His life and culminating in His death, Christ redeems and saves.

Dr Forsyth has given us something much more, and something, I think, much more valuable, than a psychological theory as to the relations of the human and the divine in Christ. He makes us see the Incarnation, as he and others have made us see the Atonement, in a more moral and less formal light, as above all things a moral act in the heavenly sphere. The redemption and the re-creation Christ brings is beyond the power of any save God, so that in Christ we have to do, not with God's prophet or plenipotentiary, but with God's real presence.

On the title-page of his book Dr Forsyth has placed Butler's great words, 'Morality is the nature of things'. It is the combination of the argument from experience, stated in its widest and deepest form, with the Christology I have outlined, and the fusion of the two into a moral unity, which arouses the conviction that we are not shut up to a decision between ancient, if not antiquated, metaphysic and modern triviality, but that we can find a point where the newest philosophy and the oldest Christianity meet, and a moral Gospel satisfies the needs of the actual world.

J. K. MOZLEY.

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FRESH LIGHT ON MACCABEAN TIMES.

Documents of Jewish Sectaries. Vol. i. Fragments of a Zadokite work. Edited by S. SCHECHTER, M.A., Litt.D., Cantab. (Cambridge University Press, 1910.)

THESE fragments consist of twenty leaves from the Cairo Genizah Collection, written for the most part in pure Biblical Hebrew, but containing some post-biblical terms and expressions. Dr Schechter attributes the authorship to an obscure sect long ago extinct—the Zadokites. However this may be, the fragments have points of connexion with the Book of Jubilees, Enoch, and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. The Watchers (Ἐγρήγοροι), Beliar, and Mastēmā, the chief of the spirits, are all found. Once more we seem to be in the literature of the Maccabean Revival. The one clear date given is Maccabean: '390 years' after Israel had been delivered into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar 'God visited them and caused the root of a plant to spring from Israel and from Aaron, to inherit the land' (fol. 1 a, line 5). If 390 be subtracted from 586 B.C. we reach 196 B.C., and if we further subtract the twenty years during which the men of Israel were 'as blind and as those that grope for a way' (fol. 1 a, lines 9, 10), we get very near indeed to the revolt of Mattathias, the father of the Maccabees (died circ. 167 B.C.). Again on fol. 4 b, lines 10, 11, the 'cruel venom of asps' of Deut. xxxii 33 is explained to be the venom of *Grecian kings.*

Since the word 'scorning' is applied to denial of the True God, and since it was Jason who established a Greek gymnasium in Jerusalem, the 'man of scorning' (איש לצון, fol. 1 a, line 14) may very well be meant for the intrusive high priest Jason, who is described in 2 Maccabees as 'that ungodly man and no high priest' (chap. iv 13) and as 'the vile Jason' (ver. 19). 'As a backsliding heifer,' the Fragmentist writes, 'so did Israel slide back, when *the man of scorning* arose, who . . . caused Israel to go astray . . . and to depart from the paths of righteousness, and to remove the bound which the ancients had set' (fol. 1 a, lines 13–16). Of those who followed the man of scorning it is said that 'they transgressed the covenant and broke the statute . . . and all that walked uprightly their soul abhorred and they pursued them with the sword'. Here we seem to have a summary of the contents of 2 Maccabees from iv 7 to vii 41.

It is possible that the practice of the Fragmentist in the use of the Divine name offers another link with the Maccabean literature. In 1 Maccabees (true text) no Divine name is used; in the fragments the

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Tetragrammaton never appears, nor any other designation except אל, 'God', which is fairly frequent, and עליון in the phrase קדושי עליון, 'saints of the Most High' (cf. Dan. vii 18), which occurs once (fol. 10 b, line 8). This point, however, must not be pressed.

It is probable, further, that the Fragments contain a reference to the removal and murder of the high priest Onias (2 Macc. iv 7, 8, 34). The passage runs: 'From the day on which the only Teacher was taken away until the time when all the men of war who went with the Man of falsehood were consumed there is a period of about 40 years' (fol. 10 b, lines 13–15). This reckoning is sufficiently accurate for the interval between the removal of Onias at the accession of Antiochus V in 175 B.C. and the surrender of the heathen garrison of the citadel of Jerusalem to Simon in 142 B.C. There is, no doubt, in the writer's mind a comparison with the forty years of the Wilderness Wandering which followed the Exodus. The 'Man of falsehood' may be either the Syrian commander who 'spake words of peace in subtilty' (1 Macc. i 30), or one of the false high priests, Menelaus or Alcimus.

Whether the fragments printed here really belong to one work is not quite certain. There is a break in the sense between fol. 4 b and fol. 5 a. Fol. 1 a–4 b have 21 lines to the page, while fol. 5 a–8 b have 23 lines. The break thus indicated corresponds further with a change in the general character of the contents from Haggada ('Homiletics') to Halacha ('Legal dicta'). The text of fol. 10 a overlaps fol. 4 b, while 10 b gives perhaps the conclusion of the discourse: 'God will make atonement for them and they will see His salvation, because they have taken refuge in His Holy Name.'

It seems ungracious to complain when so interesting a document is given to the world; but it must be confessed that the book shews several signs of haste in revision. On page xviii the date of the Karaite writer Kirkisani is given as '637' instead of A.D. 937. Both the Hebrew text and the English translation might be easily improved. On page xxxii 'They looked forward to (ויצפו) the breaches' should be 'They watched (i. e. lay in wait) at the breaches' (i. e. in the ravines). On page xxxiii 'Through His Anointed He made them know His Holy Spirit' should be read with the simplest possible correction of the Hebrew, 'He taught them by those who were anointed with His Holy Spirit'. On page xxxiv read 'The priests and the Levites and the sons of Zadok that kept the charge of my (*sic*) sanctuary, when the children of Israel went astray from *me* (*sic*), they shall bring near', &c. The editor has exaggerated the divergence of the quotation from the text of Ezek. xliv 15. On page xxxv Dr Schechter might have adopted in the translation an emendation which he himself suggests: 'Those for whom God made atonement are to keep (שומרים) the Sanctuary.' On

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page xl an unnecessary correction is followed, and a clause is consequently lost, which throws light on the exegetical methods of the Fragmentist. After quoting Amos v 26, 27 in the form 'I will cause the *siccuth* of your king and the *chiyun* of your images to go into captivity from the tents of Damascus', he proceeds to give his interpretation thus: 'The books of the Law are the *succath*[1] of the king; . . . the *King* is the Congregation . . . and *the images* is an instance of metonymy; so that the *chiyun of the images* means the books of the prophets, whose words Israel despised.' All this is far-fetched and difficult to follow, but Dr Schechter only increases the difficulty by striking out the words וכינוי הצלמים as a dittography and omitting from his translation the clause 'And *the images* is an instance of metonymy'. Finally, on page xlii, 'The *venom* (ראש) of asps is the *venom* of the kings of Javan' should be read, and not 'the head' (*bis*) as Dr Schechter has it, although the reference is to Deut. xxxii 33.

Perhaps I should add that I have read Mr G. Margoliouth's review of Dr Schechter in the *Athenaeum* for Nov. 26 without being convinced by his arguments.

W. Emery Barnes.

THE OLD SYRIAC GOSPELS.

The Old Syriac Gospels. By Agnes Smith Lewis, Hon. D.D., &c., &c. (Williams & Norgate, London, 1910.)

In 1904 Professor Burkitt gave us the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, taking the Curetonian MS as his basis and supplying gaps and registering variants from the Sinai Palimpsest. Dr Lewis has varied the procedure. Taking the Sinai Palimpsest as her basis, she has filled up gaps with the help of the Curetonian, and cited variants from it.

Mrs Lewis has had the advantage of four visits to Sinai since 1893, when the first transcript was made, which was published by the Cambridge University Press in 1894. She has continued her Syriac studies unweariedly, and has devoted many years of work to the text of the Codex. Faded leaves have yielded good results when treated with a reagent, and the whole MS has been photographed. Mrs Lewis now claims to have read a large number of words and even of lines which were passed over as illegible in her book, *Some Pages re-transcribed*, Cambridge 1896.

It cannot be doubted that her latest publication adds something worth having to our knowledge of the text, though the value of her work must necessarily vary with the varying legibility of the MS. Some of the new readings are probably right, many (if only slightly

[1] Taken as the equivalent of *siccuth*.

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probable) are interesting, a few seem to the Reviewer all but impossible. (Nothing, however, is impossible in a manuscript.) A study of the photographs which Mrs Lewis presented to the Cambridge University Library impresses the student with the greatness of the difficulty of deciphering such a palimpsest as this and with the frequent necessity of allowing a *non liquet*. But Mrs Lewis is probably right in giving ܗܘ in Matt. iii 3, and ܡܟܝܠ (in Cureton ܡܗܘܝܠ; Greek ὁ ὄχλος) in John vii 49. In Luke v 26 ܠܡܫܒܚ (for παράδοξα) is decidedly attractive, and so is ܠܐ ܡܫܒܚ ܐܠܐ ܫܒܚ for ܫܒܚ in Matt. xx 15, though the Reviewer cannot confirm (nor indeed deny) the new reading from a study of the photograph. It is difficult to believe that Dr Lewis is right in Luke i 80: ܗܘܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܬܬܒܥ ('and he fled into the desert', A. S. L.). Professor Burkitt ends the line with ܗܘܐ ܠ, and the third person who has not access to the original must feel that the letters which are so differently read must be indeed faint and ambiguous

A few *emendanda* may conclude this notice. On page xvi, line 2 (from bottom), read ܒ. The reading ἐπὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου (Matt. v 24) is supported by some authorities for the Peshitta; cf. page xvii. In Mark iv 1 Professor Burkitt's ܫܦܐ is to be preferred; see Matt. xv 39; Luke v 3. On page 280, line 2, read ?ܫܠܡ (with ? prefixed). On page 5, line 14, insert between [a] and [b] the vertical stroke which marks the end of a line in the MS. The text as a whole seems to be very accurately printed. The labour spent on the book must have been very great, and Dr Lewis has earned once more the hearty thanks of students of the New Testament.

W. Emery Barnes.

HYMNS OF SEVERUS OF ANTIOCH.

Patrologia Orientalis Tome vi: Fascicule I edited by E. W. Brooks. (Firmin-Didot, Paris, n.d.)

This volume of hymns supplies further testimony to the deep impression made by their author, Severus of Antioch (Patriarch A.D. 512–518), on the generations which succeeded him. A selection from his letters has already been published by Mr Brooks (Text and Translation Society, 1902–1904), and over a hundred of the sermons which he delivered as Patriarch are still extant, though only six have been published (*Les Homiliae cathédrales de Sévère d'Antioche*, par R. Duval, reviewed in *J. T. S.* viii 465–467). The language of Severus was Greek, but since he was a Monophysite his works (save a few fragments) are preserved not in Greek, but in Syriac, which may be reckoned as the chief language of Monophysitism.

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The hymns are taken from two Syriac MSS preserved in the British Museum, one of the seventh or eighth, the other of the ninth century. In the earlier of these the text is presented in a strangely cumbrous form. The translation was executed by Paul of Edessa, who gave some free renderings and also added some words for the sake of the rhythm. In A.D. 675 the well-known James of Edessa edited this version, and we now find literal renderings inserted above the paraphrastic translations, and added words distinguished by red paint. Mr Brooks has carefully preserved the details of this revision, without, however, using either interlinear printing or red paint. His editing is most complete and painstaking, and in particular he gives the full text of the multitude of scriptural references which are made. 'The chief value,' he remarks, 'of the work of James lies in the fact that he gives the scriptural references in full in the margin, thus supplying a new source for the criticism of the sacred text.'

Indeed Severus seems to have been no poet. A characteristic extract from a hymn on the Epiphany (even when stripped of accretions with the help of James's editing) rises no higher than this :—

'He went down into the Jordan
To crush the head of the serpent in the waters,
Whom he through Pharaoh in a figure drowned in the Red Sea.'

A curious textual fact is that in the margin of the hymns (p. 58) the text of Matt. iii 16 agrees with Syr. cur and Syr. sin (ܠܘܬ ܝܘܢ) not with the Peshitta (ܠܘܬ ܝܘ).

W. EMERY BARNES.

EARLY CHRISTIAN ART.

Christliche Antike: Einführung in die altchristliche Kunst, von LUDWIG VON SYBEL. Zweiter Band: *Plastik, Architektur und Malerei.* Marburg, N. G. Elwertsche Buchhandlung, 1909. pp. v+341. 4 plates (3 coloured) and 99 blocks.

THE second volume of von Sybel's introduction to Early Christian Art, which follows the first (see *J. T. S.*, 1908, p. 620) at an interval of three years, is somewhat larger, has more illustrations, and covers a wider range of topics, but will scarcely be found so interesting by the reader. The most important general problem with which the author is faced is that summed up by Strzygowski in the catchword, *Orient oder Rom?* And here von Sybel is content to hold judgement in suspense, giving us a summary of the views put forward by rival theorists. He holds—not without some justification—that too little is as yet known of the chronology and developement of Christian art and monuments to permit of the

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distinction of local influences. 'It has never occurred to me' (he writes) 'to contend for any Rome (*irgend ein Rom*) against the East; for the present I decline to intervene in the controversy; the case must first be duly prepared for trial' (p. 227). Again, after mentioning the various views which have been put forward regarding the date of the carved doors of S. Sabina, he continues: 'besides the discussion of the date the old controversy goes on, unwearying and inexhaustible, as to whether the carvings are Roman, Byzantine, East Greek, or Syrian. It is all in vain, so long as the chronology of the monuments, and therefore the course pursued by early Christian art in its development, remains undetermined' (p. 259). We shall not, therefore, turn to von Sybel's pages in hope of enlightenment on the intensely interesting questions which are here waved aside; nor shall we find in them the application of a simple formula to the interpretation of a series of monuments, such as was successfully carried through in the first volume. Von Sybel has, however, collected a large mass of material, if he has in general refrained from criticizing it. As a guide to the student who desires to obtain a conspectus of the products of Christian art and to be directed to the sources from which more detailed information can be got the volume will be of use. The treatment of sculpture is especially full; and there are lists such as those of the ivory diptychs and silver *clipei* which are handy for reference. Von Sybel emphasizes the importance of rightly dating the sarcophagi which form by far the greater part of our material for the history of Christian sculpture; but he does not seem to make any important advance in this direction. It was unfortunate that this volume appeared too early to take account of Dr H. Dütschke's suggestive *Ravennatische Studien*, in which an earlier dating than that currently accepted is upheld for several of the sarcophagi. Dütschke points out, for example, that inscriptions such as that of the Archbishop Liberius do not furnish conclusive evidence of the date of the sarcophagi upon which they are found, since they were sometimes added at a later period.

Although the dominating idea of the first volume is less prominent in the second, we find it applied in many places. The following passage, relating to the type of the Good Shepherd, is typical of von Sybel's method:—

'Long ago Heinrici correctly observed that the fourth Gospel had played a leading part in fertilizing early Christian art. The reason was that this, the latest of the Gospels (it describes itself in xvii 20 as post-apostolic,[1] which means a great deal) grew directly out of the Church's creed, if it did not in a sense create it. Now its idea of the Good Shepherd occupies a central position in the Gospel; and besides its

[1] This is surely a more than doubtful statement.

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very "present-worldly" tendency in ecclesiastical politics (directed towards the unity of the flock) it expresses the "other-worldly" theology of the Church in a poetical figure, which never failed of its effect on such sentimental minds as those of the people of the empire. Thus the idea of the Good Shepherd was from the very first "other-worldly", just as the whole creed of the Church was directed towards the other world, especially in the sphere of the cemeteries. It is, therefore, no cause for surprise that the Shepherd in the Parable of Luke xv, who seeks and carries home on his shoulders the lost sheep, appears from the very beginning (at any rate in art) as the expression not of a moral conception, but of the sepulchral, that is, the "other-worldly" idea.'

This passage will perhaps seem unconvincing to the non-specialist reader: and it is to be regretted that von Sybel did not, as others have done, support his view by a comparison of liturgical texts. In dealing with the art of the catacombs it is right to lay stress upon the 'sepulchral' principle; but even the sarcophagi require fresh methods of interpretation, and von Sybel is aware of this. He notes, for example, a 'special group' of scenes taken from the early narratives of Genesis—the creation of Eve, the Fall, the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise, and Cain and Abel, to which he somewhat illogically adds the resurrection of the Dry Bones (after Ezekiel xxxvii). As he remarks, this 'looks like the *Lust am Erzählen*'; but no, the 'emergence of the pre-existent Logos-Christ suggests rather increased interest in dogma!' I certainly agree that 'much remains to be done in working out this interpretation' (p. 129).

Architecture and mosaic are treated by von Sybel on a less liberal scale than sculpture, and some minor arts (such as gem-engraving) are dismissed in a few lines. Rivoira's work on architectural development should have been noticed; and it is strange to find Richter and Taylor's *Golden Age of Christian Art* included in a bibliography of the mosaics of *Ravenna*! But von Sybel's acquaintance with the work of English scholars is imperfect: Mr Dalton's excellent catalogue of Christian antiquities in the British Museum would have helped him to improve some of his sections.

H. Stuart Jones.

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CHRONICLE

LITURGICA.

SINCE the last Chronicle a large number of books on liturgical subjects have appeared, and very many of them have been received for notice in the JOURNAL. I must apologize for my neglect of them hitherto.

Eastern rites have received a perhaps exceptional amount of attention.

The second part of ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΙΚΑ: *Studi e ricerche intorno a S. Giovanni Crisostomo* (Rome 1908), the result of the celebration of the 1500th anniversary of the death of S. John Chrysostom, is a collection of essays on the Liturgy named after him and on the Byzantine rite generally, and it contains a mass of valuable matter otherwise not easily accessible to most of us. Dom P. de Meester discusses the Greek text of the Liturgy of S. Chrysostom in three parts. In the first part, the origin and authenticity of the liturgy is treated; and the conclusion is reached that the rite derives from the Syrian type, and may quite well belong to the epoch of its eponym, while there is no positive evidence of Chrysostom's authorship. I do not think that Dom P. de Meester has anywhere noticed a certain incoherence or, at least, abruptness of transition, at the Μεμνημένοι τοίνυν and at the opening of the great intercession, which perhaps suggests that the matter has been forced into an alien framework. The second part deals with the sources of the text—MSS, Latin translations, editions, Typika and legislation, and commentaries. And the third part is a careful analysis of the rite and a detailed description and comment on its successive features by way of determining its developement; and the result is exhibited finally (after p. 358) in a table. Fr G. Aucher treats of the Armenian version of the Liturgy (p. 359) and with some fragments of another liturgy said to be of S. Chrysostom and translated in the fifth century (p. 398). Fr C. Bacha treats of the Arabic versions, with a text and a translation into French (p. 405). It may be noted that the prayer 'Seigneur notre Dieu' (p. 442), as to which it is remarked on p. 469 that it recurs only in the S. Basil of the MS from which Fr Bacha's text is taken, is an Egyptian offertory-prayer (*Litt. E. and W.* pp. 124, 148, 543); and the Greek of the last suffrage but one of the great synapte (p. 444) can be recovered from Giorgi's Egyptian fragments: thus ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν χρηζόντων τῆς σῆς Κύριε βοηθείας [καὶ] ἀντιλήψεως δεόμεθά σου; from which it is clear that for 'victoire' should be read 'aide' (the Arabic of the

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original text, p. 413, is نصر). Fr C. Charon writes a long and most valuable and interesting essay on the Liturgy of S. Chrysostom in the Melchite Patriarchates, which amounts to something like a complete liturgical history of the Syriac- and Arabic-speaking Orthodox (pp. 473–718). Mr H. W. Codrington prints the text and a Latin translation of the Syriac Presanctified Liturgy of S. Chrysostom (p. 719), and so supplements the papers he contributed to vols. iv and v of this JOURNAL. Dr C. Auner describes the Roumanian versions and editions of the Liturgy (p. 731). Dr A. Baumstark examines anew and exhibits in parallel columns the relations of the Nestorian *Liturgy of Nestorius* to those of S. Basil and S. Chrysostom, and by an elaborate collection of other parallel passages makes it practically possible to restore the Greek, which, according to Abhdisho, was translated into Syriac by Mar Abha, afterwards Catholicus, on his visit to Constantinople in 535. The Anaphora of Nestorius is, in fact, simply a conflate of selected passages from those of S. Basil and S. Chrysostom, with some additions. Fr A. Pétrovski gives a lengthy account of the Slavonic version of the Liturgy of S. Chrysostom; and Dr J. Bocian explains the modifications introduced into the Slavonic text in the Ruthenian Uniat.

The fifth of the *Neuen Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und der Kirche* edited by Drs Bonwetsch and Seeburg is Herr R. Engdahl's *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der byzantinischen Liturgie* (Berlin 1908), which contains the text of the Liturgies of SS. Basil and Chrysostom, together with a part of Leo of Tuscany's Latin version of the latter, and the text and Latin version of the Ὕψωσις τῆς Παναγίας (i. e. the office of the holy bread eaten after the morning meal in monasteries), all from the Karlsruhe MS E. M. 6 described by Mone in *Lateinische und griechische Messen.* I have not studied the texts in detail, but so far as I have observed they have no specially remarkable characteristics. The editor adds some account of the MS and its history; and on p. 85 gives a useful bibliography of works bearing on the Greek rite in Italy and on the abbey of Casole. The rest of the volume treats of the *Proskomide* —the vesting of the ministers and the preparation of the gifts— describing its form in a large number of MSS and in the commentaries, and so supplying materials to the history of its developement. I cannot but think that Herr Engdahl would have been well advised to tabulate representative schemes; and I do not see how any one can profitably make use of his description without tabulating for himself the material which is here supplied.

In *La Divine Liturgie de S. Jean Chrysostome* (Paris and Rome 1907) Dom Placide de Meester revises and annotates the Greek translation of Dom Em. André, and prints it in parallel with the Greek. It is a charming little book with an attractive ikon of S. Chrysostom from the

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Beuron Press for a frontispiece. Its purpose is not scientific but practical.

At the Eucharistic Congress in London in 1908, Dom P. de Puniet read a memoir on certain Greek liturgical fragments of the seventh century, discovered at Balyzeh, south of Assiout, brought to England by Dr Petrie and now in the Bodleian (*Report of the Nineteenth Eucharistic Congress*, London 1909, pp. 367 sqq.); and to the *Revue Bénédictine* Jan. 1909 he contributed a detailed discussion of the text with a facsimile of the papyrus. The text as presented by Dom P. de Puniet consists of two fragments of a prayer or prayers, a short creed almost entire, the latter part of a further prayer, the end of a preface with *sanctus*, *postsanctus*, and institution, quite evidently of the Egyptian rite. Dr T. Schermann in *Der liturgische Papyrus von Dêr-Balyzeh* (Harnack-Schmidt *Texte und Untersuchungen* xxxvi 1 *b*, Leipzig 1910) makes a valuable correction in Dom P. de Puniet's account, as a result of the examination of the structure of the papyrus-leaves, by which he is enabled to restore the fragments to their right order—viz. a prayer of the faithful, the preface, *sanctus*, *postsanctus*, and institution, a prayer for the fruits of communion, and the creed. He points out the correspondence between this order and that of the baptismal mass in the Latin of the *Egyptian Church Order* (Hauler, p. 113), where the short creed is curiously used at the administration of the chalice and the milk (and honey); and he makes some corrections in the reading of the text, and adds to the suggestions already made by the first editor for supplying the lacunae. The chief interest of the document is twofold; first that it has an invocation, in the usual Eastern form, before the institution (*πλήρωσον καὶ ἡμᾶς τῆς παρ[ὰ σοῦ] δόξης, [κα]ὶ καταξίωσον κατα[απ]έμψαι τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ [ἅ]γιόν σου ἐπὶ τὰ κτίσματα ταῦτα [καὶ ποίησ]ον τὸν μὲν ἄρτον σῶμα τ[οῦ κυρίου καὶ] σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, [τὸ] δὲ π[οτήριον α]ἷμα τῆς καινῆς [διαθήκης]*); and that it gives the Greek of the old Egyptian baptismal Creed, which in a slightly developed form is still found in the Coptic and Abyssinian baptismal Orders (Denzinger *Rit. Or.* i 198, 223). As to the former it must be noted that it is not so new as it might at first sight appear; Sarapion has in the same place *πλήρωσον καὶ τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην τῆς σῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τῆς σῆς μεταλήψεως*; and S. Mark, *πλήρωσον ὁ Θεὸς καὶ ταύτην τὴν θυσίαν τῆς παρὰ σοῦ εὐλογίας διὰ τῆς ἐπιφοιτήσεως τοῦ παναγίου σου Πνεύματος*; so that the new fragment only shews a difference of form, not of essential substance. For the emendation and completion of the text, it may be suggested, that, in the first prayer, ... *σαν τὰ ἔθνη ποῦ σε υ* . . . . be read [*μὴ εἰπάτω*]*σαν τὰ ἔθνη Ποῦ ἐ*[*στιν ὁ* $\overline{\theta\varsigma}$ *αὐτῶν ;*]; cp. Ps. lxxviii (lxxix) 10; for *ὁ ὤν*, [*αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς*] *τοὺς αἰῶνας*, adopted by both editors, be read *ὁ ὢν* [*εὐλογητὸς εἰς*] *τοὺς αἰῶνας*; cp. Rom. ix 5; in the Preface, Dr Schermann's *ἐξαπ-*

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τέρυγ]ες τῷ ἑνὶ κ[αὶ ἑ]ξ[απτέρυγες τῷ ἑνί] is obviously a slip for ἓξ πτέρυγες. The same writer's suggestion (p. 39) that the text belongs to the third century or even the end of the second can scarcely be taken seriously, nor are any of his reasons at all convincing. I see nothing to require a date earlier than the middle of the fourth century at the earliest.

In vol. x of Card. Mai's *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*, edited by Fr Cozza-Luzi and published after his death by Fr A. Rocchi of Grotta-Ferrata (Rome 1905), are contained several liturgical documents. (1) Anastasius the Librarian's Latin version of the *Historia mystica* of S. German, which has already been noticed in the JOURNAL (vol. ix p. 250). (2) A *Typikon* of Messina. (3) A *Typikon* of the Monastery of Casole in the Terra d'Otranto. (4) Hymns on S. Basil, on S. Nilus, founder of Grotta-Ferrata, and on SS. Felicius and Terentianus; and hymns by S. Nilus. (5) More interesting, the text of the Liturgy of S. James, after the MS. roll *Vat. graec.* 2282, hitherto unpublished. The MS was noticed by Montfaucon in the *Diarium Italicum* and elsewhere; in 1901 Dr Wobbermin quoted a paragraph from it in his edition of the Prayers of Sarapion (*Texte und Untersuch.* N. F. ii 3 b), and it was described and discussed by Drs Baumstark and Schermann in *Oriens Christianus* 1903. The text belongs to the province of Damascus, and is of the same type as that of the Messina and the Rossano MSS, printed by Swainson (*Greek Liturgies* pp. 215 sqq.), except that its *diaconica* are of the meagrest. Montfaucon assigned the MS to the tenth century: the present editor reproduces a specimen of the handwriting, but declines to commit himself as to its date. The writing is a sloping uncial, akin to Gardthausen's alphabet of 860, and to the specimen of the Uspensky Psalter, of 862, reproduced in Sir E. M. Thompson's *Greek and Latin Palaeography* p. 156: but it may be earlier than these. In any case it is the oldest text of S. James at present known. On other than palaeographical grounds Drs Baumstark and Schermann argue for a date between 670 and 787, and Mr Edm. Bishop has accepted their argument, and more than once called attention to the early date of the text (*J. T. S.* x p. 598; Connolly *Lit. homilies of Narsai* p. 119). The assigned grounds of this judgement are two: that the opening clauses of the *postsanctus* Ἅγιος εἷ βασιλεῦ τῶν αἰώνων κτλ. are wanting in this text, while they are already quoted by S. John of Damascus (*de Trisag.* 27); and that only six Councils are commemorated. But if Fr Cozza-Luzi's reproduction of the text is anything better than a caricature, the Ἅγιος εἷ is there, securely enough (p. 68); and all the MSS of S. James, of whatever date or *provenance*, which contain the commemoration of the Councils at all, only commemorate six of them; viz. the Messina roll (tenth or eleventh century; Pharan?), Paris *Gr.* 476 (twelfth century; Palestine), Vat. *Gr.* 1970 and *Barberini* vi 10

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(twelfth century; Jerusalem?); while only the diptychs of Sinai *Gr.* 1040 (twelfth century; Sinai: cp. *Litt. E. and W.* p. 502) commemorate seven councils. On neither ground, therefore, can the text be claimed as of a date earlier than is required by the palaeographical evidence. Fr Charon in Χρυσοστομικά ii p. 491, on liturgical grounds, even assigns it to about 1200; and if it is true, as has been said, that liturgical MSS tend to continue old-fashioned handwritings after they have been abandoned elsewhere, there is a presumption that any such MS is younger rather than older than its palaeographical character might suggest.

The second of Dr Paul Drews's *Studien der Geschichte des Gottesdienstes und des gottesdienstlichen Lebens* is entitled *Untersuchungen über die sogen. clementinische Liturgie im viii. Buch der apostolischen Konstitutionen* (Tübingen 1906). In part it revives, in a more persuasive form, the thesis of Probst's *Die Liturgie der drei ersten Jahrhunderte*, arguing that the 'ground type' of the Clementine rite is indefinitely old, and is already recognizable in S. Clement of Rome, S. Justin, S. Hippolytus, and Novatian, and that it also underlies the existing Roman rite. The essay contains a laborious comparison of the text with the works of Clement, Justin, Hippolytus, and Novatian, and with the Roman canon. The more of this sort of work that is done the better—and it will be none the worse perhaps for having a thesis to maintain—with a view to disentangling the complex relations between the liturgies. Meanwhile, Dr Drews's investigation requires attentive study, and since I have not yet given it the attention it deserves, I hesitate to express any judgement upon it. However, so far I do not find it immediately convincing. I am not sure that Dr Drews has sufficiently stated the conditions of the problem. What is clear is, first, that the Clementine Liturgy is shaped on the Liturgy of Antioch in the latter half of the fourth century; secondly, that the compiler had before him the anaphora of the *Egyptian Church Order*; and thirdly, as it has long seemed to me, and as I think Dr Drews makes plain, there is a real connexion between it and the Roman rite. But we do not know in any detail what was the content of the Syrian anaphora in the fourth century; only, what we can make out from S. Chrysostom's homilies, combined with the existing texts of the anaphora of S. James and that of S. Basil, which is no doubt a recast of the Syrian, seems to shew that it was on the structural lines of the Clementine; notice even the persistent transition οὐ παρεῖδες, οὐ γὰρ ἀπεστράφης or the like (*Litt. E. & W.* pp. 19, 51, 325; cp. 479, 522). But on the other hand we know a good deal about the literary habits and style of the compiler of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, and his use of the literature of the past: that he freely reshaped, reduced, or expanded his documents at pleasure, and interpolated them freely from other sources or out of his own head; and that his liturgy, like his Creed and

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Gloria in excelsis, is saturated with his own style. Hence it is very precarious to use his text as Dr Drews has used it. To take a simple instance: he has Ἑαυτοὺς τῷ μόνῳ ἀγεννήτῳ Θεῷ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ παράθεσθε; and Dr Drews quotes S. Justin *Ap.* i 49 τῷ ἀγεννήτῳ Θεῷ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἑαυτοὺς ἀνέθηκαν (cp. *ib.* 14, 25), and concludes that Justin is referring to the Liturgy as it existed in his own day and is reproduced in the Clementine. But then we know with some certainty what the compiler had before him in the contemporary liturgy of Antioch, viz. Ἑαυτοὺς τῷ ζῶντι Θεῷ καὶ τῷ Χριστῷ αὐτοῦ παράθεσθε (S. Chrys. *Hom.* ii *in 2 Cor.* 9); and that ὁ ἀγέννητος Θεός is a favourite expression of his. Hence it would seem to follow, either that he is copying S. Justin, or that the coincidence is accidental. And at present I am disposed to think that throughout the compiler is freely expanding the liturgy of Antioch by quotation from earlier writers and by his own composition, rather than that the coincidences with these writers point to quotation on their part from the groundwork of the Clementine Liturgy. At the same time no doubt the compiler is only expanding his source while retaining the succession of its topics; and I can well believe that the passages Dr Drews quotes from S. Clement and Justin and Novatian do include liturgical reminiscences. And attention may be called to the Jewish precedents for the historical commemorations of the anaphora noticed by Dr Drews on p. 24, note, and to them may be added 3 Mac. ii 2–11.

Mr F. C. Conybeare's *Rituale Armenorum* (Oxford 1905), so far as relates to its central text, is a translation of a San Lazzaro MS *Euchologion* assigned to the ninth or tenth century, with a marginal apparatus of variants from a number of sources, and in many cases variant forms of the given ceremony printed at length. To this are added, in two appendices, a translation of the Daily Office from a MS of the fifteenth or sixteenth century, and the old Armenian Lectionary from two MSS, one of the eighth or ninth century, the other of the fourteenth. And besides this there are given up and down the book a number of illustrative documents and extracts translated from Armenian and Syriac, and some Greek, and occasional discussions. It is satisfactory thus to have the Armenian rites made available, and that from earlier sources and with a wider scope than in the Latin versions of Denzinger's *Ritus orientalium*. This only covers the administration of the sacraments, whereas Mr Conybeare's texts include also the consecration of churches and their furniture, the rites of 'animal sacrifice', burial of the dead, consecration of monks, &c., the Epiphany consecration of water, Maundy Thursday observances, and some other things. The Epiphany rite supplements for us the collection of *Blessings of the Waters* edited by Dr Wallis Budge in 1901. As Mr Conybeare points out, what he calls 'animal sacrifice' has been in widespread use in Christendom, origi-

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nating, perhaps, in such concessions as that of S. Gregory the Great to the English (Bede *H. E.* i 30), allowing the retention of the material side of the heathen sacrifice, the formal slaying of beasts and distribution of their flesh, while altering its intention; and the documents quoted by Mr Conybeare and the rites themselves suggest that the Armenian usage includes the application of the same principle to some parts of the levitical system. But it may be questioned whether 'animal sacrifice' does not suggest to us too much. The documents and rites rather suggest that these things are in the ordinary line of the oblations of Christendom generally, the offering of firstfruits and alms, for the use of the clergy and the poor, and that they represent the *agape* (document III, p. 72, by the way, is irrelevant: the sacrifice is evidently the mass). The lessons read (pp. 55, 59), if they include Lev. i 1–13, 2 Sam. vi 17–12, Isa. lvi 6, 7, also include Heb. xiii 10–16, Lk. xiv 12, 13, Acts xxiv 14–18, 1 Pet. iv 6, 7, Lk. xix 1–10; and the New Testament must be held to determine the intention, and to interpret the Old Testament; and the rites consist only of prayers, psalms, and lessons at the church door, and apparently the killing of the animal (which is decorated with cotton wool and scarlet, but this is reprobated by Nerses Schnorhali, p. 84); but there is no ritual action or manipulation of the blood. Yet the language of the prayers, that of the Greek forms perhaps more than that of the Armenian, is sometimes overcoloured, and would I conceive scarcely have been at any time tolerated in the West. It may be added that the Greek prayers relating to the Easter lamb are little, if anything, more than graces before meat; while the *agnus assus* of the papal court, which Mr Conybeare mentions (p. 513) as '*still* eaten by the Pope' in the twelfth century (see *Ordines Romani* xi, xii), as though it were an ancient usage, which there is no reason to suppose it was, amounts to no more than our own traditional usage of eating lamb or veal at Easter, except that it was used religiously in commemoration of the Last Supper. Among the other rites given by Mr Conybeare is one of Trial by Ordeal (p. 295), as to which the author of the Edjmiadzin catalogue writes that 'it is not accepted by the Holy Armenian Church, but is a barbarous rite translated in ignorance from Latin'. The latter statement at least is true: the rite consists of a Latin proper mass, with an adjuration of the accused before communion and a special form of administration, and psalms and prayers during the heating of the iron and a prayer for the accused before the ordeal; and the Latin can be for the most part restored from the formulae of ordeal printed by Martène (*de ant. eccl. rit.* III vii ordines 8–10, 14; cp. the *ordo Dunstani archiep. Dorobern.* in Baluze *Capit. reg. franc.* ii 647).

But perhaps the most interesting and important of the documents

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contained in this book is the old Lectionary; for it comes from Jerusalem and represents approximately the rites described in the *Peregrinatio Silviae*, and gives the psalms and lessons to which the pilgrim refers. What significance the holy places mentioned—the Anastasis, Golgotha, the basilica of S. Stephen, and so on—retained in Armenia, does not appear. This document, combined with the *Peregrinatio* and the *Catecheses* of S. Cyril—and the 'texts' of S. Cyril's instructions are incorporated with the lectionary as 'the canon of them that are going to be baptized' (p. 518) and 'lections of the administration of the mystery' (p. 524)—give us perhaps the completest picture we possess of liturgical observance in the fourth or fifth century. I will only remark on one point. The lectionary gives the twelve Old Testament lessons of the Easter Vigil (p. 522), three of which recur in the corresponding series of the Epiphany Vigil (p. 517). These are closely related to the corresponding Greek and Roman series of fifteen and twelve lessons respectively: that is to say, the Greek series has eight passages in common with Jerusalem, the Roman seven; and of these, six are also common to the Greek and the Roman, and therefore to all three series. It follows that the origin of the Greek and the Roman selections, as of so much else, is to be found in Jerusalem in the fourth or fifth century.

The documents that Mr Conybeare has put at our disposal are very valuable: but this is all that can be said in praise of the book. He has taken a great deal of trouble with it, but not nearly enough. Every one knows that he is not commonly very careful of his language; neither is he here. He seems to fling down the first word that comes into his head without stopping to think whether it appropriately represents the sense ('unending', p. 125, obviously 'unfailing'; 'from eternity', p. 260, which is nonsense; it evidently = ἀπ' αἰῶνος 'since the world began'), or whether it is dignified and worthy of its context (e. g. 'send off', p. 162; 'hint', p. 204), or even whether it is English, and we find such words as 'emblemed', 'Godhood', 'loving-kind', 'staffs', 'momently' (= ἐν τάχει, Rom. xvi 20), 'discarnate'; besides such neo-journalese as 'heaven's holy kingdom'. And though there may be some etymological connexion between μύρον and μύρρα, and though the Greek μύρον does contain σμύρνα among its many ingredients, yet to render μύρον, or its Armenian equivalent, throughout by 'myrrh' is quite misleading and in fact ridiculous. And some of Mr Conybeare's renderings are almost unintelligible: e. g. what does 'confessional testimony' mean, p. 146; or 'ruling intuition of sense', p. 237; or 'in respect of the event', p. 242; or 'his raiment . . . set on a level with the praisegiving of the twelve apostles', p. 259? Nor is his accuracy in transcription to be depended upon: I have noticed e. g. that whereas on p. 394 he has

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ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟ ΠΡΟΣΩΡΑΝ ΒΑΠΤΙΖΕΙΝ, his MS reads ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΩΡΑΝ ΒΑΠΤΙΖΟΜΕΝΟΝ, which is noted in the margin as the reading of another MS; and p. 397, whereas he reads ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΣΑΒΒΑ ΤΑ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΒΑΠΤΙΣΜΑ, the MS has ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΣΑΒΒΑΤΟΥ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΒΑΠΤΙΣΑΙ. It would have been an advantage also if quotations from the Holy Scriptures had been noted, and then we should not have had 'epitomize rightly', p. 232 (2 Tim. ii. 15 *ὀρθοτομεῖν*), 'sprinkle me with thy asperges' (Ps. li. 7), nor 'this divine emblem which thou hast provided for them that fear thee . . . by the sight of the rainbow' (Ps. lx 4 *ἔδωκας τοῖς φοβουμένοις σε σημείωσιν, τοῦ φυγεῖν ἀπὸ προσώπου τόξου*); or if the Armenian really requires these renderings, it might have been made clear why it says what it does. When one comes to Mr Conybeare's own notes and statements and discussions, it is impossible in any reasonable space to convey an impression of them or adequately to criticize them: it would be necessary to go through the sections of the book page by page and line by line and expound the notes of interrogation and exclamation and more uncomplimentary remarks one has written in the margin, and even then the criticism would be incomplete. Of course Mr Conybeare generally has an axe to grind, and he leaves the impression that he reaches his conclusions first and has recourse to the evidence later; while since he does not know or understand the broad highways of ecclesiastical usage, his interpretations are apt to be the superficial and irresponsible deliverances of his own imagination. His assertions, like his words, are flung out at random; there is no sign of any patient investigation and interrogation of facts. A hypothesis is final; it requires no verification; it does not rouse his conscience and make him suspicious of what fits too easily into what he wishes to be true. He is credulous and can believe anything that tells in favour of his desired conclusion. In short, his work betrays no sign of the instincts and qualities that one generally associates with the conception of a scholar. Life must be very easy if one can so easily believe what one wants to, or if one has ingenuity enough sincerely to make the facts conformable. I will take two instances of Mr Conybeare's method. (1) Certain texts of the Armenian baptismal order contain in the scrutiny of the candidate for baptism two questions, 'What dost thou ask for?' and 'Dost thou sincerely ask?', with their answers and the consequent reply of the minister, 'According to thy faith be it unto thee', and a form of baptism which asserts that the subject has 'come of his own will into the catechumenate' (p. 105). Mr Conybeare's chief MS, of the ninth or tenth century, does not contain this dialogue, &c., and he is therefore concerned to defend the date which he assigns to the MS (p. xii). His defence is that infant baptism was of late introduction into Armenia, that there must have been a strong

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party opposed to it in the ninth and tenth centuries. That the Armenian dissenters still reject it and appeal to the questions of the baptismal order as implying that the candidate comes voluntarily to the font; while the order for the burial of infants is an order for unbaptized infants. Consequently, in order to disarm the opposition, the passage in question was quietly omitted by scribes, just as the corresponding passage is omitted in the Anglican Prayer Book. Now it will be noticed that Mr Conybeare does not say that there *was* a strong opposition to infant baptism at the period in question, but only that there must have been: in other words he has no proof of it; while as to the order for the burial of infants there is no sign at all in the rite itself that it was meant for unbaptized children, and in fact in one of the MSS which, Mr Conybeare says, 'present the rite in its primitive form as one of interring unbaptized children' (p. 276), the children are actually called 'fruit of thy holy font', and are said to 'have been made children through the holy font of holiness' (pp. 287 sq.); and the characteristic argument on pp. 276 sq. is scarcely decisive. The extraordinary statement about the Book of Common Prayer does not need comment. Yet, however all this may be, the unwary reader will still naturally suppose that there is some good and sufficient reason to believe that the questions, &c., existed in the ninth or tenth century; whereas on further examination he will discover that they first appear, so far as can be gathered from the evidence supplied by Mr Conybeare, in the fifteenth century (pp. xv, 105), and continue to appear sporadically. The natural inference from this evidence would be that they came into existence at some time between the tenth and the fifteenth century; and this the more that the parallel questions *Quid petis? Vis baptizari?* and their answers first begin to appear in the West in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. And, indeed, since Latin rites were translated into Armenian at least in the thirteenth century (p. xxvii), it would not be temerarious to suggest that, like some other things in the later Armenian rite (e. g. mitres, and, if I remember aright, crosiers, and apparently the position of the Creed and the last Gospel in the mass), these questions were borrowed from, or suggested by, the Western rite. Anyhow the facts, as Mr Conybeare supplies them, suggest that the form of baptismal scrutiny in question is not a survival of an ancient form, but one deliberately adopted in the middle ages for the 'baptism of such as are of riper years'. But then, Mr Conybeare has already assumed (*Key of Truth* p. clxxxix) that this form of scrutiny is ancient, and is a survival in the baptism of the orthodox Armenians 'though it has no applicability to children-in-arms'; and hence the trouble. (2) Another of Mr Conybeare's favourite assumptions is that the Epiphany is by origin a feast of the Baptism of our Lord interpreted

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in the adoptionist sense, and that the commemoration of the Nativity was only attached to it later. Accordingly when he finds an orthodox formula in use at the Epiphany, like the 'hymn', as he calls it, Σήμερον ἡ χάρις (p. 417) of the 'Great Consecration' (i. e. the blessing of the waters in commemoration of the Baptism) which treats exclusively of the Baptism, he regards it as 'archaic in tone' and dates it early, and even suggests that it is 'the *debris*' of an adoptionist 'hymn' (pp. 187, 190); and, conversely, when in one form of the 'hymn' he finds references to the Incarnation and the Nativity he interprets them of the Baptism, and makes them mean 'the divine in the Man . . . was actually generated at the Baptism' (pp. 188, 190). In the middle of the book occur some ninety pages of small print containing a translation by the Bishop of Moray of a great part of the Nestorian office and liturgy of the Epiphany from a mediaeval MS. No explanation is given of the presence of this disproportionate and seemingly irrelevant mass of matter: one can only suppose that it is meant to illustrate the close relation of the Epiphany to the Baptism of our Lord. One might have thought that this was already sufficiently familiar. But anyhow what, so far as I know, neither Mr Conybeare nor anybody else has yet proved is that the Epiphany is or ever was in the Church a feast of the Baptism in itself or for its own sake or as having the adoptionist significance which he claims; nor, so far as I have observed, for I have certainly not read them through, do the ninety pages from the Syriac prove or suggest it. As for the Σήμερον ἡ χάρις, I fail myself to recognize its 'archaic tone', and should rather have regarded it as not at all archaic. Mr Conybeare rightly points out that the title which seems to assign it to S. Sophronius of Jerusalem (†637) is comparatively modern, and, even if in any sense right, refers only to the prologue Ἀναξ ἄκτιστε and not to the ἕτερος πρόλογος in which the 'hymn' occurs; only the criticism ought to go further and to point out that the 'hymn' is only intercalated into the prologue, which consists of Εὐλογητὸς εἶ . . . χορὸς ἁγίων πλησιάζει ἡμῖν· μεθ' ὧν εὐχαρίστως βοῶμέν σοι (pp. 417 sq.), the sense of which is broken by the 'hymn'. The 'hymn' therefore is simply detachable from the rest of the formula. Now it is characteristic of S. John of Damascus (675–760) to compose whole passages of his sermons, or even whole sermons, of rhythmical exclamations or apostrophes all beginning with the same word or words, quite in the manner of the present 'hymn'. Thus *Hom. in Annunc.* (Migne *P. G.* xcvi 649 sq.), *Hom.* i, ii *in Nat. B. V. M.* (*ib.* 677, 689–696) have pages of clauses beginning with χαῖρε or χαίροις: cp. the eight clauses with νῦν *ib.* 648, and the seven with ὦ θυγάτριον *ib.* 672: but the favourite form is with Σήμερον precisely as in the 'hymn'; see *Hom. in Transfig.* 2, 3 (*ib.* 546), *in Annunc.* (*ib.* 644, 648), i *in Nat. B. V. M.* 3, 4, 7 (*ib.* 664 sqq., 672), ii *in Dormit.* 2 (*ib.*

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724), iii *in Dormit.* 2, 4 (*ib.* 753 sq., 757). It seems to me very probable that the 'hymn' in question is simply an extract from a lost sermon of S. John of Damascus on the Epiphany, and that the varieties of text only mean that the clauses selected varied from time to time or from place to place.

Dr A. Baumstark has done a very great service and earned our real gratitude by the publication of his *Festbrevier und Kirchenjahr der syrischen Jacobiten* (Paderborn 1910). After a useful and interesting chapter on the Syrian Jacobite Church, he examines and expounds the structure and developement of the Divine Office and the ecclesiastical year and its service, in comparison where necessary with those of other rites, and makes clear to the eye the structure and relations of the several services by such tabulations as are found on pp. 119, 135, 137, 141, 147, 155. The Divine Office of all the Eastern rites is now accessible to those of us who are not very familiar with the languages involved: the Coptic in the Marquess of Bute's *Coptic Morning Service*, the Nestorian in Dr Maclean's *East Syrian Daily Offices*, the Armenian in Mr Conybeare's *Rituale Armenorum*, and now the Syrian Jacobite (and I suppose the Maronite is practically identical with it) in Dr Baumstark's work. Dr Baumstark has also published an excellent little manual at the cost of a mark, *Die Messe im Morgenland* (Munich 1906), full of information on the liturgy of all the Eastern rites, its history, parts, and structure.

Dom R. H. Connolly's valuable translation of *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai* in *Texts and Studies* (Cambridge 1909) has already been noticed by the Bishop of Moray in this JOURNAL (vol. xi p. 315), and I need not remark on it, except to anticipate with gratitude the promised translation of the work of George of Arbela (p. 75), and to express the hope that he will publish as many of the liturgical commentaries as possible. But I should like to call attention again to Mr Edmund Bishop's Appendix of six 'Observations' on topics suggested by the Homilies, and to make some remarks on some of them. The third Observation is a valuable study of the Diptychs under two heads, that of their contents, and that of their position in the liturgy. As to contents, it is pointed out that, whereas in the West in the earliest period—represented by the synod of Elvira—the names recited were those of the offerers, in the East, where perhaps the practice of recitation of names only began rather later, it was the names of the dead that were recited; and Mr Bishop connects this difference with the early abolition in the East of the offering of the matter of the sacrifice by the people, which was retained in the West down to the middle ages. Later on both East and West combined both living and dead in their diptychs, while in the East at least the lists became only lists of eminent and official

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persons, not of mere commonplace people like the Western offerers. As to the position of the diptychs Mr Bishop points out that in Rome the earliest record assumes that the commemoration of names was within the Canon, while in the non-Roman Western rite of the seventh century, as in the Areopagite, Narsai, and the present Nestorian rite, it was outside of and before the Canon. He also argues that at Constantinople always, or at least from the beginning of the sixth century, the diptychs were within the anaphora, as they are now; and suggests that the same was the case at Jerusalem, while for Antioch there is no evidence. Of Egypt he has nothing to say. Much of this does not seem to me quite satisfactory. In order to connect the different contents of the diptychs as between East and West with the offerings of the people, Mr Bishop has to hold that this offering died out in the East in the course of the fourth century. Consequently he criticizes my reconstruction of the rites of Egypt and Cappadocia in *Litt. E. and W.* app. J and N. I am grateful for Mr Bishop's criticism: and I am not sure that even he has fathomed the iniquity of one of my quotations, viz. *τὴν πρόθεσιν τῆς δωροφορίας* from S. Isidore. It is obvious that I pounced on the phrase without reading the context, in which in fact it means something like 'the motive of almsgiving' and has nothing at all to do with the offertory. But as to the other Egyptian quotation, from S. Cyril *in Zach.* vi, I cannot wholly agree with Mr Bishop. The question is who are the *προσάγοντες* of the phrase *αἱ τῶν προσαγόντων θυσίαι*. I interpreted it of the people: Mr Bishop thinks it means the ministers, *οἱ θεῖοι ἱερουργοί*, mentioned in the context. In the passage Cyril is interpreting Zech. xiv 21, and while he takes 'Jerusalem' to mean the *ἱερουργοί*, he also makes 'Judah' represent the faithful generally; and 'by none'—i. e. either of ministers or people—are the sacred vessels used for profane purposes, while in them *αἱ τῶν προσαγόντων τελοῦνται θυσίαι*: each does not bring a vessel of his own, but all use the sacred vessels. It seems to me that it is implied that all the faithful offer, though the functions of ministers and people in respect of the offering are different, and that my interpretation is the more natural. As to Cappadocia, S. Gregory Nazianzen in the passage I have quoted certainly seems to me to mean that Valens intended to offer his oblation in the usual way. To say 'that Valens was an Arian and not in Basil's communion'—and therefore, presumably, could not offer in Basil's church—is naïve: whatever Basil may have thought, Valens intended to be in his communion, or, if you like, to force Basil into his own communion. But however this may be, and possibly Mr Bishop is right, there is still a difficulty: the Eastern rites still retain the petitions for the offerers and for the fulfilment of their intentions in offering; and it is difficult to believe that these were already a mere

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survival in the fourth century. And the Greeks at least still offer bread, not now in the mass of the faithful, but naturally before the prothesis. Is this a revival, and not a continuous tradition? With regard to the position of the recitation of the diptychs in the liturgy, Mr Bishop urges that in the Byzantine rite it was always where it is now, within the anaphora and after the consecration. Consequently, again, he criticizes my reconstruction in *Litt. E. and W.* app. P. And, again, I am grateful for the criticism; but Mr Bishop ought not to have said that I seem to have felt considerable confidence in the reconstruction, for, in fact, that is the last thing I felt, as the words which he quotes sufficiently indicate—'apparently means', 'may mean' (and I wish by the way Mr Bishop would construe S. Maximus's scholion ὧδε οὐ πρῶτα κτλ.: I am quite uncertain how to do it). Nor is the note quoted the only evidence produced: of course I presupposed the earlier evidence of the preceding appendix—there interpreted with a hesitation for which Dom P. de Meester gently takes me to task (Χρυσοστομικά ii p. 334). I think, as I should always have thought, that Mr Bishop is very likely right on this point; only his evidence is not much, if any, more satisfactory than mine. The letter of the patriarch John to Hormisdas in 516 is new to me, and it looks plausible: but one would like to know what is the Greek represented by *in tempore consecrationis*. But what Mr Bishop says of S. Maximus is quite bewildering—that in the *Mystagogia* he comments on the mass only up to the *Sursum corda*, while the exposition of the *Trisagion* (i. e. the *Sanctus*), the Lord's Prayer, and the *Unus sanctus* has nothing to do with the order of the mass; and since he does not mention the diptychs they cannot have occurred before the anaphora. So far as I can see Maximus comments on the public features of the whole liturgy from the entrance to the communion, i. e. his exposition is from the point of view of the people, and therefore excludes the inaudible parts of the rite, but otherwise it covers the whole in a general way. I do not think this excludes Mr Bishop's contention because Maximus does not notice everything that is audible even outside the anaphora, but only the prominent features, and I suspect that Mr Bishop is misled by the occasional interest taken in the diptychs for special reasons into supposing that they were very prominent or interesting in normal times. In short it seems to me that the *Mystagogia* is of no use at all for the present purpose. As to the Greek S. James (p. 111), it is true that its diptychs are now within the anaphora; but no doubt this is only a Byzantinism, for in the Jacobite rite the *Liber vitae*, when it was in use, was recited before the kiss of peace (Barsalibi *Expositio* 8). The fourth Observation is on diaconal litanies in the mass. Mr Bishop points out that while the Greek S. James and the Byzantine liturgy are crowded with such litanies, none are to be found in the

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Syriac Jacobite rite, nor are indicated in S. Cyril of Jerusalem, Silvia, James of Edessa, or Barsalibi, nor yet even in the Greek S. James in its earliest text. And besides, the litanies of the later texts of S. James are not descended directly from the fourth-century litanies of the *Apostolic Constitutions* and S. Chrysostom's homilies. Accordingly Mr Bishop conjectures that the litanic form of prayer originated in the district of Antioch in the fourth century, and thence spread across Asia Minor to Constantinople—while it did not spread to Egypt, S. Syria, or Mesopotamia—and that the litanies now found in the Greek S. James are a late importation from Constantinople. I do not find all this convincing. Obviously, in the first place, there is a distinction to be made, between the litany after the Gospel or Sermon, and the other litanies of the mass. As to the latter, the diaconal litanies which cover the inaudible prayers of the celebrant, it is plain enough that they are of Byzantine origin, and were imported into S. James from Constantinople; and it should be added, that they come not from the present arrangement of the Byzantine liturgy, but from an arrangement more like that represented by the old Latin version of S. Basil, published by Cochlaeus and Cassander or by Goar's Pyromalus MS; and they are an element in the byzantinisation which S. James, like S. Mark, only less completely, has undergone. I venture to doubt whether any conclusion can be drawn from the absence of litanies in Cod. Vat. 2282; texts vary in their intended scope; the celebrant and the deacon each had his own book, and the cues which connected them might be few or many. Besides there are indications of two litanies in the text (pp. 100, 103). But as to the litany after the Gospel, it has every appearance of being identical with the κοιναὶ εὐχαί of S. Justin Martyr, which must have been some inchoate form of litany in order to be κοιναί at all. However this may be, this litany seems to be universal, and to have existed at some time or other in every rite. Of course it is not indicated in S. Cyril of Jerusalem or Silvia or Narsai, because none of these deals with this part of the liturgy; and no doubt the silence of James of Edessa and of the Areopagite offers a certain difficulty. It has been displaced in the Syriac Jacobite liturgy by another form of prayer, but it existed there once, as is explicitly stated by Barsalibi (*Expos.* 5) who transliterates λιτανεία to describe it: and besides in other offices in which Epistle and Gospel are used, they are commonly followed by a diaconal litany (e.g. baptism, both Jacobite and Maronite, Denzinger *R. O.* i 311, 353; ordination, *ib.* ii 158, 175, 186, 202, &c.). The present Nestorian has its *karuzutha*. In Egypt there are 'The Three' (biddings of the deacon) and the Προσεύξασθε with Κλίνωμεν and Ἀναστῶμεν quite in the form of the Roman *orationes sollemnes*, which are the corresponding Roman feature, now recited only on Good Friday, and at other times repre-

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sented by their *incipit* 'Oremus'. And the Gallican had its *preces* at this point; and the African an *indictio orationis communis* by the deacon at some point in the liturgy. In the fifth Observation Mr Bishop discusses 'silent recitals in the mass of the faithful', i.e. the practice of saying the prayers inaudibly on the part of the celebrant. He points out that the old and, one might have thought, obsolete contention that the famous Novel of Justinian was an innovation and aimed at abolishing a traditional use of inaudible prayers, is untenable. But when he adds that the text of the Novel shews that 'the recital of the canon aloud was the ... still universal practice' throughout Justinian's Eastern Empire, it is very difficult to understand the argument. One would have thought that the Novel indicated that the contrary practice was at least beginning to emerge, and that Justinian would not have shot a gratuitous enactment into the air. Since it is apparently implied by Narsai that the usage was already established in Mesopotamia in the fifth century, Mr Bishop very pertinently suggests that it spread from this source, till it was adopted by Constantinople and Rome, where it is known to have prevailed by the end of the eighth century. It may be added that it was largely prevalent in the intermediate area, Palestine and Syria, by about 600, since John Moschus, in the well-worn story of the Apamean shepherd boys playing at mass, remarks that the children knew the anaphora because '*in certain places* the presbyters are accustomed to say it aloud' (*Pratum spirit.* 196). In his sixth Observation, on 'the moment of consecration', among other things, Mr Bishop makes two very valuable contributions to the discussion of the Invocation in the liturgy. First, he points out how the ground has been cleared by two things—by Dr Harnack's proof that the second Pfaffian fragment of Irenaeus is a modern forgery, the result of which is that S. Cyril of Jerusalem is the first witness the existence of the Invocation and for the conception of consecration by the operation of the Holy Ghost; and by the discovery of the anaphora of Sarapion, which for the first time gives us a formula of Invocation of the Eternal Word. The broad statement on the former point requires such modification as is involved in the substitution of the *Egyptian Church Order* for S. Cyril, since the *Church Order* is probably rather earlier. Secondly, Mr Bishop points out that in the writings occasioned by the Pneumatomachian question, the Catholic writers, while appealing to the operation of the Holy Ghost in baptism and in numberless other spheres, in no case have anything to say of any operation of His in the sphere of the Holy Eucharist, which would be strange if they were accustomed to pray for His presence to consecrate.

The series of *Cambridge Liturgical Handbooks*, under the editorship of Drs Swete and Srawley, opens excellently with the Bishop of Moray's

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Ancient Church Orders (Cambridge 1910). Dr Maclean first distributes the Orders into four groups, corresponding to the several elements of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, viz. (1) *Ap. Const.* viii 3–46 with the *Canons of Hippolytus* and the allied documents; (2) *Ap. Const.* vii 1–32 with the *Didache* and the *Apostolic Church Order*; (3) *Ap. Const.* vii 33–viii 2; (4) *Ap. Const.* i–vi and the *Didaskaliae*; and describes their common characteristics, and their relations to one another in respect of contents. He then analyses and compares the contents, under the heads of Church Buildings and Worship, Ordination, Baptism and Confirmation, Doctrine, and the organization of the ecclesiastical year. Under this head more use might have been made with advantage of tabulation, exhibiting the scheme of services in the several orders in parallel columns; and it would be well that the texts compared in parallel columns should really correspond in detail; those on pp. 51, 75 would be perhaps easier to follow if the passages were printed successively, than they are as now arranged. And lastly, the genealogical relations of the orders to one another are described and their several dates determined; and here Dr Maclean takes the view that the members of the first group are not in any direct line of descent one from another, but are co-ordinate developements of a lost original, which may be Hippolytean; and he concludes that the *Canons of Hippolytus* and the Egyptian and the Ethiopic *Church Orders* are Egyptian of the first half of the fourth century, the *Apostolic Constitutions* Syrian of about 375, and that the *Testament of the Lord* belongs to Asia Minor, and about the year 350. It is so long since I gave any serious attention to these documents that I dare not say offhand that I am convinced; but Dr. Maclean's arguments and results very much commend themselves, and I think he has shewn very good reasons as against Dr Funk's rather perverse view, which regards the documents as related to one another in a direct line of descent, but inverts the order and puts *Ap. Const.* viii first, and the *Canons of Hippolytus* last. On p. 50 Dr. Maclean says (as I did myself in *Litt. E. and W.* p. xxxviii top, a passage I should like to delete) that any literary connexion between the anaphora of the *Ethiopic Church Order* (and Hauler's Latin) and that of *Ap. Const.* viii, only begins at Μεμνημένοι τοίνυν. But there are *disjecta membra* of the shorter anaphora floating in the rhetoric of the 'Clementine Liturgy' at an earlier point. Thus:—

Hauler p. 106.	*Litt. E. and W.* pp. 15, 19 sq.
angelum voluntatis tuae qui est verbum tuum ... per quem omnia	ἄγγελον τῆς ... βουλῆς σου ... Λόγον Θεοῦ ... δι' αὐτοῦ τὰ πάντα

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fecisti . . . quique in utero [virginis] habitus incarnatus est . . . et virgine natus: qui voluntatem tuam complens . . . cum pateretur ut a passione liberaret eos . . . ut mortem solvat et vincula diaboli disrumpat.

πεποίηκας . . . γέγονεν ἐν μήτρᾳ παρθένου καὶ ἐσαρκώθη, γενόμενος ἐκ παρθένου . . . τὸ θέλημά σου ἐπλήρωσε . . . παθὼν . . . ἵνα πάθους λύσῃ . . . τούτους, καὶ θανάτου . . . καὶ ῥήξῃ τὰ δεσμὰ τοῦ διαβόλου.

It is evident that the author of *Ap. Const.* had the shorter anaphora before him and expanded it: and this in itself seems almost sufficient to refute Dr Funk's contention. If I may venture to say so, Dr Maclean's work seems to me admirable: full, compact, exact, well arranged, and adequately suited to the purposes of the attractive series which it inaugurates. In a second edition there are a few things which might be amended. P. 36: ܣܛܘܐ should surely be rendered 'colonnades', i. e. aisles; and 'apparently near the altar' deleted: the text is 'let the house', i. e. the nave, 'have colonnades': it is an aisled basilica that is described. P. 39: surely the 'prayers and psalmody' belong to the morning office, not to the mass. P. 48 bottom: ἀναφέρειν is used in the second canon of Ancyra of the deacons in relation to the offertory. P. 57 bottom: 'ceased' suggests that Saturday masses had once existed in Rome: but the passage of Socrates quoted rather suggests that they were an innovation elsewhere, which the Roman Church refused (παρῃτήσαντο) to accept. P. 58: Pionius surely communicated in the species of bread carried home from the altar: and the words quoted from the Hippolytean fragment belong to the catenator, not to his source: they do not occur in the quotation of the passage in Germanus *Historia ecclesiastica*. P. 66: of course no litany is mentioned in Narsai, because he only begins his exposition at a later point. P. 135: surely 'these compilers' *did* 'commemorate the Death and Resurrection of our Lord on the same day' like every one else, viz. at the Paschal vigil. P. 140: surely the τεσσαρακοστή is at the outset definitely the fortieth day before Easter, no doubt the date of the ὀνοματογραφία of the competents, and the observance of the faithful in general gradually and variously adjusted itself to the interval, which came to be called τεσσαρακοστή, as the fifty days after Easter were called πεντηκοστή. P. 161: as to the 'Sanctus', in more than one of the Abyssinian anaphoras it is thrust in anyhow in the middle, without any connexion with the context.

The second volume of this series is the late Bishop of Edinburgh's *Church Year and Kalendar* (Cambridge 1910), which did not receive final revision at the author's hands. After an Introduction on the general lines of the growth of the system and its interest and importance,

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and a useful bibliography, Dr Dowden deals with the Week, Martyrs' days, the feasts of our Lord, those of the Blessed Virgin, those of Apostles and other New Testament saints, penitential seasons, Western Kalendars and Martyrologies, the date of Easter, and the Kalendar of the Orthodox Eastern Church; and three appendices deal successively with the Celtic Paschal questions, the Kalendars of the separated Eastern Churches, and the history of the English ecclesiastical Kalendar from the sixteenth century. The book is a useful introduction to the subject, but it is not so satisfactory as Dr Maclean's volume. As will appear from the arrangement of the contents, the treatment is rather descriptive than an attempt to exhibit the developement of the system, either historically or logically; and this will be the more evident if it is noticed that the treatment of the Feasts of our Lord begins with Christmas and Epiphany and not with Easter. And one would like to have something more said on the fundamental subject-matter of the great commemorations—that it is not particular events or series of events so much as their significance that is commemorated; or, to put it otherwise, it is the Person of our Lord as interpreted by groups of events that is primary, and the realistic and mimetic is comparatively late and adventitious: so that 1 Tim. iii 16, Tit. ii 11, 12, iii 4–6 may stand for Epiphany, Phil. ii 5–11 for the Pascha, Eph. iv 7–12 for Whitsunday. Dr Maclean has pointed out that the Church Orders imply the commemoration of the Death and Resurrection on the same day (p. 135); and that the Ascension and the Coming of the Holy Ghost were, at least in some cases, celebrated together on Whitsunday (p. 129); and the documents collected by Mr Conybeare are sufficient to shew how significant for the interpretation of the Baptism as commemorated at the Theophania are the Voice and the Dove in relation to the Person of the Lord. Dr Dowden has in part hinted at this (pp. xii, 30, 40); but I cannot but think it needs more emphasis than it commonly receives. The twice-repeated statement (pp. xi, 40), that the commemoration of our Lord's Death is the primitive and essential element in the Pascha, is, to say the least, difficult to understand: while it is curious that Easter is not really treated of at all (pp. 40–42), except in respect of the determination of its date (pp. 104 sqq., 146); and the growth of Lent and its relation to the Paschal fast is not very satisfactorily traced (pp. 79 sqq.). As to some points of detail: p. xiv, All Souls is scarcely a 'festival', and perhaps ought not strictly to be called even a 'day', but rather as in the Roman Kalendar 'commemoratio omnium animarum'; its observance is only additional to the service of the day; p. 8, S. Innocent I *Ep. ad Decentium* 4 explains the Roman Saturday fast as a weekly reproduction of the Paschal Sabbath, as Friday and Sunday are of those of the Pascha; p. 14, surely the *natale*

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of S. Polycarp (Eus. *H. E.* iv 15) should have been mentioned as the earliest recorded martyr's day; p. 28, the name of Mgr Duchesne should be substituted for that of the Bishop of Salisbury (*Origines* p. 253); p. 34 for '(S. James and S. John on Dec.) 26' read '27': p. 40, it is left quite obscure which day Tertullian calls 'dies Paschae': it is in fact Saturday; p. 87, nothing is said of the *origin* of the Ember Days, which was treated of by Dom G. Morin in *Revue Bénédictine* XIV 8 (August 1897).

In his dissertation *The Liturgy of the Primitive Church* (Cambridge 1910), Mr R. M. Woolley, after discussing shortly the mutual relations and the dates of the Church Orders, putting them earlier than does Dr Maclean, discusses the liturgy of the first four centuries in two sections, the 'Proanaphora' and the 'Anaphora', and at the end prints a very useful collection of texts which he has used, accompanied by translations where necessary. As to the first section—and I wish he would not perpetuate the word 'proanaphora', which on all analogy ought to mean, not 'what precedes the anaphora', but 'a previous anaphora'—Mr Woolley derives the mass of the catechumens—lessons, sermon, prayers—from the Synagogue service—(*shema'*), prayers, lessons, exposition (cp. Acts xiii 15). I should have thought it was safe only so to derive the group lessons, sermon, and to say merely that the synagogue supplied the form in which 'the teaching of the Apostles' (Acts ii 24) was imparted, since the Christian 'prayers' as we first know them are of quite a different character from those of the synagogue, and are quite differently placed. However this may be, we have the mass of the catechumens in this form in Justin *Ap.* i 67, and with the addition of Psalms, no doubt between the lessons (*Ap. Const.* ii 57), in Tertullian *de anima* 9, as Mr Woolley points out p. 31 (where, however, he should not say that the ψάλτης is mentioned several times in the third century; the order of singers first appears in the canons of Laodicea, and the mention of them in *Ap. Const.* ii 25, iii 11 belongs to the compiler, not to the *Didaskalia*). Mr Woolley then enquires whether the Eucharist was always preceded by this office, and is no doubt right in replying that it was not so under all circumstances; but I question whether he is right in saying that any other service, such as Baptism or Ordination, displaced the 'morning service' altogether (36); for there is a quite sufficient reason for the mass after these rites being described as beginning only at the kiss or the offertory—viz. that baptism or ordination could not be celebrated in the presence of catechumens, and could therefore be inserted into the mass only after the expulsions; not to say that baptisms certainly and ordinations probably normally followed vigils, and the vigil service was itself only a prolonged mass of the catechumens. Mr Woolley also points out that the mass of the catechumens was used alone; only it is not the

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remote and obsolete use that one might gather from his pages. It is still the service of Good Friday at Milan; and also in the Roman rite, though here, since the seventh century, the Adoration of the Cross and the Mass of the Presanctified have followed it; and the Mozarabic *Indulgentia* of Good Friday is essentially a mass of the catechumens: and see further Duchesne *Origines* pp. 224, 238 (first edition). When Mr Woolley argues from 'Silvia' that the 'morning service' is the origin of the Day Office, this is deplorable. Silvia means precisely what she says, and it is not to be inferred that she implies lessons where she does not mention them p. 40). A simpler form of the sort of offices to which she refers is represented by *Ap. Const.* viii 34–39. Mr Woolley also derives the Mass of the Presanctified from the 'morning service' (p. 41). This I simply do not understand. Of course the Presanctified—is so much as is necessary of the offertory, and a communion—i. e. attached to a mass of the catechumens; but it in no way springs out of it. And when Mr Woolley says that the oriental Signing of the Chalice is intermediate between the old detached mass of the catechumens and the later Presanctified, I am baffled. The 'Signing of the Chalice' is the Presanctified. I can only conjecture that Mr Woolley supposes that the chalice is reserved for the Presanctified. This, of course, is not so: the chalice is everywhere consecrated by the commixture of the reserved host—except in so far as according to the later Roman interpretation the chalice is not consecrated at all, and the communion is only in one kind. In discussing the anaphora, Mr Woolley distinguishes four types of the εὐχαριστία. (1) The type represented by *Didache* 9 sq., and *Acta Joannis* 85, being a developed 'grace before meat', an act of praise and thanksgiving without any detailed commemoration of our Lord's redemptive acts. (2) The type represented by *Acta Thomae* 49 sq., 133 and *Acta Joan.* 109, described as 'an adaptation of the baptismal formula' (p. 54). This is perhaps not a very happy description, since though a Name is invoked or mentioned, it is only in one case the threefold Name (for I think Mr Woolley is mistaken in his interpretation of *Acta Thomae* 50 and the Holy Ghost is addressed throughout, except in the parenthesis 'for Ye are one in all', whatsoever that means; nor do I at all understand the interpretation of *Acta Joan.* 109, p. 57). The characteristic is rather 'invocation'. (3) The Lord's Prayer, if the notorious passage in S. Gregory the Great has anything behind it. Of course, Mr Woolley does not take this very seriously, since it is quite unsupported. But his account of what S. Gregory did in respect of the Lord's Prayer is strange: viz. that he required the Lord's Prayer to be said by the people and not by the celebrant alone (p. 59; cp. p. 61 note), which is precisely what S. Gregory says he had not done; only Mr Woolley omits the note of interrogation at the end of the passage, and so turns a question into an

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assertion. (4) The type that has prevailed with its thanksgiving, recital of the Institution, and ἐπίκλησις. Mr Woolley derives this from the Jewish Paschal ritual; and in a general way, in so far as it involves the solemn commemoration of historical events and the *vere dignum* form of thanksgiving, this may well be true. Some points in this section are not immediately convincing; and it requires thinking about whether the invocation of the Holy Ghost to consecrate can be considered to be a developement of an invocation in a different sense, viz. for the fruits of communion. And there are one or two things that need correction: viz. p. 69 S. Justin does not say that the celebrant *prays* 'that we may be accounted worthy of these things', but that he *gives thanks* that we have been so accounted worthy; and p. 73, when Tertullian says (*de Spectac.* 25) 'ex ore quo *Amen* in Sanctum protuleris', he is not referring to the *Sanctus*; the *Sanctum* is the Holy Thing, the Eucharist, and the reference is to the communion.

The fourth and fifth numbers of Dr P. Drews's *Studien zur Geschichte des Gottesdienstes und des gottesdienstlichen Lebens* (Tübingen 1910) are two *Beiträge zu Luthers liturgischen Reformen*, the one on the Latin and German Litany of 1529, the other on Luther's German Versicles and Collects. Dr Drews examines Luther's attitude towards the Litany from 1529 onwards, and shews that in 1519 and 1520, while deprecating the processions as unprofitable, he has no word of criticism for the Litany itself; that it went out of use in Wittenberg after 1521, probably as a consequence of Kalstadt's measures; and that it was restored, with modifications, in 1529 in view of the Turkish peril. Dr Drews also examines minutely the evidence for the exact date of the publication of the texts, and concludes that the German text appeared shortly before March, and the Latin in August 1529. To determine the sources which Luther employed, Dr Drews has examined the Litanies of the Augustinian, Brandenburg, Erfurt, Magdeburg, Meissen, Merseburg, and Naumburg uses; and he prints the Lutheran texts in parallel columns with those of the Augustinian hermits (the order to which Luther belonged) and of Magdeburg. The result is that so far as Luther's litany is traditional—and except for the omission of the invocations of saints it is entirely traditional in structure and for about half its contents—it reproduces the Augustinian text; and this means that it is simply Roman, since the Augustinian Litany has no special features of its own. Besides this, it has the *In hora mortis* which does not occur in any of these German uses, but is familiar elsewhere—e. g. in England, at Salisbury and Hereford. With the Magdeburg text it shares nothing peculiar, except *Agne* for *Agnus*; the *miserere nobis* with the first two clauses of the *Agnus Dei* and *da* [*dona*] *nobis pacem* with the third; and perhaps the structure of one suffrage. On the other hand, it omits fifteen of the petitions of the

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Augustinian text, and adds seven new clauses to the deprecations and eighteen to the petitions, for most of which Dr Drews can find no source. To the N.T. sources which he mentions or implies (S. Mt. ix 38, Rom. xvi 20) may be added Pss. cxliv (cxlv) 14, cxlv (cxlvi) 8 for *lapsos erigere*, and 1 Thess. v 14, Heb. ii 18 for *pusillanimes et tentatos consolari et adiuvare*; while a paragraph in the Liturgy of S. Basil (*Litt. E. and W.* p. 408) is more fruitful of parallels than S. Clement 1 *Cor.* 59 which Dr Drews cites; and *per agoniam*, &c., may rather come from the *Golden Litany* (Maskell *Mon. Rit.* ii p. 248), where the whole suffrage occurs, than from the two sources suggested on p. 42. This Litany is of course of great interest to us, since it contributed a great deal to the Litany in Marshall's *Primer* of 1535, and what is of more importance it is the source of some fourteen suffrages or parts of suffrages, besides incidental words in our own Litany, and has affected Cranmer's treatment of his Latin original and imported some Roman elements in place of the corresponding Sarum matter. Luther's Litany is an excellent piece of work, but it scarcely rivals the brilliancy of Cranmer's achievement. The second of Dr Drews's essays is on the Collects, with their introductory versicles, contained in the *Gesangbücher* of 1533, 1535, and 1543, the German Litany of 1529, the *Deutsche Messe* of 1526, the *Taufbüchlein* of 1523, the *Traubüchlein* of 1529, and the *Ordinationsformular* of 1535. All but some half-dozen of these are translations of Latin originals, which Dr Drews places in parallel with them—among them the *Deus qui contritorum*, from Luther's modification of which and not from the text of the Sarum mass, *in tribulatione cordis*, Cranmer translated the first collect of the English Litany. Dr Drews devotes an appendix to the discussion of the *Almechtiger Ewiger Gott, der du hast durch die sindflutt*, the original of the first collect in the English baptismal order of 1549, which was modified into its present form in 1552. There has been much discussion of this collect, as to whether it was Luther's own composition or a translation. Some lines in the middle and at the end are from the prayer *Deus patrum nostrorum* of the Roman baptisms, which is as old as the *Gelasianum* (i 32); but for the rest no source is known, except in so far as it makes use of what are of course commonplaces in this connexion—our Lord's Baptism, the Flood (1 Pet. iii 20), and the passage of the Red Sea (1 Cor. x 2). Dr Drews argues that the *Deus patrum nostrorum* is itself descended from a longer oriental formula, some form of which he supposes Luther to have had before him. The argument is ingenious and the parallels cited are striking; but the argument is not wholly convincing. Dr Drews's pamphlets are both of them valuable and welcome.

Also much to be welcomed are nos. 36 and 37, and 24 and 25 of the

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Bonn *Kleine Texte für theologische und philologische Vorlesungen und Uebungen*; no. 36 containing Luther's *Von Ordnung Gottesdiensts*, *Taufbüchlein*, and *Formula Missae et Communionis* of 1523, no. 37 the *Deutsche Messe* of 1526, edited by Dr Hans Lietzmann (Bonn 1909), and nos. 24 and 25 Luther's *Geistliche Lieder*, edited by Herr A. Leitzmann (Bonn 1907), which supply critical texts of the most important of the fundamental Lutheran liturgical documents, excellently printed, at the price of a few pence.

In the same series Dr H. Lietzmann edits (1906) the Roman *Ordo missae*, with the mass of Easter day, distinguishing by difference of type, rubrics and text of course, but besides this the parts of priest and people, what is sung from what is said, what is said inaudibly from what is said aloud, what is variable from what is fixed: Dr A. Baumstark edits *die Konstantinopolitanische Messliturgie vor dem ix Jahrhundert* (1909), being the text of the liturgies of SS. Chrysostom and Basil from the Barberini *Euchologion*, with illustrations in the margin from the writings of S. Chrysostom, the liturgy of Nestorius, the Μυσταγωγία of S. Maximus, and Anastasius's Latin version of the *Historia mystica* of S. German; and Dr H. Lietzmann again edits *die Klementinische Liturgie* (1910), i.e. the liturgy of *Ap. Const.* viii, with marginal references to S. James, S. Mark, S. Chrysostom, the Roman, *Ap. Const.* ii, and S. Cyril of Jerusalem; along with the anaphora of the Egyptian Church Order from Hauler's Latin, and in German from the Ethiopic; and the anaphora of Sarapion. Dr Paul Maas in *Frühbyzantinische Kirchenpoesie* I (1910) gives fifteen hymns of the fifth and sixth centuries, with elaborate *apparatus criticus*, distributed into three representative classes, by way of introduction to the study of Byzantine hymnology. Dr H. Lietzmann in *Lateinische altkirchliche Poesie* (1910) edits three hymns of S. Hilary, fourteen of S. Ambrose, ten inscriptions of Damasus, seven poems of Prudentius, the *Psalmus c. partem Donati* of S. Augustine, twenty-four selected passages from Commodian, and ten metrical inscriptions, all with critical and illustrative notes on the text. Herr A. Leitzmann edits *Kleinere geistliche Gedichte des xii Jahrhunderts* (1910), a series of six texts in old German, which I cannot understand, while the editor does not explain in any preface or note their significance. Dr D. W. Staerk in *Altjudäische liturgische Gebete* (1910) gives a selection of the prayers of the Synagogue, with introductions and variants: the benedictions of the *Shema*, the *Shemone 'esre* in two recensions, the *Habhinenu* (the occasional substitute for the eighteen benedictions), the *Musaph* prayers (representing the additional sacrifices on sabbaths and certain holy-days), the *Habhdala* of sabbaths and festivals, the sabbath prayers inserted after the third of the eighteen benedictions, and the penitential Litany (*Abhinu malkenu*) of the Day of Atonement

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and the preceding days, and the *Kaddish*. The earlier numbers of this series were published co-ordinately in Germany and in England: lately the English editions seem to have ceased. If they are not successful in England, it is to be hoped that they will continue to succeed in Germany.

F. E. BRIGHTMAN.

(*To be continued.*)

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RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, October 1910 (Vol. lxxi, No. 141: Spottiswoode & Co.). H. L. GOUDGE A Jewish view of the synoptic Gospels—D. STONE Dr Sanday's 'Christologies, ancient and modern'—Mrs CREIGHTON The world missionary conference—C. R. D. BIGGS and W. C. BISHOP The prospects and principles of Prayer Book revision—A. C. HEADLAM The training and examination of candidates for Orders—W. A. WIGRAM The Assyrian Church—E. W. WATSON The Church and the world—The Church Congress after fifty years—Short notices.

The Hibbert Journal, October 1910 (Vol. ix, No. 1: Williams & Norgate). P. SABATIER De la situation religieuse de l'Église catholique romaine, en France, à l'heure actuelle—G. MURRAY Hellenistic philosophy—P. E. MATHESON Ideals in education—A. W. VERNON The present crisis of the Christian religion—THE AUTHOR OF 'PRO CHRISTO ET ECCLESIA' A vision of unity—A. M. F. COLE Fragments of a dual consciousness—J. H. HYSLOP Philosophical theories on psychical research—T. HOLMES Prisons and prisoners—M. A. R. TUKER The words of institution at the Last Supper—G. C. FIELD The fallacy of the social psychologist—F. H. Low Principal Childs on Woman Suffrage: a rejoinder—H. B. ALEXANDER The belief in God and immortality as factors in race progress—Discussions—Reviews—Recent books and articles.

The Expositor, October 1910 (Seventh Series, No. 58: Hodder & Stoughton). W. P. PATERSON Divorce and the Law of Christ—B. D. EERDMANS Ezra and the Priestly Code—F. Y. LEGGATT Job's contribution to the problem of the future state—J. ORR Sin as a problem of to-day: 9. Sin as guilt—the Divine judgement—E. W. MAUNDER A misinterpreted miracle—A. SOUTER The influence of persecution on certain New Testament writings—J. MOFFATT The outlook in New Testament criticism.

November 1910 (Seventh Series: No. 59). J. ORR Sin as a problem of to-day: 10. Sin and the Divine remedy—eternal issues and

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theodicy—H. M. WIENER Has Dr Skinner vindicated the Graf-Wellhausen theory?—K. LAKE The earliest Christian teaching on divorce—R. WINTERBOTHAM The four empires of Daniel—E. HILL Historic Christianity and the mystical sense—E. C. SELWYN The carefulness of Luke: 2. Peter's conversion—W. O. E. OESTERLEY Grace and free-will: the teaching of the Gospel and the Rabbis contrasted—J. H. MOULTON and G. MILLIGAN Lexical notes from the papyri.

December 1910 (Seventh Series: No. 60). F. W. MOZLEY Justification by Faith in St James and St Paul—K. LAKE The shorter form of St Paul's Epistle to the Romans—J. DE ZWAAN Psalm xlv—A. CARR Further notes on the synoptic problem—I. G. SMITH The promises of reward—J. MOFFATT Materials for the preacher—J. H. MOULTON and G. MILLIGAN Lexical notes from the papyri.

(2) AMERICAN.

The American Journal of Theology, October 1910 (Vol. xiv, No. 4: Chicago University Press). C. E. SEASHORE The play impulse and attitude in religion—G. H. GILBERT The Greek element in the Epistle to the Hebrews—I. KING The religious significance of the psychotherapeutic movement—W. H. ALLISON Was Newman a modernist? J. B. PRATT A mistake in strategy—C. W. VOTAW Four principles underlying religious education—G. M. YOUNGMAN Manuscripts of the Vulgate in the British Museum—Recent theological literature.

The Princeton Theological Review, October 1910 (Vol. viii, No. 4: Princeton University Press). W. H. JOHNSON Miracles and history—B. B. WARFIELD 'Scripture', 'The Scriptures', in the New Testament—H. McA. ROBINSON The text of Luke xxii 17–25—Reviews of recent literature.

(3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

Revue Bénédictine, October 1910 (Vol. xxvii, No. 4: Abbaye de Maredsous). D. DE BRUYNE Quelques documents nouveaux pour l'histoire du texte africain des Évangiles (*suite et fin*)—J. CHAPMAN Professor Hugo Koch on St Cyprian—G. MORIN Recueils perdus d'homélies de S. Césaire d'Arles—U. BERLIÈRE Un projet de Congrégation liégeoise de l'Ordre de S. Benoît (1677–1690)—D. DE BRUYNE Notes bibliques: 1. *Aiere*, 2. *Cenapura*—A. WILMART Le prétendu *Liber Officiorum* de S. Hilaire et l'Avent liturgique—G. MORIN I Une particularité inaperçue du *Qui pridie* de la messe romaine aux environs de l'an DC: II Un théologien ignoré du XIe siècle, l'évêque-martyr Gérard de Csanád, O.S.B.—U. BERLIÈRE A propos de Jacques de Vitry. Une lettre d'Olivier de Cologne — Comptes rendus — Notes bibliographiques—U. BERLIÈRE Bulletin d'histoire bénédictine.

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Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, October 1910 (Vol. xi, No. 4: Louvain, 40 Rue de Namur). J. FLAMION Les actes apocryphes de Pierre (*suite, à suivre*)—F. CALLAEY Les idées mystico-politiques d'un franciscain spirituel: étude sur l'*Arbor vitae* d'Ubertin de Casale (*suite et fin*)—P. RICHARD Origines et développement de la Secrétairerie d'État apostolique (1417–1823) (*suite et fin*)—Comptes rendus—Chronique—Bibliographie.

Revue de l'Orient Chrétien, October 1910 (Second Series, Vol. v, No. 3: Paris, 20 Rue du Regard). F. NAU La cosmographie au VIIe siècle chez les Syriens—L. LEROY Un apocryphe carchouni sur la captivité de Babylone (texte arabe, traduction française)—E. W. BROOKS La lettre de Nestorius aux habitants de Constantinople (texte syriaque, traduction française)—E. BLOCHET Babylone dans les historiens chinois—P. DIB Jules d'Aqfahs—S. GRÉBAUT Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-clémentine: texte et traduction du traité sur la seconde venue du Christ et la résurrection des morts—S. GRÉBAUT Traduction de la version éthiopienne d'une homélie de Firmus, évêque de Césarée—F. NAU Note sur le texte grec original du Sargis d'Aberga éthiopien—F. NAU Un nouveau manuscrit du martyrologe de Rabban Sliba—E. TISSERAND Note sur des fragments de Schenoudi conservés dans des livres d'office—Bibliographie: E. W. Brooks *The Hymns of Severus and others, dans 'Patrologia Orientalis'* vi 1 (M. BRIÈRE): L. de la Vallée-Poussin *Notions sur les religions de l'Inde: le Brahmanisme* (M. BRIÈRE): F. Tournebize *Histoire politique et religieuse de l'Arménie depuis les origines des Arméniens jusqu'à la mort de leur dernier roi* (F. NAU): A. Vasiliev *Kitab al-'Unvan, Histoire universelle, écrite par Agapius (Mahboub) de Menbidj, dans 'Patr. Or.'* vii 4 (F. NAU).

Analecta Bollandiana, November 1910 (Vol. xxix, fasc. iv: Brussels, 22 Boulevard Saint-Michel). Z. GARCÍA La lettre de Valérius aux moines du Vierzo sur la bienheureuse Aetheria—C. VAN DE VORST La Vie grecque de S. Léon le Grand—A. PONCELET La translation des SS. Éleuthère, Pontien et Anastase—H. DELEHAYE Les premiers 'Libelli miraculorum'—Gaianopolis—Bulletin des publications hagiographiques.

Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature religieuses, November–December 1910 (New Series, Vol. i, No. 6: Paris, 62 Rue des Écoles). E. C. BABUT Saint Martin de Tours—A. LAGARDE Le Manuel du confesseur au XIe siècle—A. LOISY Le sacrifice humain dans l'antiquité israélite—Chronique bibliographique: XIII Histoire des dogmes chrétiens—Faits et documents religieux contemporains—Tables générales.

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(4) GERMAN.

Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums, November 1910 (Vol. xi, No. 4: Giessen, A. Töpelmann). F. SCHULTHESS Textkritische Bemerkungen zu den syrischen Oden Salomos—F. SPITTA Zum Verständnis der Oden Salomos II—H. GUNKEL Die Oden Salomos.

Theologische Quartalschrift (Vol. xcii, No. 4: Tübingen, H. Laupp). EURINGER Abessinien und der hl. Stuhl II—MOSKE Gal. 1 1–17 und die Ananiasepisode—WECKER Christl. Einfluss auf den Buddhismus?—MÜLLER Zur Beurteilung Galileis — MERCHICH Zum Begriff des Menschlichen in der hl. Schrift—Rezensionen—Analekten.

Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, December 1910 (Vol. xxxi, No. 4: Gotha, A. Perthes). GALLE Eine geistliche Bildungslehre des Mittelalters—WERNLE Zu Calvins Bekehrung—LOESCHCKE Zur Chronologie der beiden grossen antiarianischen Schreiben des Alexander von Alexandrien—BAUER Neue Briefe Schleiermachers aus der Jugendzeit—Nachrichten—Register.

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The Journal
of
Theological Studies

APRIL, 1911

L'ORIGINE DU SYMBOLE D'ATHANASE.

III

Invraisemblance de l'origine gallicane du *Quicumque*, une fois passé l'an 550 : érudits qui ont déjà opiné pour une origine espagnole : cette hypothèse se concilie aisément avec les indices de dépendance vis-à-vis de la Gaule et de Lérins. Le *Quicumque* apparenté au cycle des productions théologiques de l'Espagne du IVe au VIe siècle : voisine, dans les plus anciens manuscrits, avec des documents de provenance espagnole : son contenu répond bien à la situation religieuse de la péninsule ibérique au milieu du VIe siècle ; l'attribution à S. Athanase, une des spécialités de la littérature hispanique : comment le *Quicumque* a trouvé son chemin en Gaule.

Nos recherches ont abouti à ce premier résultat : le *Quicumque* ne date, suivant toute probabilité, que de la seconde moitié du VIe siècle.

Une conséquence directe de cette façon de résoudre le côté chronologique du problème est de rendre désormais à peu près inacceptable la théorie qui place en Gaule le berceau de notre formule. Celle-ci, en effet, comme on l'a dit,[1] 'témoigne d'un talent littéraire joint à une puissance intellectuelle pour lesquels on ne trouverait place qu'avec difficulté entre le milieu du VIe siècle et la renaissance carolingienne'. Mais ces paroles de Mr Turner ne sont rigoureusement exactes qu'à l'égard des pays situés en-deçà des Pyrénées et des Alpes : selon la réflexion, juste ici de nouveau, du prof. Loofs,[2] ce qui était devenu impossible en France à l'époque mérovingienne ne l'était pas encore en Afrique, en Italie, en Espagne. Seulement, rien ne nous invite spécialement à porter nos investigations du côté de l'Afrique ou de l'Italie : l'Espagne, elle, a du moins ceci à faire

[1] Turner *History and Use of Creeds* p. 74.
[2] *Realencyklop.* 3e édit. ii 194.

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valoir, qu'elle est le pays où, pour la première fois, l'existence du *Quicumque* s'est révélée à nous.

Il est donc tout naturel que divers érudits aient songé à chercher de ce côté la patrie du *Quicumque*. Parmi ceux qui ont les premiers émis cette opinion, il faut citer Gieseler[1] et feu le prof. F. X. Kraus. Dans la troisième édition de son *Manuel d'histoire ecclésiastique*,[2] celui-ci dit que 'vraisemblablement le soi-disant Symbole d'Athanase, *Quicumque vult salvus esse*, a vu le jour en Espagne au VIe siècle.' Il y a cinq ans à peine, dans ses *Antipriscilliana*, le prof. K. Künstle, de Fribourg-en-Brisgau, a soutenu à son tour — on sait avec quelle assurance et quelle ardeur — la provenance espagnole de l'*Athanasianum*. Et moi-même, ayant à me prononcer au sujet de cette théorie, si opposée en apparence à ma thèse récente sur 'le premier témoin du *Quicumque*', je n'ai point hésité à reconnaître qu'' entre les multiples hypothèses émises jusqu'à ce jour, cette dernière venue est peut-être, à tout prendre, l'une des plus recevables'.[3]

Il faut toutefois reconnaître que ni Kraus ni Gieseler n'avaient donné aucunes preuves proprement dites de leur assertion. Künstle a bien tenté un essai de démonstration, mais dans un livre écrit sous l'empire d'une idée fixe, et qui, par suite, ne devait pas rencontrer bon accueil. Son 'parti pris évident de ramener tout à l'Espagne, de voir en tout du priscillianisme ou de l'antipriscillianisme',[4] suffisait déjà à inspirer une juste défiance à l'endroit de sa thèse relative au *Quicumque*: la date du IVe siècle qu'il assigne à celui-ci, et les conséquences invraisemblables qu'il en tire par rapport aux écrits apparentés, ont achevé de la compromettre dans l'opinion publique; sans compter qu'il laisse complètement de côté l'argument philologique, pourtant si important dans l'espèce.

J'essaierai présentement d'exposer quelques-uns des motifs qu'on peut faire valoir en faveur de l'origine espagnole du *Quicumque*.

Le premier, c'est que la Gaule ne pouvant guère, passé l'an 550, avoir donné elle-même naissance à cette formule, les titres en possession desquels on la croyait à cet égard passent naturellement à l'Espagne, sa voisine.

[1] *Kirchengesch.* 3e édit. (1831) ii 1. § 12 p. 90.
[2] Tome i p. 141.
[3] *Rev. Bénéd.* xix (1902) p. 242 note 3.
[4] D. De Bruyne, même Revue, xxiii (1906) p. 305.

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Je m'explique. Quelle que soit la provenance dernière et immédiate du symbole d'Athanase, il restera toujours vrai que le rédacteur est manifestement tributaire du milieu théologique de Lérins : c'est au sein de cette école fameuse que le futur *Quicumque* a été, en somme, principalement élaboré.[1] D'une certaine manière, ils continueront à avoir raison, ces estimables érudits, écrivains anglais pour la plupart, qui lui ont assigné pour patrie la Gaule méridionale, spécialement la Provence et la vallée du Rhône. Il est incontestable que, à côté de l'influence doctrinale d'Augustin, celle de Vincent de Lérins s'y accuse d'une façon prépondérante ; et quant à la langue, au rythme de la pièce, c'est, à s'y méprendre, la langue, le rythme de S. Césaire d'Arles, un Lérinien lui aussi, seulement avec plus de concision et de nerf, peut-être. Mais, encore une fois, l'éclosion décidément trop tardive de la formule rendant inadmissible une origine gauloise, nos regards doivent se porter vers quelqu'un des pays voisins qui ont été le plus en contact avec le sud de la Gaule, et d'abord, tout naturellement, vers l'Espagne et l'Italie. Or, il n'est pas douteux que le premier de ces pays n'ait été, à l'époque dont il s'agit, plus ouvert que l'autre à l'influence gallicane. Les relations politiques et religieuses étaient aussi étroites que fréquentes : au point de vue littéraire, notamment, on peut dire que l'Espagne, de 589 à 711, devint l'héritière de la haute culture théologique, si florissante jusque-là sur le sol gallo-romain. Les écrivains gaulois des Ve et VIe siècles, Hilaire d'Arles, Eucher de Lyon, Gennade de Marseille, Julien Pomère, Avit de Vienne, y étaient connus et très appréciés.[2] Césaire d'Arles, investi par le pape Symmaque des pouvoirs de primat pour l'Espagne comme pour la Gaule, en profitait pour faire revivre la tradition interrompue des conciles,[3] et pour répandre jusqu'au delà des Pyrénées les recueils d'homélies confectionnés par ses soins. Il en envoya également en Italie, comme l'attestent ses biographes[4] ; mais en

[1] Le Dr Burn, en particulier, a déclaré à plusieurs reprises qu'il était prêt à accepter une solution quelconque, pourvu qu'elle pût se concilier avec 'ce qui lui semble le résultat le plus important des recherches antérieures, à savoir que le *Quicumque* est sorti de Lérins, et qu'il est le produit de la culture théologique du Ve siècle'. *The Guardian*, 13 nov. 1901, p. 1583 ; cf. *An Introduction to the Creeds* p. 182.

[2] Les citations contenues dans les œuvres d'Isidore de Séville, et surtout son *De uiris illustribus*, suffiraient à le prouver.

[3] Malnory *Saint Césaire* pp. 113 sq. et 117.

[4] *Vita Caesarii* lib. I c. 55, édit. Krusch, MG. 4° : 'Longe uero positis in

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ce pays, autant que les documents nous permettent d'en juger, ses allocutions pastorales n'obtinrent qu'un succès assez restreint,[1] tandis qu'en Espagne elles furent de bonne heure et largement utilisées. Dès le VIe siècle, S. Martin de Braga les prenait pour modèles, lorsqu'il voulait enseigner à ses collègues dans l'épiscopat la manière dont il faut parler aux paysans[2]; au VIIe, elles formaient le fonds principal de l'homéliaire officiel en usage dans la liturgie de Tolède,[3] laquelle faisait loi pour toute l'Église wisigothique.

Ainsi, il n'existe, *a priori*, aucune incompatibilité entre les attaches littéraires du *Quicumque* avec la Gaule méridionale du Ve/VIe siècle, et sa rédaction en Espagne aux approches de l'an 600.

D'autre part, et c'est le second point sur lequel il me faut attirer l'attention, si le *Quicumque* trahit des rapports de dépendance indéniables à l'égard des écrivains du sud de la Gaule, il n'en est pas moins sûrement apparenté à tout un cycle d'opuscules représentant le travail de la pensée théologique en Espagne, du IVe au VIe siècle. Le premier en date est ce fameux *Libellus fidei*, considéré universellement comme 'le prototype du *Quicumque*', et qui, souvent remanié, et affublé des titres les plus divers (*Fides Phoebadii*, *De fide Nicaena*, *Fides Romanorum*, *Fides catholicae ecclesiae Romanae*, *Athanasius in symbolo*, *Fides Damasi*, *Fides Hieronymi* etc.), est tenu à juste titre par Dom A. Wilmart[4] 'pour une composition authentique de Grégoire d'Elvire': c'est cette vénérable formule que nous avons vue utilisée, parallèlement avec le *Quicumque*, par les pères du concile de Tolède de 633. Vient ensuite cet ouvrage étrange, le *De trinitate*, en sept livres d'abord, puis en douze: attribués eux aussi à différents per-

Francia, in Gallia atque in Italia, in Hispania diuersisque prouinciis constitutis transmisit per sacerdotes, quid in ecclesiis suis praedicare facerent.'

[1] Sauf peut-être dans la sphère d'influence de Bobbio: Malnory croit, en effet, que les moines de Luxeuil ont contribué pour une grande part à la diffusion et à la notoriété des Admonitions de S. Césaire (*Quid monachi Luxouienses . . . ad communem ecclesiae profectum contulerint*, Paris 1864, p. 61). Mais, pour le reste, j'ai pu constater par moi-même que les productions césariennes sont relativement rares dans les recueils homilétiques les plus anciens d'origine italienne.

[2] Cf. les notes de Caspari, au bas de son édition du *De correctione rusticorum* de Martin, Christiania 1883.

[3] Décrit au tome i^er^ des *Anecdota Maredsolana* pp. 406–425.

[4] *Les tractatus sur le Cantique attribués à Grégoire d'Elvire*, dans le *Bulletin de littér. ecclés.* de Toulouse d'oct.-nov. 1906 p. 297 note.

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sonnages, Athanase surtout, puis Eusèbe, Ambroise, Syagrius, Vigile de Thapse, ils ont dû exercer une influence considérable sur le développement de la doctrine trinitaire, à en juger par l'ancienneté et le nombre des copies encore existantes: quel qu'en soit l'auteur, ils sont évidemment d'origine espagnole, et se datent du Ve siècle.[1] Au même mouvement se rattachent le *Libellus in modum Symboli de Pastor*[2] et les *Regulae definitionum* de Syagrius,[3] deux évêques de Galice du milieu du Ve siècle. Postérieur d'un siècle environ, mais également espagnol, est le Pseudo-Ambroise, compilateur du *Tractatus de Trinitate*, qui a mis à profit, entre autres, les Règles de Syagrius: tout comme l'auteur du *Quicumque*, il enseigne qu'il est 'rectum et catholicum' de 'vénérer l'unité dans la trinité et de confesser la trinité dans l'unité'.[4] Je serais tenté de ramener pareillement à l'Espagne le *Contra Varimadum*[5] du soi-disant Idacius Clarus (Pseudo-Vigile) où reviennent à satiété, au cours du troisième livre, des formules identiques à celles des versets 8–18 du *Quicumque*; peut-être aussi le *Breviarium fidei aduersus haereticos*,[6] celui de tous les écrits anti-ariens qui me paraît offrir le plus de points de ressemblance avec le symbole d'Athanase. Mais, surtout, il me semble impossible de méconnaître, et l'origine espagnole, et la tendance antipriscillianiste du célèbre recueil de prescriptions ecclésiastiques qui a nom, tantôt *Statuta antiqua Orientis*, tantôt *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua*.[7] Là aussi, l'interroga-

[1] Voir la monographie de G. Fischer, *Studien zu Vigilius von Thapsus* (Leipzig 1897) pp. 55–77, et ce que j'ai écrit moi-même sur ce sujet dans la *Revue Bénéd.* xix (1902) pp. 237–242. [2] Texte dans Künstle *Antipriscilliana* pp. 43–45.

[3] Édition princeps ibid. pp. 142–159.

[4] Migne xvii 509–546 c. 2 et 5. L'opinion de Kattenbusch (*Theolog. Litz.* 1897 col. 144), qui juge ce Traité antérieur au concile de Chalcédoine, est absolument insoutenable. Sur l'emploi qui y est fait des Règles de Syagrius, voir Künstle *Antiprisc.* p. 188. Les Mauristes ont parfaitement raison de voir dans cet opuscule un document contemporain du synode de Braga de 563, et partant, du *Quicumque* lui-même.

[5] Migne 62, 351 sqq. Dans son *Histoire ancienne de l'Église* t. ii p. 540 note 1, L. Duchesne se montre disposé à identifier l'auteur avec Ithace d'Ossonoba, interné à Naples par le gouvernement, après 388, en raison de la part qu'il avait prise au procès sanglant de Priscillien et de ses adeptes.

[6] Migne 13, 653 sqq. Dans le manuscrit Paris. 12217, le traité d'Idacius Clarus contre Varimadus porte un titre très ressemblant à celui du *Breviarium*: 'Breuiarius sancti Augustini contra Arrianos.'

[7] Migne 56, 879 sqq. Je crois devoir finalement me ranger à l'avis de Peters, malgré l'autorité de Maassen, de Duchesne et Malnory, qui ont soutenu l'origine

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toire du début, destiné à s'assurer de l'orthodoxie des élus à l'épiscopat, rappelle à la lettre certains passages du *Quicumque*.[1]

Voilà pour ce qui est de la dépendance littéraire. Au point de vue paléographique, un autre fait n'a pas encore été suffisamment remarqué, qui peut avoir ici une importance considérable: dans nombre des plus anciens manuscrits, le *Quicumque* voisine avec des documents de provenance espagnole. Par exemple:

(α) Dans le plus ancien de tous, l'Ambros. O 212. Sup., du VIIe/VIIIe siècle, le *Quicumque* est précédé immédiatement de la *Fides Bachiarii*, pièce espagnole relativement rare, et suivi à peu d'intervalle par la soi-disant *Fides Hieronymi*, en réalité le *Libellus fidei* de Grégoire d'Elvire.[2]

(β) Dans le second en date, le ms. de Saint-Pétersbourg Q. I. 15, du commencement du VIIIe siècle, il fait suite à un 'liber sancti Isidori episcopi'.[3]

(γ) Dans le cod. CCXXIX du fonds de Reichenau, à Karlsruhe (VIIIe/IXe siècle), il accompagne également des traités d'Isidore de Séville et de Martin de Braga.[4]

(δ) Dans le ms. 1032 de Vienne, IXe siècle, il fait corps avec

arlésienne des *Statuta*, les deux derniers voulant même les revendiquer expressément pour S. Césaire. Quelque date qu'il faille lui attribuer, les attaches de ce document avec l'Espagne et le VIe siècle me paraissent incontestables. Cf. le Compte rendu du troisième Congrès scientifique international des Catholiques, tenu à Bruxelles en 1894, t. ii pp. 220–231. Sur le caractère antipriscillianiste de tout le début *Qui ordinandus est* etc., je suis pleinement d'accord avec Künstle *Antipriscill.* p. 30, mais non quand il conclut d'un passage antipélagien que ce canon peut être l'œuvre d'un concile gallican du Ve siècle. Comme l'a fait justement remarquer Mr Turner, le compilateur des *Statuta* ne fait guère que suivre, à cet endroit, la seconde édition du *Liber dogmatum* de Gennade, très répandu, en Espagne comme ailleurs, au VIe siècle.

[1] Notamment la phrase: *si singulam quamque in trinitate personam plenum deum, et totas tres personas unum deum* (col. 879 B).

[2] Burn, *Facsimiles* p. 22, parle de cinq documents mentionnés en tête comme faisant partie du volume, et qui ne s'y trouvaient plus dès le XVIIe siècle. Mais Reifferscheid, *Biblioth. Patrum italica* ii pp. 37 et 12, a montré que ces pièces étaient identiques au contenu de l'Ambros. D. 268. Inf. Les deux manuscrits n'en formaient qu'un seul, semble-t-il, au XIVe siècle.

[3] Burn *Facsimiles* pl. XVIII. L'on retrouve des traces d'une disposition analogue jusque bien avant dans le moyen âge. Par ex. dans le cod. Laud. Miscell. 234 (Eberbach, XIIe s.) la 'Catholica Athanasi' vient immédiatement après les deux livres d'Isidore 'ad Florentinam contra Iudaeos' et avant les deux livres des *Synonyma* du même auteur. Dans le ms. $\frac{114}{183}$ de Gonville et Caius College, à Cambridge, le *Quicumque*, avec le court commentaire 'Fides dicitur credulitas', suit pareillement l'ouvrage d'Isidore à Florentine, et se termine par la rubrique 'Expl. exp. Ysidori super fid. cath.'

[4] Décrit par A. Holder *Die Reichenauer Hss.* t. i pp. 521–527.

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les deux livres de S. Isidore *De fide catholica*[1] et cette courte formule *Nos patrem et filium . . . adversus veritatem rebellis est*, baptisée à tort ou à raison par Künstle[2] du nom de '*Fides Priscilliani*', mais dont l'origine espagnole est en tout cas fort probable.

(ε) Le ms. de Bruxelles 8654–72 (prov. de Saint-Bertin, Xe s.)[3] contient, à côté du *Quicumque*, des opuscules d'Isidore, le *Nos patrem* mentionné tout à l'heure, et de plus, un 'Hymnum regalem' qui appartient en propre au *Breviarium gothicum* de la liturgie mozarabe.[4]

(ζ) Parmi les pièces qui précèdent le *Quicumque* dans le Clm. 6330 (Freising, VIIIe siècle, écriture du milieu pirminien) se trouvent les *Synonyma* d'Isidore, tandis que la profession de foi de Grégoire d'Elvire (Pseudo-Jérôme) le suit sans intervalle.

(η) En fait de collections canoniques en tête desquelles figure le symbole d'Athanase, celle de Saint-Maur, représentée par les mss. Paris. lat. 1451 et Vatic. Regin. 1127, ajoute à la série des synodes orientaux et gallicans les 'canones Spaniae' du troisième concile de Tolède de 589[5]; celle d'Hérouval, notamment dans les mss. Vercelli CLXXV 186 et Ivrea XLII, contient, elle aussi, les 'canones Toletani' de 589 avec de nombreux extraits d'Isidore.[6]

(θ) C'est aussi au beau milieu d'une édition interpolée du *De ortu et obitu patrum* d'Isidore qu'un manuscrit de Murbach nous a conservé cette curieuse paraphrase du *Quicumque* dont j'ai publié le texte, il y a cinq ans[7]; comme je l'ai déjà dit, elle forme le pendant, et doit être à peu près contemporaine, du fameux 'fragment de Trèves'.

Pour saisir pleinement la portée de ces constatations, il faut se rappeler d'abord, que le texte du *Quicumque* représenté par cette série de manuscrits se distingue, par tout un ensemble de particularités, de celui qui fut officiellement adopté plus tard

[1] M. Denis *Cod. mss. theol. Biblioth. Vindob.* I i pp. 962–966.
[2] *Antiprisc.* pp. 58–61.
[3] Catalogue Van den Gheyn, no. 1324, tome ii p. 274 sq.
[4] 'Inclite rex magne regum consecrator principum . . .' U. Chevalier *Repert. hymnol.* no. 8839.
[5] Maassen *Quellen* pp. 616, 621.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 829 sq.; Reifferscheid *Bibl. PP. ital.* ii 176 sq., 225 sq.
[7] Reproduit ci-après en appendice, note B.

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à l'époque carolingienne ; puis, que ces manuscrits eux-mêmes sont à peu près les seuls dont le contenu et la disposition puissent nous fournir quelque indice de provenance plus ou moins immédiate. D'autres, quoique aussi anciens, comme l'homéliaire de Freising (Clm. 6298, VIIIe s.) et la collection canonique de Lorsch (Vatic. Palat. lat. 574, VIIIe/IXe s.), témoignent simplement de l'usage de notre formule en Bavière et au pays Rhénan vers la fin de l'époque mérovingienne, tandis que toute la catégorie des Psautiers ne présente aucun intérêt, au point de vue qui nous occupe. Sans doute, je suis loin de vouloir exagérer la signification de chacune des rencontres, signalées tout à l'heure, du texte du *Quicumque* avec les œuvres d'Isidore et autres documents d'origine espagnole, mais l'ensemble ne laisse pas de produire une certaine impression, et méritait en tout cas d'être versé une première fois au débat.

Orientées dans cette direction, et toujours principalement fondées sur le fait très réel que l'Espagne nous a fourni le premier témoignage relatif au *Quicumque*, nos recherches peuvent à présent bénéficier de certaines observations auxquelles la teneur de la pièce a souvent donné lieu par le passé, mais qui, seules, eussent été difficilement utilisables.

Par exemple, ceux qui ont voulu voir dans le *Quicumque* un caractère plus ou moins polémique s'accordent pour reconnaître que les deux erreurs spécialement visées seraient l'arianisme et le priscillianisme. Or, à partir du milieu du VIe siècle, il n'y avait plus guère d'ariens à combattre, si ce n'est les Suèves et les Wisigoths en Espagne, les Lombards dans l'Italie du nord. Quant aux priscillianistes, c'est aussi en Espagne, et spécialement dans la région isolée et montagneuse de la Galice, qu'ils réussirent le plus longtemps à se maintenir : le roi et la nation avaient déjà abjuré définitivement l'arianisme, que le synode de Braga de 561 était encore obligé de lutter contre les restes toujours tenaces de la ' Priscilliana haeresis ' et du Sabellianisme auquel elle se rattache ; nous avons la preuve que le mal persista même après la réunion du royaume des Suèves à la monarchie wisigothique (588). A ce point de vue, donc, une formule comme la nôtre convenait parfaitement à la situation religieuse de l'Espagne aux approches de l'an 600.

Venons-en aux détails. Je faisais remarquer, dans la première

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partie de cette étude, que la procession de l'Esprit-Saint *a Patre et Filio* est enseignée un peu partout dès le IVe siècle. Il n'en est pas moins vrai que l'école théologique d'Espagne semble avoir particulièrement contribué au développement de cette doctrine, et à son insertion officielle dans les professions de foi, jusque dans le symbole que nous chantons durant la liturgie. C'est aussi chose assez commune, que le titre *deum et dominum* donné aux personnes divines, et particulièrement au Fils; mais de l'Espagne seule on peut prouver que cette expression y faisait partie du Symbole dès la seconde moitié du VIe siècle. Il en est de même de la mention de la descente aux enfers; à part Aquilée et les régions danubiennes, ce n'est guère qu'en Espagne qu'elle a sûrement figuré dans un Symbole avant le VIIe siècle. Ici encore, ces détails 'd'évidence interne', que nous avions cru d'abord devoir écarter, constituent à leur tour un précieux élément d'observation, une fois mis en regard des données jusqu'ici acquises, et c'est manifestement vers l'Espagne qu'ils convergent, eux aussi.

Il n'est pas jusqu'à l'attribution à S. Athanase qui ne puisse à présent avoir pareillement sa signification. On doute, il est vrai, qu'elle soit primitive: elle est du moins fort ancienne, puisqu'elle était couramment acceptée à l'époque du concile d'Autun. Or, suivant la remarque de Mr Turner,[1] l'emploi du nom d'Athanase comme pseudonyme n'a jamais été très commun en Occident: en dehors du *Quicumque*, 'le seul exemple frappant' qu'on connaisse est en connexion avec les livres *De trinitate* imprimés parmi les œuvres de Vigile de Thapse, et, comme je l'ai déjà dit, ces livres sont originaires de l'Espagne.[2] Dans le recueil du manuscrit 28 de Saint-Mihiel, 'dont la plupart des éléments sont d'origine espagnole, et par suite la totalité elle-même,'[3] il n'y a pas moins de quatre opuscules qui portent en tête ce pseudonyme d'Athanase. C'est à des luciférien espagnols que serait due la fabrication des deux prétendues lettres de

[1] *History and Use of Creeds* p. 76.

[2] Il paraît que le premier ouvrage, aujourd'hui perdu, d'Idacius Clarus contre Varimadus (cf. Migne 62, 351 C. sq.) portait également, à l'époque de Vigile de Thapse, le nom de S. Athanase: car, dans son dialogue authentique *Contra Arrianos, Sabellianos*, etc., Vigile en met une longue citation dans la bouche d'Athanase, citation introduite par ces mots: 'sicut in libro, quem aduersus Maribadum (Varimadum) nefandae haereseos uestrae diaconum EDIDIMUS...' (Migne *ibid.* 226 D).

[3] A. Wilmart *Tradition des opuscules etc.* p. 18 note 2.

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S. Athanase à Lucifer de Cagliari.[1] Dans l'homéliaire officiel de l'Église wisigothique,[2] le sermon *Exhortatur nos dominus noster*, variante du pseudo-augustinien 245, est intitulé: 'Sermo beati Atanasii': il contient, au début surtout, plusieurs phrases qui rappellent des passages du *Quicumque*. On trouvera dans l'édition princeps des œuvres de Niceta de Remesiana, par le Dr Burn (p. 92), un autre exemple de cette tendance particulière aux Espagnols, d'abriter les apocryphes sous le nom d'Athanase: le *Tractatus S. Athanasii de ratione Paschae*, qui a fourni à Martin de Braga la plus grande partie de son opuscule sur le même sujet.

Enfin, si le *Quicumque* a réellement vu le jour en Espagne durant la seconde moitié du VIe siècle, il est facile d'expliquer comment, dès le milieu du VIIe, il était connu et faisait autorité jusqu'au centre de la France, notamment à Autun. On sait combien furent fréquentes, à l'époque dont il s'agit, les relations entre les deux pays. Fortunat de Poitiers entretient un commerce épistolaire avec l'évêque de Braga, l'apôtre de la Galice, et lui dédie un de ses plus beaux poèmes. Le roi wisigoth Athanagilde (554–567) donne en mariage sa fille Brunehaut à Sigebert d'Austrasie, et l'aînée de celle-ci, Galswinde, à Chilpéric de Soissons. Un peu plus tard, le roi burgonde, Thierry, fait venir à Chalon-sur-Saône la princesse espagnole Ermenberga, fille du roi Witterich, dans le dessin de l'épouser. Brunehaut, qui met obstacle à ce mariage, témoigne toute sa vie un attachement particulier à la ville d'Autun et à son évêque Syagrius: elle y fonde le monastère de Saint-Martin, où elle sera enterrée en 614. Peu de temps après, le roi espagnol Sisebut (612–620) écrit la vie d'une des victimes de cette royale parenté, l'évêque Didier de Vienne (606/7), martyrisé au territoire de Lyon. Cet échange de relations ne va pas sans envois de présents et de livres, sans une série d'ambassades dont quelquefois font partie des membres de l'épiscopat[3]: à ceux-ci, naturellement, incombe le soin d'instruire les royales fiancées dans la foi catholique, lorsqu'elles ont été élevées dans l'arianisme, comme c'était le cas pour les filles d'Athanagilde. Dans ces conditions, rien de plus aisé à concevoir que l'introduction en pays franc d'une formule

[1] L. Saltet *Fraudes littéraires des Luciférien*s, dans le *Bulletin de littér. eccl*és. de Toulouse, 1906, pp. 301–315. [2] *Anecd. Maredsol.* i 407.

[3] Cf. Gregor. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* iv 27 sq.; vi 19; *De uirt. S. Martini* iii 8 etc.

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rédigée en Espagne pour servir de règle de foi aux Ariens convertis. La lettre du roi Sisebut[1] au monarque lombard Advalvald, encore engagé dans l'hérésie arienne, montre avec quelle ferveur de prosélytes les chefs même de la nation wisigothe s'efforçaient de favoriser, jusque bien au delà de leurs frontières, les conquêtes de l'orthodoxie.

Voilà donc tout un ensemble de considérations, qui, non seulement nous autorisent, mais encore nous invitent, à chercher la patrie du *Quicumque* là où pour la première fois nous en avons saisi la trace : en Espagne.[2]

IV

Écrivains principaux de l'Espagne dans la seconde moitié du VIe siècle. Une possibilité à envisager : le *Quicumque* identique à la *Regula fidei* de Martin de Braga ? Motifs pour et contre. La question d'auteur encore insoluble à cette heure : l'autorité de la formule, indépendante de son origine historique.

Notre tâche jusqu'ici a été relativement simple, et notre marche sûre : presque chacune de nos constatations aboutissait à l'Espagne, et à la seconde moitié du VIe siècle. Désormais, nous ne pourrons plus avancer qu'avec une extrême précaution, et en nous résignant d'avance à ne point parvenir encore cette fois à la solution dernière du problème. Il règne, en effet, tant d'obscurité dans ces régions de la littérature espagnole du IVe au VIIe siècle ! C'est tout récemment qu'on a commencé à faire la lumière autour de quelques noms : Priscillien, Grégoire d'Eliberis, Pastor et Syagrius. Mais le Pseudo-Athanase du *De trinitate* garde obstinément son secret, et beaucoup d'autres avec lui.

Une chose, tout au moins, est certaine : l'historien littéraire Nic. Antonio[3] n'exagère pas trop, lorsqu'il affirme que son pays produisit, même après 550, 'nombre d'écrivains dont les noms

[1] MG. 4° *Epist. merow. et karol.* i 671 sqq.

[2] Je ne signalerai ici que pour la forme une objection qui pourrait aisément surgir contre l'origine espagnole du *Quicumque*. Cette formule, on le sait, a pénétré dans l'office de Prime dès l'époque carolingienne, et s'y est maintenue jusqu'à présent dans toute l'Église latine, y compris Milan : comment se fait-il qu'elle n'ait jamais trouvé place dans les livres de la liturgie wisigothique d'Espagne ? Qu'il suffise de dire que cette liturgie était définitivement fixée depuis un siècle au moins, et fermée dès lors plus que les autres à toute innovation, quand le symbole d'Athanase fut pour la première fois admis dans les psautiers gallican, romain et ambrosien, et employé ainsi à un usage en vue duquel il n'avait pas été primitivement composé.

[3] *Biblioth. hispana uetus* i 270.

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méritent d'être cités parmi les plus célèbres.' Après les évêques-frères Justinien de Valence et Justus d'Urgel, après Apringius, le commentateur de l'Apocalypse, qui appartiennent plutôt à la première moitié du siècle, nous trouvons, à l'époque de l'empereur Maurice (582–602), un groupe de trois autres pontifes consultés comme des oracles par leurs contemporains: Licinien de Carthagène, Sévère de Malaga, surtout Eutrope de Valence; puis, un peu plus tard, Jean de Biclaro (vers 540–621), évêque de Gerona. Mais le plus grand de tous fut incontestablement Léandre de Séville, qui eut l'honneur et la joie d'introduire les Goths et leur roi Reccarède dans la grande famille des nations catholiques.

Les circonstances dans lesquelles ont vécu ces différents personnages, les persécutions, les exils, qu'ils eurent à subir sous le règne de Léovigilde, enfin l'utilité évidente qu'il y avait à condenser, à l'usage des convertis de l'Arianisme, l'essentiel de la foi catholique dans une formule aussi brève que vigoureuse: tout cela, dis-je, rendrait vraisemblable, *a priori*, la composition du *Quicumque* par quelqu'un d'entre eux. Nous savons d'ailleurs positivement que plusieurs ont écrit des opuscules destinés à combattre l'hérésie arienne: ainsi, Sévère de Malaga composa un traité contre l'évêque Vincent de Saragosse, qui l'avait embrassée[1]; Eutrope,[2] encore simple abbé, fut l'aide principal de Léandre au grand concile de Tolède de 589, où elle fut solennellement condamnée par tout l'épiscopat espagnol; Léandre lui-même, durant son exil, avait rédigé deux livres très savants, dans lesquels il s'attachait à faire voir en quoi la doctrine des Ariens différait de l'enseignement catholique, et que seul celui-ci s'accordait avec le témoignage des saintes Écritures. Il avait aussi composé un autre opuscule en vue de fournir des réponses aux principales propositions des hérétiques.[3]

Mais ces écrits, malheureusement, ne nous sont point parvenus; du moins ils n'ont pas encore été identifiés jusqu'à ce jour. Et les deux seuls opuscules qui nous restent de Léandre, sa Règle pour les vierges[4] et son Homélie sur la conversion des Goths,[5] si remarquables qu'ils soient l'un et l'autre, n'ont rien qui rappelle

[1] Isidore *De uiris illustr.* c. 43.
[2] Jean de Biclar, ad an. 590. MG. 4° *Chronica minora* ii 219.
[3] Isidore *De uiris ill.* c. 41. [4] Migne 72, 873 sqq. [5] *Ibid.* 893 sqq.

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de près ou de loin la manière du *Quicumque* : le rythme en est d'ordinaire tout différent, le style plus fleuri, la pensée plus diffuse. Il en est de même des écrits des autres écrivains mentionnés plus haut : ni les traités ascétiques d'Eutrope de Valence,[1] ni la Chronique de Jean de Gerona,[2] ni ce que nous possédons en fait de lettres de Licinien,[3] ne présentent aucune particularité qui fasse songer au Symbole d'Athanase. Ajoutons que ces personnages sont déjà du sixième siècle très avancé, voire même du septième, et qu'Isidore — lequel a dû sûrement connaître le *Quicumque* — ne dit rien, dans son *De viris illustribus*, qui puisse fournir prétexte à en attribuer la composition à aucun d'entre eux.

On vit pourtant paraître en Espagne, à l'époque vers laquelle convergent nos recherches, une autre grande figure, dont les traits répondraient mieux, peut-être, à ceux de l'auteur du *Quicumque*, tel que nous pouvons nous le figurer. Je veux parler de ce Martin de Braga, dont le nom s'est déjà présenté à plusieurs reprises sous ma plume.

Il sera, c'est à craindre, encore un inconnu pour beaucoup de lecteurs. Cependant, au jugement du célèbre érudit norvégien C. P. Caspari,[4] il fut sans contredit l'un 'des hommes les plus importants, les plus influents et les plus remarquables de l'Église d'Occident durant la seconde moitié du VIe siècle' ; il se distingua à la fois comme missionnaire, comme organisateur ecclésiastique, comme intermédiaire entre la civilisation chrétienne de l'Orient et celle de l'Occident. Originaire de la Pannonie, comme son homonyme S. Martin de Tours, comme lui aussi il embrassa l'état monastique, et 'ne se montra inférieur en savoir à aucun de ses contemporains'[5] ; la langue grecque, notamment, lui était familière.[6] Il entreprit des voyages en Orient, et visita les Lieux

[1] Migne 80, 9–20.

[2] MG. 4° *Chron. Minora* ii 211–220.

[3] Migne 72, 689–700.

[4] *Martin von Bracara's Schrift 'De correctione rusticorum'*, Introd. p. 1 : '... Martins von Bracara, einer der bedeutendsten, einflussreichsten und merkwürdigsten Männer der abendländischen Kirche aus der zweiten Hälfte des sechsten Jahrhunderts.' Gams *Kirchengeschichte Spaniens* ii. 1, 474, l'appelle 'einer der seltensten Männer in der Weltgeschichte, dessen Persönlichkeit die Geister beherrschte'.

[5] '... in tantum se litteris imbuit, ut nulli secundus suis temporibus haberetur.' Greg. Turon. *Histor. Franc.* v 38.

[6] C'est ce que prouvent ses *Aegyptiorum patrum sententiae*, traduites du grec, et ses *Capitula*, recueil de canons extraits en grande partie des conciles orientaux.

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saints de la Palestine. De là, sans qu'on sache le motif qui l'y détermina,[1] il se rendit par mer en Galice, probablement en vue de travailler à la conversion des Suèves, encore ariens ou même païens pour la plupart. Son arrivée dans ce pays, en 550, coïncida précisément avec le retour à la foi catholique du roi et de la nation entière. Pendant les trente années qu'il vécut encore, Martin, devenu d'abord évêque, puis métropolitain, exerça sans relâche sa tâche d'éducateur de peuples, fondant des monastères, présidant des conciles, organisant le culte chrétien, éclairant les rois sur leurs devoirs, répondant aux consultations de ses collègues, et leur apprenant le secret de faire parvenir jusqu'aux plus humbles le bienfait de la prédication. Lorsqu'il mourut, en 580, ce fut pour tout le royaume un véritable deuil.[2]

Écrivain fécond, il laissa un nombre d'ouvrages considérable : un très petit nombre d'entre eux sont venus jusqu'à nous, et plusieurs sous des noms d'emprunt. Pour comble de malchance, les quelques opuscules qui nous restent se trouvent éparpillés dans différentes collections, et l'édition princeps fait encore défaut.[3] Ce que nous possédons actuellement se rapporte à des domaines assez divers : ascèse et morale, droit ecclésiastique, culte chrétien, prédication populaire, correspondance, poésie même. Malgré leur peu d'étendue, ces écrits prouvent que leur auteur avait reçu une culture variée, et qu'il s'intéressait à bien des choses à la fois.

Parmi ceux qui sont considérés comme perdus, on cite communément la *Règle de foi*, mentionnée en ces termes par Isidore de Séville dans son *De viris illustr.* c. 35 : 'Martin, le très saint pontife du monastère de Dumio, vint par mer en Galice, des contrées de l'Orient. Arrivé là il établit, à l'usage des populations suèves, converties de l'Arianisme à la foi catholique, une Règle de foi et de sainte religion — *conversis ab Ariana impietate ad fidem catholicam Suevorum populis regulam fidei et sanctae religionis constituit* —, affermit les églises, fonda

[1] On a supposé, avec assez de vraisemblance, qu'il avait rencontré en Palestine quelques pèlerins venus de la Galice, qui auraient attiré son attention sur la situation religieuse de leur pays.

[2] 'Hoc tempore et beatus Martinus Galliciensis episcopus obiit, magnum populo illi faciente planctum.' Greg. Turon. *De mirac. S. Martini* i 11.

[3] Ce serait un travail très utile et relativement facile à entreprendre, un de ceux qu'on voudrait voir inscrits au programme du C. S. E. L. de l'Académie de Vienne.

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des monastères et composa un grand nombre de recueils de préceptes pour former les âmes à la piété.'

On s'est demandé ce qu'il fallait entendre par cette *Regula fidei et sanctae religionis*, présentée par Isidore comme le premier monument du zèle apostolique de Martin, immédiatement après son débarquement en Galice. Florez, dans son *Espãna sagrada*,[1] a émis l'avis qu'il s'agissait là, non d'un écrit proprement dit, mais simplement de l'enseignement oral, des efforts du saint missionnaire pour propager la connaissance de la foi catholique. Il se fonde sur le fait qu'Isidore, à cet endroit, parle proprement de l'activité religieuse, non des écrits, de Martin, et que d'ailleurs aucune Règle de foi ne nous est parvenue qui porte le nom de celui-ci.

Cette interprétation a paru, en général, difficile à concilier avec les expressions employées par Isidore. Caspari et G. von Dzialowski[2] font remarquer que le verbe *constituit*, 'il établit', semble bien indiquer quelque chose de stable, et qui reste, plutôt qu'un enseignement purement oral. Mais surtout, les mots *conversis ab Ariana impietate ad fidem catholicam Suevorum populis*, 'pour les Suèves déjà convertis de l'Arianisme à la foi catholique', prouvent qu'il s'agit ici, vraisemblablement, d'une Règle mise par écrit. Si S. Isidore en parle là où il décrit la carrière et l'activité de Martin, non à l'endroit où il énumère ses écrits, et si l'opuscule lui-même n'est point venu jusqu'à nous, il est aisé d'en trouver l'explication, supposé que la *Regula* en question ait été simplement une profession de foi ou quelque chose qui y ressemble.

Ce sont là les propres paroles de Caspari,[3] et sa conclusion est admise par R. Seeberg dans la dernière édition de la *Real-encyklopädie f. prot. Theologie*.[4] Il estime pareillement que 'les paroles d'Isidore doivent faire allusion à un formulaire de foi antiarien dont nous ne savons rien par ailleurs'. Dans l'édition précédente,[5] Wagenmann reconnaissait aussi dans la *Regula fidei* un écrit proprement dit, mais il la croyait identique au *De correctione rusticorum* de Martin de Braga. Caspari[6] a fait valoir quatre ou cinq raisons décisives à l'encontre de cette identification.

[1] T. xv p. 129 de la 2e édition (Madrid 1787).

[2] *Isidor u. Ildefons als Litterarhistoriker* [*Kirchengesch. Studien* de Münster, iv 2 1898] p. 59.

[3] *Martin von Bracara* pp. liii sq. note 2.

[4] xii 387. [5] ix 370. [6] *Op. cit.* p. lxxxvi note 3.

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Ainsi, d'après les meilleurs juges, la *Regula fidei* de Martin de Braga a dû être un véritable écrit, et un écrit différent des autres que nous possédons de lui ; c'était, selon toute probabilité, une Profession de foi catholique, dirigée principalement contre l'Arianisme.

Puisqu'il en est ainsi, et que les circonstances de temps et de lieu concordent avec les conclusions auxquelles jusqu'ici ont abouti nos recherches, il est permis, ce semble, de poser la question : cette Règle de foi de l'apôtre des Suèves, que l'on considère comme perdue, ne serait-elle pas ce *Quicumque*, dont l'auteur est inconnu, mais qui semble avoir vu le jour au delà des Pyrénées, à l'époque où vécut et écrivit l'évêque de Braga ?

Une première raison en faveur de cette identité serait la coïncidence remarquable qui existe entre le caractère tout à fait spécial de notre Symbole et les termes dont se sert Isidore pour décrire la Règle de foi de Martin : *regulam fidei et sanctae religionis* CONSTITUIT. C'est sur ce mot final, *constituit*, qu'à l'exemple de Caspari j'appelle surtout l'attention.

Comme le fait remarquer Mr Turner,[1] le *Quicumque*, au premier aspect, se distingue nettement de tous les autres symboles connus, orthodoxes ou non. Tandis que ceux-ci débutent par le simple énoncé *Credo*, *Confiteor*, *Profiteor*, généralement au singulier, parfois au pluriel, celui-ci se présente à la façon d'un vrai *constitutum*, d'une ordonnance dogmatique, à laquelle doit se soumettre quiconque veut être sauvé. De là ces termes énergiques, destinés à urger l'obligation de la loi : '*Quicumque vult salvus esse, ante omnia opus est* ut teneat catholicam fidem . . . christiana veritate *compellimur* . . . catholica religione *prohibemur* . . . *necessarium est* ad aeternam salutem' ; de là ces sortes d'anathèmes contre lesquels, de nos jours, s'est tant émue l'opinion, surtout en Angleterre : 'Quam nisi quisque integram inuiolatamque seruauerit, *absque dubio in aeternum peribit* . . . quam nisi quisque fideliter firmiterque crediderit, *saluus esse non poterit*.' On a dit

[1] *History and Use of Creeds* p. 66 : 'The Athanasian Creed is so different that, from the point of view of external form, it is clear that the others can be spoken of as constituting a single group in opposition to it . . . it occupies an entirely isolated position, and whatever its dependence on the doctrine contained in the earlier Creeds, there is none at all on their structure. And this radical difference of structure corresponds to a similar difference of intention.'

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que le *Quicumque* 'n'était pas tant un symbole qu'une hymne'.[1] La proposition ne me semble point correspondre à la réalité. Le *Quicumque* n'a commencé à devenir une hymne que près de deux siècles après qu'il est venu à l'existence, et cela en dépit de maints passages qui n'ont vraiment rien de poétique, ceux-ci par exemple: 'Quia sicut singillatim unamquamque personam . . . Nam sicut anima rationabilis . . . Ita ut per omnia, sicut iam supra dictum est . . .' Mais voici qui est tout à fait juste: le *Quicumque* n'est pas un symbole du même type que les autres; il n'est même point, à proprement parler, un symbole, l'énoncé que fait de sa foi le croyant lui-même. Non, c'est ici l'autorité du maître, du docteur orthodoxe, qui s'impose et fixe la règle de croyance pour quiconque veut faire son salut: 'Vous voulez être sauvé? Alors il faut tenir fermement la foi catholique. Et voici en quoi consiste cette foi catholique.' Bref, sous ce rapport, le *Quicumque* répond d'une manière si adéquate au signalement que nous donne Isidore de la *Regula fidei* de Martin de Braga, que Thomas d'Aquin, à plus de six siècles de distance, ne trouvera point de terme mieux fait pour caractériser le *Quicumque* que ce même verbe CONSTITUIT, employé jadis par l'évêque de Séville. Dans sa Somme théologique,[2] il se pose cette objection: 'Athanase ne fut point un souverain pontife . . . pourtant il établit un symbole, *tamen symbolum* CONSTITUIT.' Et il répond en faisant observer, lui aussi, que le *Quicumque* est moins un symbole qu'un exposé doctrinal.

Autre coïncidence. La Règle de foi de Martin était, nous dit Isidore, destinée aux Suèves convertis de l'Arianisme: d'où l'on a conclu avec raison qu'elle a dû être rédigée principalement dans un sens antiarien. Or, ceux-là mêmes qui ont pris à tâche d'examiner comme à la loupe les moindres indices de préoccupations polémiques que révèle le *Quicumque* ont été obligés de convenir que les deux tiers de la formule sont consacrés à inculquer l'égalité parfaite des trois personnes divines, et comment le Verbe, après l'Incarnation, ne cesse pas d'être un 'Dieu parfait'. Que si, après cela, on croit pouvoir discerner aussi certains traits visant spécialement le Priscillianisme, le fait n'a pas de quoi nous surprendre, dans ce pays de la Galice où, nous l'avons vu, le

[1] Turner *History and Use of Creeds* p. 66: 'It is, in fact, not so much a Creed as a hymn.'

[2] II^{a}–II^{ae}, qu. 1, art. 10, obj. 3.

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vieux fonds d'hétérodoxie désigné sous ce nom continuait à se maintenir avec plus de ténacité que partout ailleurs.

Mais je vois venir l'objection: supposé que le *Quicumque* soit identique à la *Regula fidei* de Martin de Braga, comment expliquer qu'il nous ait été transmis, ou sans nom d'aucune sorte, ou sous celui d'Athanase? La chose n'est pas aussi étonnante qu'elle pourrait le paraître à première vue. Parmi les ouvrages qui nous restent de Martin, plusieurs sont exactement dans le même cas. Il en est qui sont anonymes: d'autres, ses traités moraux par exemple, ont traversé tout le moyen âge sous le nom de Sénèque; il existe même, on l'a vu, soit une recension, soit une source de son traité sur la Pâque, qui a pour titre: *Tractatus sancti Adthanasi episcopi Alexandrini.*[1] Les écrits de Martin de Braga ont été particulièrement exposés à se trouver ainsi démarqués. Huit ans après sa mort, le royaume qu'il avait converti au catholicisme était annexé par les Wisigoths; les traditions religieuses et les souvenirs particuliers aux églises de la Galice ont dû nécessairement souffrir, une fois ces églises entrées dans l'orbite de la primatie de Tolède, essentiellement centralisatrice, et d'un exclusivisme intolérant. En outre, la nature même du *Quicumque* contribue à en expliquer l'anonymat. C'était une formule presque impersonnelle, un prototype des catéchismes à venir. Il a existé, et il existe encore, une foule de ces catéchismes: combien pourrait-on en citer, auxquels un auteur quelconque ait attaché son nom? Il en est un peu de ces sortes de formulaires comme des compositions liturgiques. En ce genre, une pièce acquiert d'autant plus d'autorité que le rédacteur garde plus jalousement l'incognito: ce n'est plus lui qui est le véritable auteur, c'est, pour ainsi dire, l'Église elle-même. Pour ma part, je ne verrais aucune difficulté à admettre que Martin ait publié comme anonyme sa Règle de foi, si même il n'a pas été le premier à l'abriter sous le nom d'Athanase, comme résumant exactement la pensée et l'enseignement du grand docteur alexandrin.

Quant à la façon dont le *Quicumque* a fait son chemin en Occident, elle devient, elle aussi, dans cette hypothèse, très naturelle, très facile à concevoir. Le premier qui le mette à

[1] Burn *Niceta of Remesiana* pp. 92 sqq. Si cette recension n'est pas l'œuvre personnelle de Martin, elle lui a du moins fourni la plus grande partie de son opuscule sur la Pâque; il est à croire qu'elle avait cours en Galice de son temps.

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profit est Isidore de Séville. Né vers 560, une vingtaine d'années avant la mort de l'évêque de Braga, Isidore ne mentionne celui-ci dans ses écrits qu'avec les sentiments de la plus haute estime. Martin est pour lui un 'très saint évêque',[1] aussi 'illustre par sa foi que par son savoir', auquel 'les Églises de Galice sont redevables de bon nombre de leurs institutions'.[2] Rien d'étonnant à ce que, au déclin de sa carrière, lors du grand concile de 633, le chef de l'épiscopat wisigothique ait inséré dans la profession de foi synodale des passages d'une formule rédigée trois quarts de siècle auparavant par l'apôtre de la nation suève.

Mais Martin eut aussi des relations intimes avec la Gaule ecclésiastique de son temps, notamment, comme je l'ai dit, avec Grégoire de Tours et son milieu[3]; il entretenait un commerce épistolaire avec Fortunat de Poitiers, qui fit son éloge et en prose et en vers.[4] Cette circonstance, jointe aux fréquents rapports auxquels donnèrent lieu les différentes ambassades, et les alliances contractées par les rois francs avec des princesses wisigothes, expliquerait suffisamment la prompte diffusion des écrits de Martin de Braga en deçà des Pyrénées. Caspari a démontré[5] que son curieux opuscule *De correctione rusticorum* était entré 'de bonne heure', conjointement avec les homélies de S. Césaire d'Arles, dans le fond commun de la prédication populaire à l'époque mérovingienne: il en a signalé l'emploi dans les sermons de S. Éloi, les *Dicta Priminii* et plusieurs autres productions apparentées. Autun, où fut porté le premier décret synodal relatif à l'usage du *Quicumque*, avait eu, nous l'avons vu, des attaches particulières avec l'Espagne au temps de Brunehaut; l'évêque S. Léger, dont le décret porte le nom, fut d'abord archidiacre de Poitiers, l'un des centres principaux des rapports de Martin avec la Gaule.

Il nous faut, à présent, envisager un autre aspect capital de la

[1] 'Martinus, Dumiensis monasterii sanctissimus pontifex ...' *De uiris illustr.* c. 35.

[2] *Histor. Sueuorum* (MG. 4° Chronica minora II 302 sq.) 'Huius temporibus Martinus monasterii Dumiensis episcopus fide et scientia claruit, cuius studio et pax ecclesiae reddita est, et multa in ecclesiasticis disciplinis Galliciae regionibus instituta'; *Chronic.* (*ibid.* p. 476) 'Per idem tempus Martinus Domiensis episcopus Gallaecia in doctrina fidei praedicatur.'

[3] Cf. Caspari *Martin v. Bracara* pp. ii sq. note 4; p. xix.

[4] *Ibid.* pp. xix–xxi. Fortunat, *Carm.* lib. v, 1 et 2.

[5] *Ibid.* pp. cvii sqq.

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question. De ce que nous possédons des écrits de l'évêque de Braga résulte-t-il quelque vraisemblance pour ou contre l'attribution à celui-ci d'une pièce telle que le *Quicumque*?

Un habile critique, auquel j'ai fait part du sujet que je m'étais proposé de traiter ici, s'est aussitôt récrié, en protestant que la facture du symbole d'Athanase ne lui paraissait avoir rien de commun avec le style de Martin de Braga. Quand je lui demandai ce qu'il avait lu de cet auteur, il me répondit: seulement le traité *De correctione rusticorum*. Or, comme le fait remarquer Caspari,[1] on aurait tort de se fonder sur ce seul opuscule pour apprécier la façon d'écrire habituelle à Martin. Son but, en le composant, était de satisfaire à un désir que lui avait exprimé l'évêque Polemius, de posséder un modèle du genre de prédication qui convient à un auditoire de paysans encore adonnés aux pratiques superstitieuses du paganisme: 'pro castigatione rusticorum, qui, adhuc pristina paganorum superstitione detenti, cultum uenerationis plus daemoniis quam deo persoluunt.' Martin a donc dû, comme il le dit lui-même, se mettre à la portée de ces grossiers auditeurs, et leur préparer un mets qu'ils pussent goûter; en d'autres termes, il va employer ici ce *sermo rusticus*, ce langage simple et populaire, dont Césaire d'Arles, au commencement du siècle, avait lui aussi compris la nécessité et donné l'exemple: 'necesse me fuit . . . cibum rusticis rustico sermone condire. Ita ergo . . . erit tuae praedicationis exordium.'

Dans d'autres occasions, lorsqu'il écrivait pour des personnages de haut rang ou de bonne éducation, Martin savait manier un style tout différent, plus élevé, dont on ne saurait contester le mérite et la valeur artistique. De cette autre manière nous trouvons des exemples dans la *Formula uitae honestae* dédiée au roi Miro, dans la série des trois petits traités relatifs à la jactance, à l'orgueil et à l'humilité, dans l'opuscule sur la Pâque, dans les lettres enfin, notamment celle à l'évêque Boniface sur la triple immersion baptismale. Encore faut-il distinguer dans cette seconde série d'écrits une double influence: dans les traités moraux, celle de Sénèque, qui se traduit par le caractère sententieux, la concision des phrases, la netteté et la rapidité des pensées; dans la correspondance, celle de la mode, qui, au VIe comme au Ve siècle, avait introduit et rendu quasi obligatoire une

[1] *Ibid.* pp. xcii sqq.

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déplorable affectation, une boursouflure de style devant laquelle se pâmaient les contemporains.[1] Il faut entendre Fortunat faire l'éloge de la prose épistolaire de l'évêque de Braga[2]:

Quid loquar de perihodis, epichirematibus, enthymemis syllogismisque perplexis? quo laborat quadrus Maro, quo rotundus Cicero. Quod apud illos est profundum, hic profluum; quod illic difficillimum, hic in promptu. Comperi paucis punctis, quoniam quo uolueris cola pampinosae diffundis propaginis, quo uero libuerit acuti commatis falce succidis; ut cauti uinitoris studio moderante nec in hoc luxurians germinet umbra fastidium, et illuc tensa placeat propago cum fructu.

Tout autre était le genre adopté par Martin dans ses traités moraux. Qu'on en juge par ce passage du *De formula honestae uitae*[3]:

Lauda parce, uitupera parcius. Nam similiter est reprehensibilis nimia laudatio, ut immoderata uituperatio; illa siquidem adulatione, ista malignitate suspecta habetur. Testimonium ueritati, non amicitiae reddas. Cum consideratione promitte: plenius quam promiseris praesta. Si prudens fuerit animus tuus, tribus temporibus dispensetur: praesentia ordina, futura praeuide, praeterita recordare. Nam qui praesentia non cogitat, obliuiosus et fatuus appellatur; qui nil de praeterito cogitat, perdit uitam; qui nil de futuro praemeditatur, in omnia incautus incidit . . . Prudens numquam marcet otio; aliquando animum remissum habet, numquam solutum: accelerat tarda, perplexa expedit, dura mollit, exaequat ardua . . . Cunctus esto benignus, nemini blandus, paucis familiaris, omnibus aequus.

L'homme qui a écrit ces lignes était bien capable, assurément, de composer le *Quicumque*.[4]

[1] La lettre à Boniface (Florez *España sagrada*, 2e édit. xv 423-426) offre un exemple des deux styles: dans le début et la finale, ce qu'on peut appeler les formules de politesse; dans le reste de l'écrit, un langage simple, naturel et nerveux, qui rappelle par endroits le rythme du *Quicumque*.

[2] *Carmin.* v 1 n. 6. J'ai donné la préférence à telles variantes des mss. sur celles que Fr. Leo a admises dans le texte.

[3] Migne 72, 24 B.C; 26 C. Quelques endroits sont ici corrigés d'après Fr. Haase, *L. Annaei Senecae opera*, t. iii pp. 470, 473.

[4] Du reste, le mérite exceptionnel du style de Martin est universellement reconnu par les meilleurs critiques de nos jours; et il n'y a pas lieu de s'étonner que sa *Formula* ait été plus souvent copiée, et plus populaire au cours du moyen âge, qu'aucun des écrits authentiques de Sénèque. Conf. Haase, *ibid.* praefat. p. xxi: '. . . nec credo ullum genuinum Senecae librum adeo frequenter lectum et descriptum ac citatum esse.' On sait que Dante lui-même cite à deux reprises la *Formula* de Martin de Braga, une première fois avec le simple titre, *Conv.* iii 8: 'il libro *Delle quattro virtù cardinali*'; puis, sous le nom de Sénèque, dans le *De monarchia*

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Mais c'est là tout ce que la prudence permet d'affirmer. Je dois même avouer qu'il me reste des doutes sur la légitimité de l'interprétation qui voit dans la *regula fidei et sanctae religionis* mentionnée par Isidore un écrit proprement dit. Puis, j'ai dressé une série assez longue de rapprochements entre le *Quicumque* et les opuscules authentiques de l'évêque de Braga : les résultats m'en ont paru si peu significatifs, que je n'ai pas jugé à propos de les reproduire ici. Je discerne aussi certains traits, presque imperceptibles, il est vrai, qui m'empêchent décidément de reconnaître en Martin l'auteur du *Quicumque* : par exemple, il ne se sert pas une seule fois, que je sache, de l'expression *absque dubio* du vers. 2 ; au lieu de *quicumque*, il emploie régulièrement *quisquis* ; il avait dans son symbole, à l'article de la résurrection du Christ, l'addition intéressante *uiuus*, dont il n'y a aucune trace dans le passage correspondant de la formule d'Athanase, etc. En somme, je crains presque de m'être arrêté plus que de mesure à cette supposition : mais, après tout, elle méritait d'être prise en sérieuse considération, quitte à être écartée presque aussitôt. Elle aura du moins contribué à mettre ce point en évidence, qu'il y avait encore en Espagne, peu après 550, au moins un homme à même de composer une pièce du genre du *Quicumque*. Et il a pu y en avoir d'autres, cela va sans dire, d'autres que nous ne connaissons pas. C'est pourquoi je n'hésite pas à déclarer qu'il me semble impossible, présentement, de mettre un nom quelconque en tête du fameux symbole. Je puis seulement affirmer de nouveau ceci : c'est que, entre tous les écrits jusqu'ici connus du haut moyen âge, aucun ne me paraît plus voisin du *Quicumque* que le *Breuiarium fidei aduersus haereticos*.[1] Mais de lui aussi qui nous révélera l'auteur ?

Je ne me dissimule point ce qu'il y a de décevant dans cette sorte d'arrêt final devant une impasse ; et même cette solution — toujours assez probable — que le *Quicumque* est un produit de la

ii 5 'bene Seneca de lege in libro *De quatuor uirtutibus*'. Le célèbre apocryphe fut aussi l'un des premiers ouvrages qui obtinrent les honneurs de l'impression (1470).

[1] Conf. ci-dessus p. 341. Et ce *Breuiarum* lui-même est étroitement apparenté : (*a*) au *Contra Varimadum* d'Idacius Clarus ; (*b*) à la Confession de foi de l'épiscopat catholique d'Afrique de 484 ; (*c*) au *De mysterio sanctae Trinitatis* qui porte le nom d'Augustin, mais qui est sûrement l'œuvre d'un auteur gallican. Voir la note de G. Ficker, p. 50 sq. de ses *Studien zu Vigilius von Thapsus* (Leipzig 1897).

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théologie espagnole des Ve et VIe siècles, une telle solution, dis-je, n'est pas de nature à surfaire aux yeux de nos contemporains l'autorité de cet Exposé de la foi catholique : mais je ne crois pas non plus qu'elle doive le moins du monde la faire baisser dans notre estime. Nous tous qui avons le bonheur de ' savoir l'Église ', selon une belle expression de Bossuet,[1] nous ne doutons pas que le Christ et son Esprit ne l'assistent avec la même efficacité à travers les différentes vicissitudes de son existence. L'action de cet Esprit ne connaît aucunes limites de temps ou de pays : elle s'est fait sentir aux VIe et VIIe siècles comme du Ier au Ve, et en Espagne aussi bien qu'ailleurs, quoique d'une façon différente peut-être, dans un langage plus explicite et plus pressant qu'aux âges antérieurs. On pourra disserter tant qu'il plaira sur les conditions historiques qui ont présidé à la genèse du *Quicumque* : tout vrai croyant devra reconnaître que cette assistance de l'Esprit n'a été étrangère, ni à sa composition, ni à son acceptation par la chrétienté presque entière ; que, par suite, il fait partie de l'indéfectible héritage que nous ont légué nos pères, que donc aussi l'autorité quasi œcuménique dont il a joui jusqu'à ce jour n'est point, quoi qu'on dise, si usurpée. Et quant à ces phrases condamnatoires qui ont tant effarouché certains esprits de notre temps, pour qui sait en saisir la portée véritable, il est clair qu'elles n'ajoutent rien de bien nouveau aux définitions des siècles précédents, rien surtout qui soit fait pour nous effrayer à l'excès, ni amoindrir notre foi en la Communion des saints, ce concept si consolant et si nécessaire de l'immense société d'élus appartenant dès ici-bas, sinon toujours au corps visible, du moins à l'âme de la grande Église de Dieu.

G. MORIN.

[1] Cf. *Lettres de l'abbé Lebeuf* (Auxerre 1866) t. i p. 105.

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APPENDICE.

PARAPHRASE DU *QUICUMQUE* TROUVÉE DANS UN MS. DE MURBACH DU VIIIe SIÈCLE.

Il a été question ci-dessus, à plusieurs reprises, d'une paraphrase très remarquable du *Quicumque*, qui mérite de prendre rang à côté du 'Fragment de Trèves' et du serm. 244 de l'Append. d'Augustin. Je l'ai trouvée dans le ms. 39 de Colmar (prov. de Murbach, VIIIe s. avancé), au milieu d'une compilation fort étrange, empruntée pour le fond à Isidore de Séville: elle a dû être composée à une époque et dans un milieu où le *Quicumque* ne jouissait pas encore de la notoriété qu'il avait acquise en Occident dès les environs de l'an 700. Le texte en a été publié, en octobre 1905, dans la *Revue Bénédictine* (xxii 508 sq.); en raison de son intérêt spécial dans la question présente, j'ai cru bien faire de la reproduire ici. Il commence fol. 29^v^ du manuscrit:

Patris tamen et filii et spiritus sancti . diuinitas est una . aequalis gloria maiestas coaeterna; Ut est pater . ita et filius . sic et spiritus sanctus; Pater a nullo . tantum ut uoluit a semetipso; Filius uero a patre suo; spiritus sanctus a patre et filio; Pater increatus . inmensus . aeternus; Filius inmensus . increatus . aeternus . Spiritus sanctus increatus . inmensus . eternus Et tamen non tres increati ⟨ne⟩quae tres inmensi . neque tres aeterni; Sed unus increatus unus inmensus unus eternus . pater et filius et spiritus sanctus; | f. 30^r^ | Pater omnipotens est . et deus et dominus est; Filius omnipotens est et deus et dominus est; Spiritus sanctus omnipotens est et deus et dominus est . Verumtamen non tres omnipotentes . neque tres dii . neque tres domini. Sed unus omnipotens . et unus deus et unus dominus; Non tres itaque patres neque tres filii . neque tres spiritus sancti . Sed unus pater . unus filius et unus spiritus sanctus; In hac trinitate nihil minus aut maius credendum . nihil posterius aut prius putandum est; Sed totae tres personae coaequales sibi . sunt atque coaeternae; Ita itaque credendum atque confirmandum est . ita scribendum atque legendum est; ita corde ore opere omnibus christianis tenendum est; Ut per omnia trinitas sancta in unitate; et unitas sancta in trinitate; ueneranda . adoranda . deprecanda . glorificanda . confitenda . credenda . retinenda et fide fortiter firma . conseruanda sit . | f. 30^v^ | Dominus itaque noster . Iesus Christus ut ante praediximus . deus et dei filius . homo et hominis filius; Deus est ex patris substantia et genitus ante secula; Homo est ex matris

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substantia . ratione carne et natura . Aequalis patri in diuinitate . minor
25 patri in humanitate . . . .

2 *maiestas*] Il y avait d'abord *magestas*. 6 *increati nequae*] Primitivement *increature*, corrigé ensuite *increatura*, puis *increati*, mais sans rétablir la syllabe *ne*. 14 *In hac trinitate*] Sans *Et* avant la préposition : confirmation inattendue de la leçon adoptée par Mr Turner (*J. T. S.* xi, 1910, p. 408) sur l'autorité du seul ms. de Pétersbourg Q I 15. Lignes 16–21 : cette accumulation de participes plus ou moins synonymes est tout à fait dans le goût espagnol du milieu du VIIe siècle ; qu'on se rappelle, par exemple, le début du livre d'Ildephonse de Tolède sur la Virginité de Marie. 25 *humanitate*] Suit une description impressionnante de la vie et de la personne du Christ, avec les figures et prophéties qui s'y rapportent : publiée en partie par dom Pitra *Spicileg. Solesm.* iii 417.

G. M.

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NOTES AND STUDIES

A NEW TEXT OF THE APOCALYPSE OF PETER. II.

§ 1. *The Text continued.*

THE continuation of the Ethiopic tract on the Second Coming, in which a large portion of the text of the Apocalypse of Peter is incorporated, has been published by M. Sylvain Grébaut in the last number of the *Revue de l Orient Chrétien*. The present instalment contains, as will be speedily seen, only a small portion of the *Apocalypse*. The greater part of what is now published is due to the compiler of the tract, and is a comparatively late composition. In the following pages I transcribe M. Grébaut's French version, and the corresponding portions of the Akhmim Greek text. I subjoin an analysis of the remainder of the Ethiopic tract. In dealing with the end of it I have again had the advantage of seeing M. Grébaut's as yet unpublished version, which he has, with great courtesy and kindness, lent to me.

Mon Seigneur Jésus-Christ notre roi me dit: 'Allons à la montagne sainte.' Ses disciples vinrent avec lui, en priant.

Voici qu'il y avait deux hommes (sur la montagne).

Nous ne pûmes pas regarder le visage d'aucun d'eux, car il en provenait une lumière qui brillait plus que le soleil. Leurs vêtements étaient lumineux. Il est impossible d'exposer cela. Rien ne peut être comparé à cela dans le monde. La bouche n'ayant pas assez de douceur ne peut pas exposer la

Καὶ προσθεὶς ὁ Κύριος ἔφη· Ἄγωμεν εἰς τὸ ὄρος ⟨καὶ⟩ εὐξώμεθα· ἀπερχόμενοι δὲ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς οἱ δώδεκα μαθηταὶ ἐδεήθημεν ὅπως δείξῃ ἡμῖν ἕνα τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν ⟨τῶν⟩ δικαίων τῶν ἐξελθόντων ἀπὸ τοῦ κόσμου, ἵνα ἴδωμεν ποταποί εἰσι τὴν μορφήν, καὶ θαρσήσαντες παραθαρσύνωμεν καὶ τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἡμῶν ἀνθρώπους. καὶ εὐχομένων ἡμῶν ἄ⟨φνω φαίν⟩ονται δύο ἄνδρες ἑστῶτες ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ Κυρίου πρὸς ⟨οὓς⟩ οὐκ ἐδυνήθημεν ἀντιβλέψαι· ἐξήρχετο γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς ὄψεως αὐτῶν ἀκτὶς ὡς ἡλίου, καὶ φωτινὸν ἦν αὐ⟨τῶν ὅλον τὸ⟩ ἔνδυμα, ὁποῖον οὐδέποτε ὀφθαλμὸς ἀνθρώπ⟨ου εἶδεν, οὐδὲ⟩ στόμα δύναται ἐξηγήσασθαι ἢ καρ⟨δία ἐκφράσα⟩ι τὴν δόξαν ἣν ἐνεδέδυντο καὶ τὸ κάλ⟨λος τῆς προσό⟩ψεως αὐτῶν· οὓς ἰδόντες ἐθαμβώθημεν.

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beauté de leurs formes. En effet, leur aspect était merveilleux, prodigieux, et je dirai plus grand encore. Dans leur aspect ils brillaient plus que le cristal. Le type de la couleur de leur aspect et de leur corps était la fleur de rose.

τὰ μὲν γὰρ σώματα αὐτῶν ἦν λευκότερα πάσης χιόνος,
καὶ ἐρυθρότερα παντὸς ῥόδου.

Leur tête était une merveille. A leur front se trouvait une couronne. Sur leurs épaules tombaient des tresses (parfumées) de nard et (ornées) de belles fleurs. (*The Ethiopic text is here confused, according to M. Grébaut.*) Leur chevelure était comme l'arc-en-ciel (plongeant) dans l'eau. Telle était la grâce de leur visage. Ils étaient ornés de toutes sortes d'ornements. Lorsque nous les vîmes soudain, nous nous étonnâmes.

συνεκέκρατο δὲ τὸ ἐρυθρὸν αὐτῶν τῷ λευκῷ, καὶ ἁπλῶς οὐ δύναμαι ἐξηγήσασθαι τὸ κάλλος αὐτῶν· ἥ τε γὰρ κόμη αὐτῶν οὖλη ἦν καὶ ἀνθηρὰ καὶ ἐπιπρέπουσα αὐτῶν τῷ τε προσώπῳ καὶ τοῖς ὤμοις ὡσπερεὶ στέφανος ἐκ ναρδοστάχυος (*or* νάρδου στάχυος) πεπλεγμένος καὶ ποικίλων ἀνθῶν, ἥ ὥσπερ ἶρις ἐν ἀέρι, τοιαύτη ἦν αὐτῶν ἡ εὐπρέπεια.

Je m'approchai du Seigneur Jésus-Christ et lui dis : 'Mon Seigneur, qui sont-ils ? . . . Le Seigneur me dit : 'Ce sont Moïse, Élie [*Eth.* has : 'Moses and Elias. And I said to Him : "Abraham and Isaac,"' &c. Evidently we must supply '*And where are* Abraham', &c.], Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, et aussi les autres Pères justes.'

Ἰδόντες οὖν αὐτῶν τὸ κάλλος, ἐκθαμβοι γεγόναμεν πρὸς αὐτούς, ἐπειδὴ ἄφνω ἐφάνησαν·
καὶ προσελθὼν τῷ Κυρίῳ εἶπον· τίνες εἰσὶν οὗτοι;
λέγει μοι· Οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ὑμῶν οἱ δίκαιοι ὧν ἠθελήσατε τὰς μορφὰς ἰδεῖν.

Il nous fit voir le paradis grand ouvert.

κἀγὼ ἔφην αὐτῷ· Καὶ ποῦ εἰσι πάντες οἱ δίκαιοι, ἢ ποῖός ἐστιν ὁ αἰὼν ἐν ᾧ εἰσι ταύτην ἔχοντες τὴν δόξαν;
καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἔδειξέ μοι μέγιστον χῶρον ἐκτὸς τούτου τοῦ κόσμου ὑπέρλαμπρον τῷ φωτί, καὶ τὸν ἀέρα τὸν ἐκεῖ ἀκτῖσιν ἡλίου καταλαμπόμενον,

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καὶ τὴν γῆν αὐτὴν ἀνθοῦσαν ἀμαράντοις ἄνθεσι, καὶ ἀρωμάτων πλήρη καὶ φυτῶν εὐανθῶν καὶ ἀφθάρτων καὶ καρπὸν εὐλογημένον φερόντων. τοσοῦτον δὲ ἦν τὸ ἄνθος ὡς (ὀσμὴν *add.* Usener) καὶ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἐκεῖθεν φέρεσθαι.

Il y avait un arbre fertile. (Ses) fruits de bénédiction étaient remplis d'odeurs de parfums et étaient remplis de bonnes odeurs. Leur odeur venait vers (le paradis ; *more probably* vers nous). A (cet arbre) je vis beaucoup de fruits.

Οἱ δὲ οἰκήτορες τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου ἐνδεδυμένοι ἦσαν ἔνδυμα ἀγγέλων φωτινῶν, καὶ ὅμοιον ἦν τὸ ἔνδυμα αὐτῶν τῇ χώρᾳ αὐτῶν· ἄγγελοι δὲ περιέτρεχον αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖσε· ἴση δὲ ἦν ἡ δόξα τῶν ἐκεῖ οἰκητόρων, καὶ μιᾷ φωνῇ τὸν Κύριον θεὸν ἀνευφήμουν, εὐφραινόμενοι ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ τόπῳ.

Mon Seigneur et mon Dieu Jésus-Christ me dit : 'As-tu vu la foule des Pères? Tel est leur repos.'

Je me réjouis, je crus et j'eus confiance.

λέγει ἡμῖν ὁ Κύριος· Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τόπος τῶν †αρχερων† ὑμῶν τῶν δικαίων ἀνθρώπων.

Tel est l'honneur et la gloire de ceux qui ont suivi ma justice. Je compris ces (paroles) qui sont écrites dans l'Écriture, (paroles) de mon Seigneur Jésus-Christ. Je lui dis : 'Mon Seigneur, veux-tu que je fasse ici trois tentes, une pour toi, une pour Moïse, une pour Élie? Il me dit en colère : 'Satan te fera la guerre. Il voilera ton intelligence. Les biens de ce monde te vaincront. Que tes yeux soient donc ouverts, et que tes oreilles soient ouvertes. (Il n'y a qu')une seule tente, que n'a pas fabriquée la main des hommes, mais qu'a fabriquée mon Père céleste, pour (mes) élus et pour moi.' Nous (la) vîmes en nous réjouissant. Voici que soudain vint du ciel une voix qui disait : 'Celui-ci est mon Fils que j'aime et en qui je me plais. (Il garde) mes ordres.' Survint une grande nuée, qui s'étendit sur nos têtes. Elle était très blanche Elle enleva Notre-Seigneur, Moïse, et Élie. Quant à moi, je tremblai et je fus effrayé. Nous regardâmes. Le ciel lui-même était ouvert. Nous vîmes des hommes qui étaient en chair. Ils vinrent et allèrent dans un autre ciel. La parole de l'Écriture fut accomplie : *Cette génération cherchera* (le Seigneur), *cherchera la face du dieu de Jacob.* Survinrent une grande crainte et une grande frayeur au ciel. Les anges se pressaient entre eux afin que fût accomplie la parole de l'Écriture qui dit : *Ouvrez vos portes, ô princes.* Alors se ferma le ciel qui s'était ouvert.

Nous priâmes et descendîmes de la montagne, en glorifiant le

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Seigneur de ce qu'il avait écrit les noms des justes sur le livre de vie, qui est au cieux.

At this point there is a distinct break. The text continues in the words of Clement (who, it must be remembered, is the supposed recorder of the whole *corpus* of revelations):—

'Peter opened his mouth and said to me: Hearken, my son Clement. God created all things for His glory,' &c. This theme is dwelt upon at some length. There are promises, put into the mouth of the Father, to those who celebrate the glory of God. In the description of their future happiness, and in a description of the angels, which follows upon this, traits are drawn from the description of the blessed in *A. P.* Thus: '(The Son) will at His coming raise the dead at the sound of His word, and will make my righteous ones shine seven times more than the sun, and will make their crowns shine like the crystal, and like the rainbow in the time of rain: (crowns) which are perfumed with nard, and cannot be contemplated: (which are adorned) with rubies, with the colour of emerald, shining brightly, with topazes, gems, and yellow pearls that shine like the stars in heaven, and like the rays of the sun, sparkling, which cannot be gazed upon.' Then, of the angels: 'The faces of His angels shine more than the sun; their crowns are as the rainbow in the time of rain. (They are perfumed) with nard. Their eyes shine like the morning star. The beauty of their appearance cannot be expressed. The music of their songs is as the sound of an instrument. Their hymns are sweet, their speech is pleasant to hear, and, above all, their joy has no end. Their raiment is not woven, but is white as that of the fuller, according as I saw on the mountain where Moses and Elias were.' He continues: 'Our Lord shewed at the transfiguration to Peter, James and John, sons of Zebedee, the raiment of the last day after the resurrection and the day (of judgement).' He then speaks of the cloud and the Voice from heaven, and ends 'we knew not what we said, because of the greatness of that day, and of the mountain where He shewed us the second coming of Christ in the kingdom that has no end'. A new start is then made: 'The Father has committed all judgement to Christ (John v 22 is quoted).' A list of sins and virtues is given; and we now find that Peter is the speaker 'Forget me not in regard to the sinners, when thou hast pity upon them at the last day'. This begins an appeal on behalf of sinners addressed by Peter to Christ. He weeps for many hours, and finally receives an answer, with strict injunctions not to reveal it, lest men should go on in their sins. The answer is very diffuse and obscure, but it seems distinctly to promise at one point universal salvation. This occurs in the portion as yet unpublished. 'My Father will give to them all the life, the glory, and the kingdom which shall have no end.' It seems also that this is done for the sake

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of the righteous. 'It is because of those who have believed in me that I am come. It is also because of those who have believed in me that, at their word, I shall have pity (on men).' After a discourse of some length uttered by our Lord, Peter speaks again in his own person, and enjoins Clement to hide this revelation in a box that foolish men may not see it. Then follow orders as to the observance of the greater feasts, a last injunction as to secrecy, and the conclusion.

That the portion of the Ethiopic tract following the descent from the mountain is almost wholly of quite late date does not admit of doubt. But we see that it borrows a few traits from the *A. P.*; and the question will be worth considering at a later time whether the central topic—the final salvation of sinners—which the Ethiopic writer wraps up in such a mist of words, and as to which he shews so much hesitation, was not also in some form derived from the same source. That question I cannot undertake to discuss now. It is more immediately necessary to examine the relation of the Ethiopic text (*Eth.*) to our Greek fragment (*Akh.*) in the portion in which they are obviously connected.

There are two omissions of some length in *Eth.* The first extends from the word ἐδεήθημεν to εὐχομένων ἡμῶν. *Eth.* has for these lines only 'en priant'. It is a question whether this omission is not due to *homoeoteleuton* in Ethiopic. The two Greek words being of similar meaning may have been rendered in the Ethiopic (or its parent version) by the same word.

No such explanation is possible in the case of the other long omission,—that in the description of Paradise and its inhabitants. *Eth.* here gives us a much shorter text, which contains two striking phrases of *Akh.*, but introduces a new feature in the shape of a tree. Possibly the text is corrupt: possibly the Tree of Life may be meant. *Eth.* also omits all mention of the inhabitants of Paradise.

An important difference between *Eth.* and *Akh.* is in the passage about the two glorified beings. In the description of their aspect almost every phrase of the Greek text can be traced in *Eth.*, though the latter is confused and corrupt. But when Peter asks who the two saints are, the answer in *Akh.* is that they are 'your righteous brethren, whose forms ye desired to see', in *Eth.*, that they are 'Moses and Elias'.

A reference to *Eth.* shews traces of a question corresponding to that in *Akh.*: 'And where are all the righteous?' &c. We thus have a text (in which the narrative of the Transfiguration is utilized) consistent with itself, but differing widely from *Akh.* Be it noted that the latter is difficult of interpretation. The Apostles have asked to be shewn 'one of their righteous brethren who have departed out of the world'. Now, though in the time of the real author of the *A. P.* there were many Christians who had departed this life, we must credit him with having

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made some attempt at putting himself into the position, and throwing himself back into the time, of the Apostles: and in their days—more especially before the Ascension—there were no departed Christians to appear, and Old Testament saints are the most obvious persons to play the required part. Such are the worthies whom Paul meets in Paradise: such also the 'elect and righteous who dwell in the garden' according to Enoch.

There may be some other elements of the original conclusion of the *A. P.* in the text; in particular, the clause about the descent from the mountain is such as would have proved a very fitting end to the book. I do not forget that 2 Peter, which shews points of contact with *Akh.*, mentions the Voice from Heaven, and the holy mountain: but I am not at present in a position to put forward a theory of the incorporation by the *A. P.* of the narrative of the Transfiguration.

§ 2. *The Bodleian fragment.*

In the additional notes to my last article I said something of this fragment. A fuller account of it is clearly desirable.

I will remind my readers that it is a vellum fragment measuring three-and-a-quarter inches in height by two in breadth: complete at top and bottom, containing thirteen lines of from eight to ten letters apiece on each side. In other words it is the greater part of a leaf of a very small book. It is in well-formed uncials assigned to the fifth century. It was acquired from Egypt in 1894 or 5: its class-mark is 'MS. Gr. Theol. f. 4 (P).', and it is No. 31810 in Madan's *Summary Catalogue.*

I owe my first knowledge of it to a photograph kindly sent to me by the Librarian soon after its acquisition by the Bodleian. Upon the discovery of the Ethiopic text I obtained the kind help of Dr Cowley and Mr E. O. Winstedt, the latter of whom has furnished me with most careful transcripts of all that could be read on the vellum. More recently Professor J. Vernon Bartlet has very generously sent me his own reading of the fragment. I have also procured another photograph of the very difficult *verso* of the leaf.

The result attained is that we have a short piece of a text of the *A. P.*, which may be said to correspond to the end of the Akhmim fragment. The *recto*, which I printed in my Additional Note II (*J. T. S.* xii p. 157) is fairly legible.

(γυ)ναικες κ⟨ρα|το⟩υντες αλ̣υ̣|(σ)εις και μ̣α̣|(στ)ι̣γουντε(ς) | (ε)αυτους ε(μ)| (πρ)οσθεν τ(ου) | (τ)ων ειδω(λων) | (τ)ων πλαν(ων) | και αναπ̣α̣|παυστως (ε)| ξουσιν τη̣(ν) | κολασιν (three dots, indicating a stop) | και εγγυς . .[1]

The passage corresponding to this in the Akhmim text is:—

[1] Some such words as και πλησίον αὐτῶν ἦσαν (ἔσονται) ἄλλοι ἄνδρες καί must be supplied at the beginning. Prof. Bartlet reads κροτοῦντες ἀλύσεις: I suggest κρατοῦντες (= holding) as an amendment of this. He also reads εἰδώλων τῇ πλάνῃ.

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καὶ παρὰ τῷ κρημνῷ ἐκείνῳ τόπος ἦν πυρὸς πλείστου γέμων κἀκεῖ εἱστήκεισαν ἄνδρες οἵτινες ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσὶ ξόανα ἑαυτοῖς ἐποίησαν ἀντὶ θεοῦ. καὶ παρ' ἐκείνοις ἄνδρες ἕτεροι καὶ γυναῖκες ῥάβδους πυρὸς ἔχοντες καὶ ἀλλήλους τύπτοντες καὶ μηδέποτε παυόμενοι τῆς τοιαύτης κολάσεως.

Eth. has: Near these will be a furnace (?). Beneath them the angel Ezrael will prepare a great flare of fire. There will be all the idols of gold and silver, all the idols, the works of the hands of the sons of men, and the images which are like them (i. e. images in human form): images of cats and lions, of creeping things, and of beasts. As for the men and women who have made these images, they will be loaded with fiery chains, and will be chastised because of their error in the presence of these idols. Such will be their punishment for ever.

Akhmim seems to be clearly a faulty text here. If we cut out the words *καὶ παρ' ἐκείνοις ἄνδρες ἕτεροι καὶ γυναῖκες* we get a more coherent account: a single class of sinners whose sin and punishment are both specified; whereas the present text mentions two classes, says nothing distinctive about the punishment of the first, and nothing at all about the sin of the second.

It has this much of resemblance to *Bodl.* that the sinners are *ἀλλήλους τύπτοντες* (*Bodl. μαστιγοῦντες ἑαυτούς*), and that the ceaselessness of the punishment is specially mentioned.

Eth. and *Bodl.* have in common the mention of chains, and the chastisement in the presence of the idols. Very probably the words rendered 'because of their error' may represent the adjective *πλάνων* applied to the idols in *Bodl.*

The *verso* of *Bodl.* is in its upper part very faint. The last reading of it which I have from Mr Winstedt, who has been untiring in the pains he has kindly spent over it, is this

Τ]ωΝΕ̣ . . . [
Ε]Ϲ̣Ο̣Ν̣Τ̣Α̣Ι̣Α[Ν
Δ]Ρ̣Ε̣Ϲ̣Κ̣Α̣Ι̣Γ[Υ
Ν]ΑΙΚΕϹΚ[
. .]Ε . . ΟΤ̣Η̣[
] . . Ϲ̣Ε̣Ι̣Τ̣Ω̣[
] . Δ̣ΩΚ̣ΕΜ[
]ωΝΟΥΤΟ[Ι
Δ]ΕΕΙϹΙΝΟ[Ι
ΤΙ]ΝΕϹΚΑ
ΤΕ]ΛΙΠΟΝΟ
ΔΟ]ΝΤΟΥΘΥΟ
ΛΩ]Ϲ̣ΚΑΙΠΡΟΕ

The first lines (taken with the last line of the *recto*) seem then to have been

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καὶ ἐγγὺς αὐτῶν ἕτεροι ἔσονται ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες.

In the next lines Prof. Bartlet reads καιόμενοι τῇ καύσει τῶν εἰδωλομανῶν: the last word was suggested to him by Bodley's Librarian; it occurs in *Athenagoras* 29. This reading seems to me admirable. Lines 8–13 read

οὗτοι δέ εἰσιν οἵτινες κατέλιπον ὁδὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ὅλως (?) [κατέλ. τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ὁδὸν Bartlet] καὶ προε . . .

The portion of *Akhmim* corresponding to this is

καὶ ἕτεροι πάλιν ἐγγὺς ἐκείνων γυναῖκες καὶ ἄνδρες φλεγόμενοι καὶ στρεφόμενοι καὶ τηγανιζόμενοι, οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν οἱ ἀφέντες τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ θεοῦ.

Eth. Near them will be other men and women. They will burn in the flames of torment. Their punishment will be for ever. Here are they who have forsaken the commandments of the Lord and followed the suggestions of devils.

Here again *Bodl.* seems nearer to *Eth.* than to *Akhmim*. There is not room enough in *Bodl.* for the three long participles of *Akhmim* φλεγόμενοι καὶ στρεφόμενοι καὶ τηγανιζόμενοι. Note that it has the future tense ἔσονται, and a present εἰσίν, both in agreement with *Eth.*

§ 3. *The quotations from* Apoc. Peter *in Clement of Alexandria and Methodius.*

These passages demand a fresh discussion in the light of the new Ethiopic text. Unnecessary doubt has been thrown on the Clementine passages in regard of the number and extent of the quotations from *A. P.* The passages in question are all in the collection of excerpts known as *Eclogae ex propheticis scripturis*. This collection is preserved in but one ancient manuscript. In this the excerpts are not divided, nor, of course, numbered. It is important to remember this, and to realize that the division and numbering of the excerpts in the printed editions is the work of comparatively modern scholars. That which appears in the Berlin edition of 1909 by Dr Otto Stählin differs widely from previous arrangements, and for our present purpose is perfectly satisfactory.

Leaving out of sight for the present the probable allusion to *A. P.* in *Ecl.* 38, 39, let us take the overt quotations. I use Stählin's text.

(1) *Ecl.* 41. 1. Ἡ γραφή φησι τὰ βρέφη τὰ ἐκτεθέντα τημελούχῳ παραδίδοσθαι ἀγγέλῳ, ὑφ' οὗ παιδεύεσθαί τε καὶ αὔξειν. 'καὶ ἔσονται' φησὶν 'ὡς οἱ ἑκατὸν ἐτῶν ἐνταῦθα πιστοί.'

2 Διὸ καὶ Πέτρος ἐν τῇ Ἀποκαλύψει φησι· 'καὶ ἀστραπὴ πυρὸς πηδῶσα ἀπὸ τῶν βρεφῶν ἐκείνων καὶ πλήσσουσα τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῶν γυναικῶν.' 3 ἐπεὶ ὁ δίκαιος 'ὡς σπινθὴρ διὰ καλάμης ἐκλάμπει καὶ κρίνει ἔθνη.' (Wisd. iii. 7.)

Zahn and others have referred § 1 to another Apocalypse, unnamed, because in § 2 the *A. P.* is named definitely. But nothing surely can

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be clearer than that § 2 is a separate excerpt; by no possibility can Διό be connected with § 1. The excerptor has simply copied all the references to the *A. P.* which he noticed. I suggested this in 1892. Surely, again when we find the words τὰ βρέφη . . τημελούχῳ παραδίδοσθαι ἀγγέλῳ repeated as a definite quotation from the *A. P.* in *Ecl.* 48 we shall be going very far out of the plain track if we seek to attribute them to another source in *Ecl.* 41. The word τημελοῦχος, it may be useful to remind my readers, is found nowhere in Greek literature save in these two *Eclogae* of Clement and in the passage of Methodius which deals with the same subject. The Ethiopic version of the *A. P.* gives it under the form Temlâkos as a proper name; and in the later Greek Apocalypses of Paul and John we find it again, misunderstood, corrupted, and made into a proper name, Τεμελοῦχος or Τεμελούχ. Not only so, but it becomes the name of a tormenting angel. The passages are: *Paul* 16 παραδοθήτω ἡ ψυχὴ αὕτη ἀνίλεῳ ἀγγέλῳ Τεμελούχῳ. 34 καὶ ἐλθὼν ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ Τεμελοῦχος κατεῖχεν ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ σίδηρον: *John*, Tischendorf, p. 94, καὶ φωνήσει ὁ τεμελοὺχ (*is paullo* ante θυρωρὸς *constitutus est*) τὸν ταρούκ, and later on: καὶ λέγει ὁ τεμελοὺχ τῷ ταρούκ· ἔγειρε τὸν ὄφιν κτλ . . . καὶ συνάξει ὁ τεμελοὺχ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν.

In the Latin version of *Paul* the word Tartaruchus is substituted for Temeluchus; thus '16 Tradatur ergo angelo Tartarucho qui prepositus est penis. 34 uidi . . . hominem subfocari ab angelos tartaricos abentes in manibus suis ferrum'.

This word Ταρταροῦχος, again, demands some attention. It is not given in the *Thesaurus* of Stephanus at all; but it does occur in Greek, though with extreme rarity. In Hippolytus *Ref. Haer.* x 34 we have (ἐκφεύξεσθε) ταρταρούχων ἀγγέλων κολαστῶν ὅμμα ἀεὶ μένον ἐν ἀπειλῇ; in *Paul* 18 παραδοθήτω ἡ ψυχὴ αὕτη Ταρταρούχῳ ἀγγέλῳ (apparently a proper name; the Latin has 'Anima ista in manibus Tartari tradatur'). In *John* we have seen it in the corrupt form ταρούκ. It occurs also in Latin in a fragment printed by De Bruyne as probably Priscillianist (*Revue Bénédictine*, 1907, p. 323) 'tradatur hunc ad angelum tartarucho', and once a few lines before. The Ethiopic of *A. P.* gives it as a proper name Tâtirokos.

I must add that *Paul* 40 speaking of the destiny of murdered infants, and approaching very near the *A. P.* as quoted by Clement, says (Gr.) καὶ ἐδόθησαν αὐτὰ ἀγγέλῳ ἀπενεχθῆναι αὐτὰ εἰς εὐρύχωρον τόπον, (Lat.) 'Infantes autem illi traditi sunt angelis tartari qui erant super penas ut ducerent[1] eos in locum spaciosum misericordiae', where one cannot but suspect that our Greek text is guilty of an omission.

[1] The unique MS of the Latin text reads *doceret* which happens to correspond with Clement's παιδεύεσθαι. But it is safer to take it (as I have done) as a corruption of *ducerent* = ἀπενεχθῆναι of Gr.

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The evidence I have set out leads me to the conclusion that these two very rare adjectives, τημελοῦχος and ταρταροῦχος, *both* occurred in the source of *Eth.* and of *Paul*; and that this source was the *A. P.* is demonstrated in the case of τημελοῦχος, and almost absolutely certain in the case of ταρταροῦχος.

καὶ ἔσονται, φησίν, ὡς οἱ ἑκατὸν ἐτῶν ἐνταῦθα πιστοί.

This must be another quotation from the γραφή mentioned in the first clause, and was very likely continuous with it. It is alluded to again in *Ecl.* 48, where Clement speaks of the children attaining to γνῶσις and experiencing what they would have experienced had they remained in the body. *Ecl.* 48, in fact, contains Clement's interpretation of the words (ὑφ' οὗ παιδεύεσθαι καὶ αὔξειν) καὶ ἔσονται κτλ. The children will become equal in experience to the believers who survive to a patriarchal age on earth. The Ethiopic has no equivalent to this clause.

I can point to but one passage which shews a coincidence of language such as may have suggested the idea, viz. Isa. lxv 20 οὐδ' οὐ μὴ γένηται ἔτι ἐκεῖ ἄωρος καὶ πρεσβύτης ὃς οὐκ ἐμπλήσει τὸν χρόνον αὐτοῦ· ἔσται γὰρ ὁ νέος ἑκατὸν ἐτῶν, ὁ δὲ ἀποθνήσκων ἁμαρτωλὸς ἑκατὸν ἐτῶν, καὶ ἐπικατάρατος ἔσται. The word ἄωρος occurs in the Akhmim text in connexion with our subject (20 Preuschen); in *Wisdom*, as we shall see, the thought of honourable age independent of grey hairs is expressed more than once.

The consideration of the future tense ἔσονται must be noted, but discussion of it is reserved.

καὶ ἀστραπὴ πυρὸς πηδῶσα ἀπὸ τῶν βρεφῶν ἐκείνων καὶ πλήσσουσα τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῶν γυναικῶν.

The parallel passage in the Akhmim text, hardly coinciding with this at all in vocabulary, is: καὶ προήρχοντο ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀκτῖνες (or φλόγες: the letters -ες only remain in the MS) πυρός, καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἔπλησσον κατὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν. The antecedent to αὐτῶν is παῖδες, not βρέφη.

The Ethiopic has: 'a flash shall come from the children. There will be a dazzling in the eyes of the women who by fornication have brought about their corruption.' The last clause may correspond to a separate sentence in the original, such as αὗταί εἰσιν αἱ πορνεύσασαι καὶ τὰ βρέφη φθείρασαι: but on the other hand a similar sentence has already occurred ('ce sont celles qui ont fait avorter leurs enfants et ont corrompu l'œuvre du Seigneur qui les avait formés').

The tense—an important matter—is left undetermined in Clement's quotation. The verb may equally well have been past or future.

As to the language, there is a curious reminder of it in *Wisdom* xi 18 ἢ δεινοὺς ἀπ' ὀμμάτων σπινθῆρας ἀστράπτοντας: one of a good many resemblances, which will be presented all together at a later period.

(2) *Ecl.* 48. 1 Ἡ θεία πρόνοια ⟨ο⟩ὐ ⟨κ⟩αταστρέφει ἐπὶ μόνους τοὺς ἐν σαρκί. αὐτίκα ὁ Πέτρος ἐν τῇ Ἀποκαλύψει φησὶν 'τὰ βρέφη ἐξαμβλωθέντα

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τῆς ἀμείνονος ἐσόμενα μοίρας, ταῦτα ἀγγέλῳ τημελούχῳ παραδίδοσθαι, ἵνα γνώσεως μεταλαβόντα τῆς ἀμείνονος τύχῃ μονῆς, παθόντα ἃ ἂν ἔπαθεν καὶ ἐν σώματι γενόμενα'. τὰ δ' ἕτερα μονῆς τῆς σωτηρίας τεύξεται, ὡς ἠδικημένα ἐλεηθέντα, καὶ μενεῖ ἄνευ κολάσεως, τοῦτο γέρας λαβόντα.

The inverted commas are Stählin's, and shew his view of the extent of the quotation. Zahn would stop at *μοίρας* (or *πείρας*, the reading of the MS) and Harnack at *μονῆς*. My view is that little if anything beyond the words *τὰ βρέφη* and *ταῦτα ἀγγ. τημ. παραδίδοσθαι* can be looked upon as quoted, and that the rest is Clement's interpretation or paraphrase. I see no reason for inserting any mark of distinction after *γενόμενα*.

As to the text, Stählin is the first editor who has rightly read the opening sentence ('Η *θεία . . . σαρκί*) and has connected it with this excerpt instead of the preceding one. He also suggests and, I think, again rightly, that *τά* should be supplied after *ἐξαμβλωθέντα*.

Now as to the meaning of the excerpt. Two classes of children are distinguished in it. What are they? Not, as has been thought, *τὰ ἐξαμβλωθέντα* and *τὰ ἐκτεθέντα*, but (*τὰ*) *τῆς ἀμείνονος ἐσόμενα μοίρας* and *τὰ ἕτερα*: that is, the children who are destined to be of the better part (i.e. to be saved) and the children who are not so destined; in other words, those who, if they had attained maturity on earth, would have been saved, and those who, in the like case, would not. The first class are permitted to attain *γνῶσις*, and to go through such probation as they would have experienced on earth; to the second, in consideration of the injury they have suffered at the hands of their parents, punishment is remitted, but no positive advantages are given. This interpretation (which I have not seen set forth before, though I think it must have been present to Dr Stählin's mind) seems to me to be required by the presence of *ἐσόμενα*, which qualifies the class of children described. The words have been thought to mean simply that the children in question 'will belong to the better part', but this would require *ἔσεσθαι*. Possibly we ought to read *ἐσόμενα ἄν*: I do not think this essential to the interpretation I have given.

How much of this speculation did Clement derive from the text of *A. P.*? I think very little, and for this reason, that what we have of the text of *A. P.* is altogether on a lower plane of thought. It is materialistic in its imagery. It describes the destiny of these very children in a concrete way, 'they will be like the faithful here who have attained the age of a hundred years', and I do not suppose that it said much more about them. The distinction drawn between the two classes seems to me too subtle to be attributed to the *A. P.*

The Ethiopic text, however, shews us the grounds upon which Clement built his distinction; for, though it does not mention two

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different kinds of children, it does contain mention of two sets or groups of children, and says something about the destiny of the second set. This it does in the following manner:—

First we have the punishment of the women who caused abortion. Their children are set over against them, and flashes of fire come from them and smite the women's eyes.

Then men and women are seen standing naked. Over against them also are children whom they have exposed to death. The children cry to God for vengeance on their parents. The milk of their mothers forms into beasts, which torment both the men and the women. These children are to be delivered to the angel Temlâkos.

Here, then, is mention of two groups of children, and what is said and not said about them furnishes a reason for, if it does not justify, the distinction which Clement draws between them. For be it noted that *Eth.* says nothing about the destiny of the first set. They are the means of inflicting punishment on their parents, and, though they are not themselves in torment, they are not represented as happy, nor is anything said as to there being happiness in store for them. Thus they correspond very well to the second class of children in Clement who merely escape punishment. The others, of whom it is said that they are handed over to the angel Temlâkos, are, of course, Clement's first class. Whether the author of *A. P.* really intended to draw a distinction between the ultimate destinies of these two groups of children, I do not feel sure; but it is evident that, by making the presence of the one class essential to the torment which he has devised, he has put it out of his own power to improve their prospects. In a somewhat similar fashion he brings the souls of murdered people to watch the torments of their murderers, and Dieterich (*Nekyia* p. 61) points out that this is an indication that we are dealing with conceptions originally Greek.

At this point, having shewn, as I believe, that Clement's quotation is from a text which is pretty faithfully represented by *Eth.*, I must take account of the passage in Methodius (*Sympos.* ii 6):—

Ὅθεν δὴ καὶ τημελούχοις ἀγγέλοις, κἂν ἐκ μοιχείας ὦσιν, τὰ ἀποτικτόμενα παραδίδοσθαι παρειλήφαμεν ἐν θεοπνεύστοις γράμμασιν· εἰ γὰρ παρὰ τὴν γνώμην ἐγίνοντο καὶ τὸν θεσμὸν τῆς μακαρίας ἐκείνης φύσεως τοῦ θεοῦ, πῶς ἀγγέλοις ταῦτα παρεδίδοτο τραφησόμενα μετὰ πολλῆς ἀναπαύσεως καὶ ῥᾳστώνης; πῶς δὲ καὶ κατηγορήσοντα σφῶν αὐτῶν τοὺς γονεῖς εὐπαρρησιάστως εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον ἐκίκλησκον τοῦ Χριστοῦ· 'Σὺ οὐκ ἐφθόνησας ἡμῖν, ὦ κύριε, τὸ κοινὸν' λέγοντα 'τοῦτο φῶς, οὗτοι δὲ ἡμᾶς εἰς θάνατον ἐξέθεντο καταφρονήσαντες τῆς σῆς ἐντολῆς';

If we make allowance for the desire for elegance which is conspicuous in this passage (we owe to it the plural *ἀγγέλοις* and much else) we shall see in it almost all the elements of the passage quoted by Clement

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There is the delivery to the angel, the education, and (what is only implied in Clement) the happy abode of the children. What Methodius adds is the complaint of the children, and this he gives, very probably, in the exact words of the *A. P.*, and certainly in a form which comes very close to *Eth.* This same incident is one of those borrowed by *Paul* (§ 40); the Greek text gives it very shortly, the Latin at greater length. It was very likely suggested to the author of *A. P.* by a passage in *Wisdom* (iv 6), which, indeed, Methodius himself, struck by the resemblance, quotes in the lines immediately following those I have transcribed. *ἐκ γὰρ ἀνόμων ὕπνων τέκνα γεννώμενα μάρτυρές εἰσι πονηρίας κατὰ γονέων ἐν ἐξετασμῷ αὐτῶν.*

Clement's next quotation (*τὸ δὲ γάλα τῶν γυναικῶν κτλ.*) is again supported by *Eth.* and not by *Akhmim.* The evidence of *Eth.* leads us to conclude that it followed immediately upon the complaint of the children, and was followed by the passage about the *τημελοῦχος ἄγγελος.* For this incident, again, there are curious parallels in *Wisdom.* A notable feature is the employment of future and present tenses (*γεννήσει, κατεσθίει*), but the discussion of the bearing of this belongs to another part of my subject.

As to the extent of the quotation. It clearly goes as far as *κατεσθίει.* The next words are *διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας γενέσθαι τὰς κολάσεις διδάσκων. ἐκ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν γεννᾶσθαι αὐτάς φησιν, ὡς διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἐπράθη ὁ λαός κτλ.* Clearly the clause *διὰ ... διδάσκων* need not be more than an inference drawn by Clement from the text he has quoted. But the next clause with its *φησίν* raises the question whether the *A. P.* is still the subject, and whether it contained a definite pronouncement to this effect. I do not think it did. The doctrine of like sin like suffering is taught in it not only here but throughout the description of Hell, so obviously that a definite statement would seem otiose. I suggest that in all probability some words have been omitted between *διδάσκων* and *ἐκ τῶν ἁμ.* : that we are dealing with a fresh extract. Further, that all the quotations from *A. P.* in the *Eclogae* are adduced as illustrations, and that in particular that of *Ecl.* 49 is an illustration of a passage in *Wisdom.* In more than one place in *Wisdom* this particular truth is enforced; perhaps the most striking is xi 16, 17 (of the Egyptian plagues): *ἀντὶ δὲ λογισμῶν ἀσυνέτων ἀδικίας αὐτῶν, ἐν οἷς πλανηθέντες ἐθρήσκευον ἄλογα ἑρπετὰ καὶ κνώδαλα εὐτελῆ, ἐπαπέστειλας αὐτοῖς πλῆθος ἀλόγων ζῴων εἰς ἐκδίκησιν, ἵνα γνῶσιν ὅτι δι' ὧν τις ἁμαρτάνει, διὰ τούτων κολάζεται.* Here the plaguing of the Egyptians by beasts, and the retributive doctrine, occur in combination, so that the passage is one which might very easily recall to Clement's mind the words he has quoted from *A. P.*

There is another of the *Eclogae* in which an allusion to the *A. P.* has been suspected by other editors as well as by myself, viz. *Ecl.* 38. 2, 39 *εἶπε μὲν ὡς κολάσεις εἰσὶ βλασφημιῶν, φλυαρίας, ἀκολάστων ῥημάτων, λόγῳ*

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κολαζομένων καὶ παιδευομένων· ἔφασκεν δὲ καὶ διὰ τὰς τρίχας κολάζεσθαι καὶ τὸν κόσμον τὰς γυναῖκας ὑπὸ δυνάμεως τῆς ἐπὶ τούτοις τεταγμένης, ἣ καὶ τῷ Σαμψὼν δύναμιν παρεῖχε ταῖς θριξίν, ἥτις κολάζει τὰς διὰ κόσμου τριχῶν ἐπὶ πορνείαν ὁρμώσας. This of course recalls the passage in the Akhmim text about women hung up by their hair: αὗται δὲ ἦσαν αἱ πρὸς μοιχείας κοσμηθεῖσαι.

The Ethiopic text puts it more nearly in the terms of Clement. 'Ce sont celles qui ont arrangé leurs tresses . . . Elles se sont *tournées vers la fornication*', which might well be a rendering of ἐπὶ πορνείαν ὁρμώσας.

Yet there is a difficulty; ἔφασκεν cannot be meant to introduce a quotation from a written work. It must be the report of a spoken word, and the speaker was very probably the same who is mentioned in *Ecl.* 50 Ἔλεγεν πρεσβύτης ⟨τις⟩ (*or* ⟨ὁ⟩ πρεσβ.) ζῷον εἶναι τὸ κατὰ γαστρός. My own belief is that the quotation from *A. P.* must be confined to the last clause of the excerpt, and that it is more probably due to Clement himself than to his authority.

I suggest that the excerpt is part of a comment on *Wisdom* i 8–11, in which these phrases occur: φθεγγόμενος ἄδικα οὐδεὶς μὴ λάθῃ, οὐδὲ μὴν παροδεύσῃ αὐτὸν ἐλέγχουσα ἡ δίκη. ἐν γὰρ διαβουλίοις ἀσεβοῦς ἐξέτασις ἔσται . . . θροῦς γογγυσμῶν οὐκ ἀποκρύπτεται. φυλάξασθε τοίνυν γογγυσμὸν ἀνωφελῆ, καὶ ἀπὸ καταλαλιᾶς φείσασθε γλώσσης.

§ 4. *The Apocalypse of Peter and the Book of Wisdom.*

More than once in the preceding pages I have adduced passages from the *Wisdom of Solomon* as possible sources of phrases in the *A. P.*, or as texts on which Clement was commenting in the *Eclogae*. A perusal of *Wisdom* has yielded a rather large number of coincidences of language and thought, of varying force, which I have thought well to present in a collected form. They seem to me too striking to be the result of accident; and I cannot but believe that the writer of *A. P.* was very familiar with the *Book of Wisdom*.

I take the passages in the order of the Akhmim text, intercalating the fragments preserved in quotations in their proper places.

A. P. 1, 2, 3 ἀπώλεια . . . ἀνομία.

Wisd. v 7 ἀνομίας ἐνεπλήσθημεν . . . καὶ ἀπωλείας.

A. P. 3 δοκιμάζοντες τὰς ψυχὰς ἑαυτῶν.

Wisd. iii 1 Δικαίων δὲ ψυχαὶ ἐν χειρὶ θεοῦ . . . 6 ἐδοκίμασεν αὐτούς. δοκιμάζειν also occurs in i 3, ii 19, xi 10.

A. P. 6–11 The appearance of the glorified saints: οὓς ἰδόντες ἐθαμβώθημεν . . . τὸ κάλλος αὐτῶν . . . ἰδόντες τὸ κάλλος ἐκθαμβοι γεγόναμεν . . . τοιαύτη ἦν αὐτῶν ἡ εὐπρέπεια.

Wisd. v 1 Τότε στήσονται ἐν παρρησίᾳ πολλῇ (οἱ δίκαιοι) . . . 2 (the sinners) ἰδόντες ταραχθήσονται . . . καὶ ἐκστήσονται.

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v 15, 16 *δίκαιοι δὲ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ζῶσι . . . λήψονται τὸ βασίλειον τῆς εὐπρεπείας καὶ τὸ διάδημα τοῦ κάλλους.*

A. P. 15 *χῶρον . . . ὑπέρλαμπρον τῷ φωτί, καὶ τὸν ἀέρα τὸν ἐκεῖ ἀκτῖσιν ἡλίου καταλαμπόμενον . . . τὴν γῆν . . . ἀνθοῦσαν ἀμαράντοις ἄνθεσι.*

Wisd. xvii 20 *ὅλος γὰρ ὁ κόσμος λαμπρῷ κατελάμπετο φωτί.*

xviii 1 *Τοῖς δὲ ὁσίοις σου μέγιστον ἦν φῶς.*

vi 12 *λαμπρὰ καὶ ἀμάραντος ἡ σοφία.*

A. P. 22, 28 *τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς δικαιοσύνης*: 34 *ἀφέντες τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ θεοῦ.*

Wisd. v 6, 7 *ἐπλανήθημεν ἀπὸ ὁδοῦ ἀληθείας . . . τὴν δὲ ὁδὸν Κυρίου οὐκ ἔγνωμεν.*

A. P. 21 *σκοτεινὸν εἶχον τὸ ἔνδυμα κατὰ τὸν ἀέρα τοῦ τόπου.*

Wisd. xvii 21 *εἰκὼν τοῦ μέλλοντος αὐτοὺς διαδέχεσθαι σκότους.*

A. P. 26 Punishment of parents who destroyed and cast out their children; the children are the means of punishment.

Wisd. xi 14 *ὃν γὰρ ἐν ἐκθέσει πάλαι ῥιφέντα ἀπείπον χλευάζοντες, ἐπὶ τέλει τῶν ἐκβάσεων ἐθαύμασαν.*

xii 5 *τέκνων φονέας ἀνελεήμονας.*

xii 6 *αὐθέντας γονεῖς ψυχῶν ἀβοηθήτων.*

xiv 23 *τεκνοφόνους τελετάς.*

A. P. ap. Clem. *ἀστραπὴ πυρὸς πηδῶσα ἀπὸ τῶν βρεφῶν ἐκείνων καὶ πλήσσουσα τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῶν γυναικῶν.*

Wisd. xi 18 *ἢ δεινοὺς ἀπ' ὀμμάτων σπινθῆρας ἀστράπτοντας.*[1]

A. P. ap. Clem. *τὸ δὲ γάλα τῶν γυναικῶν . . . γεννήσει θηρία λεπτὰ σαρκοφάγα.* With Clement's comment, *διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας γενέσθαι τὰς κολάσεις διδάσκων*, and *ἐκ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν γεννᾶσθαι αὐτάς φησιν.*

Wisd. xi 16 *ἐπαπέστειλας αὐτοῖς πλῆθος ἀλόγων ζῴων εἰς ἐκδίκησιν, ἵνα γνῶσιν ὅτι δι' ὧν τις ἁμαρτάνει διὰ τούτων κολάζεται.*

18 *νεοκτίστους θυμοῦ πλήρεις θῆρας ἀγνώστους.*

xii 23 *διὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἐβασάνισας βδελυγμάτων.*

xvi 1 *δι' ὁμοίων ἐκολάσθησαν ἀξίως καὶ διὰ πλήθους κνωδάλων ἐβασανίσθησαν.*

9 *οὓς μὲν γὰρ ἀκρίδων καὶ μυιῶν ἀπέκτεινε δήγματα, καὶ οὐχ εὑρέθη ἴαμα τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτῶν, ὅτι ἄξιοι ἦσαν ὑπὸ τοιούτων κολασθῆναι.*

Cf. xii 2 *ἐν οἷς ἁμαρτάνουσιν ὑπομιμνήσκων νουθετεῖς*, and xi 5.

A. P. ap Method. The complaint of the exposed children to God.

Wisd. iv 6 *ἐκ γὰρ ἀνόμων ὕπνων τέκνα γεννώμενα μάρτυρές εἰσι πονηρίας κατὰ γονέων ἐν ἐξετασμῷ αὐτῶν* (quoted by Methodius himself).

A. P. ap Clem. (of the children) *καὶ ἔσονται ὡς οἱ ἑκατὸν ἐτῶν ἐνταῦθα πιστοί.*

[1] Dieterich *Nekyia* p. 62 quotes a striking parallel from an Orphic Hymn to the Eumenides (lxx 6): *ἀπαστράπτουσαι ἀπ' ὄσσων δεινὴν ἀνταυγῆ φάεος σαρκοφθόρον αἴγλην.* The date of the Hymn is uncertain: probably late.

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Wisd. iii 16–18 (which seems at once to suggest this idea and to contradict the assertion contained in *A. P.*) *τέκνα δὲ μοιχῶν ἀτέλεστα ἔσται κτλ.*

In iv 8, 16 we have the thought that honourable age does not consist in length of days.

A. P. 26 *ἄωροι*, *Wisd.* iv 5, xiv 15.

A. P. 28, 29 Punishment of blasphemers and false witnesses.

Wisd. i 6–11 *οὐκ ἀθῳώσει βλάσφημον ἀπὸ χειλέων αὐτοῦ κτλ.*

A. P. 30 *ἀμελήσαντες τῆς ἐντολῆς τοῦ θεοῦ.* 34 *ἀφέντες τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ θεοῦ.*

Wisd. iii 10 *οἱ δὲ ἀσεβεῖς καθ' ἃ ἐλογίσαντο ἔξουσιν ἐπιτιμίαν, οἱ ἀμελήσαντες τοῦ δικαίου καὶ τοῦ κυρίου ἀποστάντες.*

A. P. 30 and *Eth.*, and Bodleian fragment. Idolaters punished in presence of the idols.

Wisd. xii 27 *ἐπὶ τούτοις οὓς ἐδόκουν θεούς, ἐν αὐτοῖς κολαζόμενοι.*

xiv 10 *καὶ γὰρ τὸ πραχθὲν σὺν τῷ δράσαντι κολασθήσεται. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν εἰδώλοις ἐθνῶν ἐπισκοπὴ ἔσται.*

A. P. Eth. Idols of silver and gold, images of cats and lions, &c.

Wisd. xiii 10 *χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον, τέχνης ἐμμελέτημα, καὶ ἀπεικάσματα ζῴων.*

Considering the small compass of the Greek text of *A. P.*, I think that the above list is very striking in respect of the number and the closeness of its resemblances both in expression and in thought to *Wisdom.*

I have suggested already that some of Clement's *Eclogae* belong to comments on passages of *Wisdom.* To those who hold the view that these *Eclogae* are taken from the *Hypotyposes*, in which comments were made on all the books of scripture, this supposition will not appear improbable. But whatever may be our view of the source of the *Eclogae*, it seems worth while to point out that there are a good many passages and phrases in a particular group of them which might very readily be suggested by *Wisdom.* The group in question begins with *Ecl.* 39. This deals with the punishment of blasphemy and of women who tire their hair. I have quoted above some words from *Wisd.* i 6–11 which might have served as the text for this.

Ecl. 40 begins *καθάπερ ἀγαθοῦ ἀπορροίᾳ ἀγαθύνονται.*

In *Wisd.* vii 25 Wisdom is described as *ἀπόρροια τῆς τοῦ παντοκράτορος δόξης εἰλικρινής.*

Ecl. 41. 1. The exposed children educated by the angel. This might well be suggested by *Wisd.* iii 16–18 and iv 8, 16 cited above.

41. 2, 3. (Flashes from the eyes of the children.) Cf. *Wisd.* xi 18 quoted above. Clement himself quotes *Wisd.* iii 7, 8.

42–45 are comments on Ps. xvii 26, 44, 45, 51, xviii 11.

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46 'Πνεύματα' λέγεται τὰ πάθη τὰ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ κτλ.

Wisd. vii 23 διὰ πάντων χωροῦν πνευμάτων νοερῶν κτλ. (also vii 20 πνευμάτων βίας).

47 relates to wealth; *possibly* suggested by *Wisd.* viii 5.

48. 1 Ἡ θεία πρόνοια οὐ καταστρέφει ἐπὶ μόνους τοὺς ἐν σαρκί.

Wisd. vi 7 ὁμοίως τε προνοεῖ περὶ πάντων.

Two resemblances of language may be noted in passing:

Ibid. τῆς ἀμείνονος ἐσόμενα μοίρας.

Cf. *Wisd.* i 16 ἄξιοί εἰσι τῆς ἐκείνου μερίδος εἶναι.

ii 24 οἱ τῆς ἐκείνου μερίδος ὄντες.

48. 2 τοῦτο γέρας λαβόντα.

Wisd. ii 22 γέρας ψυχῶν ἀμώμων.

49. 1. The milk of the mothers changing into beasts in accordance with the teaching διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας γεννᾶσθαι τὰς κολάσεις.

See *Wisd.* xi 15 sqq., xii 23, xvi 1, 9, &c., quoted above.

49. 12. Allusion to the people bitten by the serpents (1 Cor. x 9, quoted).

Cf. *Wisd.* xvi 5 δήγμασί τε σκολιῶν διεφθείροντο ὄφεων.

50. Ἔλεγεν πρεσβύτης ζῷον εἶναι τὸ κατὰ γαστρός. The infusion of the soul.

Cf. *Wisd.* vii 2, viii 19, 20.

The extracts which follow are all comments on Ps. xviii, xix.

Outside this group of extracts, 39–41, 46–50, I find few if any allusions to *Wisdom* in the *Eclogae*, save in *Ecl.* 10 οἱ ἐν σαθρῷ οἰκοῦντες σώματι καθάπερ ἐν πλοίῳ πλέοντες παλαιῷ, with which compare *Wisd.* xiv 1 τοῦ φέροντος αὐτὸν πλοίου σαθρότερον ξύλον.

My own present impression of the relations between *Wisdom*, *A. P.*, and Clement, is that *A. P.* derived ideas from *Wisdom*, and that Clement, commenting on *Wisdom*, is therefore reminded of passages in *A. P.*, and quotes them as illustrations. This was the case also with Methodius.

§ 5. *The Apocalypse of Peter and the Book of Enoch.*

The Book of Enoch has been mentioned once or twice in the course of this investigation as having furnished ideas or phrases to the *A. P.* It will be useful therefore to present the relevant passages together. The Greek fragment, as last edited by Flemming and Radermacher, and Dr Charles's version of the Ethiopic, will be used.

(1) *En.* i 6 (ὄρη) τακήσονται ὡς κηρὸς ἀπὸ προσώπου πυρὸς ἐν φλογί. Cf. *A. P.*, *Eth.*, *J. T. S.* xii p. 42.

(2) *En.* xiv 16 (διαφέρων ἐν δόξῃ) ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαί με ἐξειπεῖν ὑμῖν περὶ τῆς δόξης κτλ. *Akh.* 7, 9.

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(3) *En.* xiv 20 ἡλίου λαμπρότερον καὶ λευκότερον πάσης χιόνος.
Akh. 7 ἀκτὶς ὡς ἡλίου 8 λευκότερα πάσης χιόνος.

(4) *En.* xx 1 Οὐριὴλ ὁ εἷς τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τοῦ ταρτάρου. *J. T. S.* xii p. 40 Ourâ'êl . . . whom the Lord hath set over the resurrection of the dead at the judgement.

(5) *En.* xxi 7 πῦρ μέγα ἐκεῖ καιόμενον καὶ φλεγόμενον. Cf. *Akh.* 23, 29, 34.

(6) The frequent use of τόπος in these chapters recalls *Akh.*

(7) *En.* xxii 9 οὗτος ἐχωρίσθη εἰς τὰ πνεύματα τῶν δικαίων, οὗ ἡ πηγὴ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐν αὐτῷ φωτεινή. Cf. the Paradise of *Akh.*

(8) *En.* xxii 12 The souls of the murdered. Cf. *Akh.* 25.

(9) *En.* xxiv 4 ὀσμὴν εἶχεν εὐωδεστέραν πάντων ἀρωμάτων καὶ τὰ φύλλα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἄνθος καὶ τὸ δένδρον οὐ φθίνει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. *Akh.* 15, 16.

(10) *En.* xxv 6 τότε εὐφρανθήσονται εὐφραινόμενοι. *Akh.* 19.

(11) *En.* xxvi 1 τόπον ηὐλογημένον ἐν ᾧ δένδρα. *Akh.* 15.

(12) *En.* xxvii 3 ὧδε εὐλογήσουσιν οἱ εὐσεβεῖς τὸν κύριον τῆς δόξης. *Akh.* 19.

(13) *En.* xxix 1 εἶδον κρίσεως δένδρα πνέοντα ἀρωμάτων. *Akh.* 15.

(14) *En.* xxxii 3 ἦλθον πρὸς τὸν παράδεισον τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ εἶδον . . . δένδρον . . . 4 ἡ δὲ ὀσμὴ αὐτοῦ διέτρεχεν πόρρω ἀπὸ τοῦ δένδρου. *Akh.* 16.

(15) *En.* xxxix 5–7 description of the dwelling-place of the righteous. They intercede for men (cf. *Sib. Orac.* ii 330–338). They are resplendent as lights of fire (cf. cviii 2–15) and their mouth is full of blessing.

(16) *En.* liii 3, lvi 1, lxii 11 &c. Angels of punishment. *Akh.* 21, 23.

(17) *En.* lx 8 The garden where the elect and righteous dwell. *Akh.* 15 &c.
Also lxi 5 The elect who dwell in the garden of life.
and lxx 4 There I saw the first fathers and the righteous who from the beginning dwell in this place.

(18) *En.* lxi 5 They who have been devoured by the fish of the sea and by the beasts . . . will return . . . for no one will be destroyed before the Lord of Spirits. *J. T. S.* xii pp. 39, 40.

(19) *En.* lxiii 1 sqq. The sinners implore the angels of punishment to whom they were delivered to grant them a little respite. *J. T. S.* xii pp. 50, 51.

(20) *En.* xciv 8 Woe to you, ye rich, for ye have trusted in your riches. *Akh.* 30 (τῷ πλούτῳ αὐτῶν πεποιθότες).

(21) *En.* xcv 7 Ye persecute the righteous. *Akh.* 27 οἱ διώξαντες τοὺς δικαίους.

(22) *En.* xcix 5 (Those who will be reduced to want) will mangle their

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children and cast them away, and there will be miscarriages; and they will cast away their sucklings and will not return unto them, and will have no pity on their beloved ones. Cf. *Akh.* 26 and *J. T. S.* xii p. 46.

(23) *En.* cii 1 sqq. When He brings a grievous fire upon you, whither will ye flee? and where will ye find deliverance? . . . 2 And all the luminaries will quake with great fear, and all the earth will be affrighted and tremble and be alarmed. *J. T. S.* xii pp. 42, 43.

(24) *En.* cvi 2 His body was white as snow and red as a blooming rose . . . when he opened his eyes he lighted up the whole house like the sun. 10 The colour of his body is whiter than snow and redder than a blooming rose . . . and his eyes are like the rays of the sun. *Akh.* 7, 8. Cf. no. 3 above.

(25) *En.* cviii 7 sqq. That which will befall the sinners and the spirits of the humble and of those who afflict their bodies. 9 and who . . . longed not after earthly food . . . and were much tried by the Lord, and their spirits were found pure. Cf. *Akh.* 3 *πεινῶντας κ. διψῶντας κ. θλιβομένους κ. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ βίῳ τὰς ψυχὰς ἑαυτῶν δοκιμάζοντας.*

These passages constitute sufficient proof of the indebtedness of the *A. P.* to *Enoch*, and shew that the influence of the latter upon the former was not inconsiderable. It should also be noted that passages from all parts of *Enoch*, even the latest in date, seem to have been used in the *A. P.*

§ 6. *The Apocalypse of Peter in the West.*

While we have sufficient—if not abundant—evidence of the use of *A. P.* in writings of Egyptian and Asiatic provenance, it has hitherto been impossible to adduce any but the scantiest evidence of its use in the West.[1] Harnack in *Texte und Untersuchungen* (xiii 1 pp. 71–73 *Die Petrusapokalypse in der alten Abendländischen Kirche*) brought together all the evidence which was accessible to him in 1895. Passing over the mention in the stichometry of the Codex Chromontanus, as not certainly Western, he cites (1) the Muratorian Canon, (2) Hippolytus *περὶ τοῦ παντός* and *Ref. Haer.* x 34, (3) a passage from the tract *de laude Martyrii* printed among Cyprian's works, but which H. ascribes to Novatian, (4) the Acts of SS. Felix, Fortunatus, and Achillaeus (*Acta SS.* 23 Ap.): he refers also to the Acts of Ferreolus and Ferrutio (16 June) and of Dorothea and Theophilus (6 Feb.).

[1] I exclude African writings in Latin such as the Passion of Perpetua, the *Carmen de resurrectione mortuorum*, and Verecundus's poem *de satisfactione poenitentiae* in Pitra *Spicil. Solesm.* IV.

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Bonwetsch *Studien z. Hippolytus' Danielkommentar* &c. p. 27 suggests that in comparing the lions' den to Hades and the lions to the angels of punishment Hippolytus had the *A. P.* in mind. It may be so, but the reminiscence is a faint one at best. However, I consider that Hippolytus's acquaintance with the *A. P.* is rendered certain by his use of the word ταρταροῦχος in *Ref. Haer.* x 34.

To the above scanty list of Western references to the *A. P.* a few more, some probable, and some certain, can now be added. We ought, in the first place to interrogate Hermas. Judging from his use of other books, we shall expect to find, not overt quotations (it will be remembered that there is but one such in the whole of the *Shepherd*), but veiled allusions and reminiscences. I have compiled a list of these: it is not convincing, but it leaves me with the impression that he probably knew the *A. P.* I give the passages in the order in which they appear in the *Shepherd*.

Vis. i 1. 8 οἱ τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦτον περιποιούμενοι καὶ γαυριῶντες ἐν τῷ πλούτῳ αὐτῶν καὶ μὴ ἀντεχόμενοι τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν μελλόντων.

Akh. 30 οἱ πλουτοῦντες καὶ τῷ πλούτῳ αὐτῶν πεποιθότες κτλ.

Vis. i 2. 4 εἰς πάνσεμνον πνεῦμα καὶ ἤδη δεδοκιμασμένον.

Akh. 3 ἐν τούτῳ τῷ βίῳ τὰς ψυχὰς ἑαυτῶν δοκιμάζοντας.

Vis. ii 1. 3 βλέπω ἀπέναντί μου τὴν πρεσβυτέραν.

Akh. 6 φαίνονται δύο ἄνδρες ἑστῶτες ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ κυρίου.

Vis. iii 1. 5 ἔκθαμβος ἐγενόμην καὶ ὡσεὶ τρόμος με ἔλαβεν.

Akh. 11 ἔκθαμβοι γεγόναμεν πρὸς αὐτούς.

Vis. iii 1. 9 ὁ εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ μέρη τόπος ἄλλων ἐστίν, τῶν ἤδη εὐαρεστηκότων τῷ θεῷ καὶ παθόντων εἵνεκα τοῦ ὀνόματος.

Akh. 20 οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τόπος τῶν ἀρχηγῶν (?) ὑμῶν τῶν δικαίων ἀνθρώπων.

Vis. iii 4. 1 οἱ ἅγιοι ἄγγελοι . . . οἷς παρέδωκεν ὁ κύριος πᾶσαν τὴν κτίσιν αὐτοῦ, αὔξειν καὶ οἰκοδομεῖν.

A. P. ap. Clem. Alex. παραδίδοσθαι ἀγγέλῳ ὑφ' οὗ . . . αὔξειν.

Vis. iii 4. 2 πάντες ὁμοῦ εὐφρανθήσονται κύκλῳ τοῦ πυργοῦ καὶ δοξάσουσιν τὸν θεόν.

Akh. 19 μιᾷ φωνῇ τὸν κύριον θεὸν ἀνευφήμουν εὐφραινόμενοι.

Vis. iii 5. 3 τούτους ὁ κύριος ἐδοκίμασεν. Cf. *Vis.* iv 3. 4, *Sim.* ix 5. 2.

Akh. 3 quoted above.

Vis. iii 5. 4 νέοι εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ πίστει καὶ πιστοί· νουθετοῦνται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων.

A. P. ap. Clem. ἀγγέλῳ ὑφ' οὗ παιδεύεσθαι . . .

Vis. iii 6. 1 οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ υἱοὶ τῆς ἀνομίας.

Akh. 3 κρινεῖ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῆς ἀνομίας.

Vis. iii 10. 2 περὶ τῶν τριῶν μορφῶν ἐν αἷς μοι ἐνεφανίσθη.

Akh. 13 τὰς μορφὰς ἰδεῖν.

Vis. iv 3. 5 τὸ δὲ λευκὸν μέρος ὁ αἰὼν ὁ ἐπερχόμενός ἐστιν, ἐν ᾧ κατοικήσουσιν οἱ ἐκλεκτοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ.

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Sim. iv 2 τὰ δένδρα οἱ δίκαιοί εἰσιν, οἱ μέλλοντες κατοικεῖν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸν ἐρχόμενον.

Akh. 14 καὶ ποῦ εἰσι πάντες οἱ δίκαιοι, ἢ ποῖός ἐστιν ὁ αἰὼν ἐν ᾧ εἰσι ταύτην ἔχοντες τὴν δόξαν;

Sim. vi 1. 5 καὶ μετὰ τὸ ταῦτα λαλῆσαι αὐτὸν μετ' ἐμοῦ λέγει μοι· Ἄγωμεν εἰς ἀγρόν. Cf. *Sim.* ix 5. 6.

Akh. 4 καὶ προσθεὶς ὁ κύριος ἔφη· Ἄγωμεν εἰς τὸ ὄρος.

Sim. vi 1. 6 περιέτρεχε. Cf. *Sim.* ix 3. 1.

Akh. 8. 18 ἄγγελοι δὲ περιέτρεχον αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖσε.

Sim. vi 2. 5 τοιοῦτον εἶχε τὸ βλέμμα.

Akh. 10 τοιαύτη ἦν αὐτῶν ἡ εὐπρέπεια.

Sim. vi 3. 1 ἐβασανίζοντο καὶ ἀνοχὴν ὅλως οὐκ εἶχον.

Akh. 33 μηδέποτε παυόμενοι τῆς τοιαύτης κολάσεως.

Sim. vi 3. 2 ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων τῶν δικαίων ἐστί, κείμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς τιμωρίας.

Akh. 23 καὶ ἐπέκειντο αὐτοῖς ἄγγελοι βασανισταί.

Sim. vii 2 οὐ τοσαῦτα ὥστε τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τούτῳ παραδοθῆναι.

A. P. ap. Clem. παραδίδοσθαι ἀγγέλῳ.

Sim. viii 3 Κύριε, νῦν οὖν μοι δήλωσον . . . ἵνα ἀκούσαντες οἱ πιστεύσαντες . . . μετανοήσωσι.

Akh. 5 ὅπως δείξῃ ἡμῖν . . . ἵνα . . . θαρσήσαντες παραθαρσύνωμεν καὶ τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἡμῶν ἀνθρώπους.

Sim. ix 19. 1 ἀποστάται καὶ βλάσφημοι εἰς τὸν κύριον καὶ προδόται τῶν δούλων τοῦ θεοῦ.

Akh. 28 οἱ βλασφημήσαντες . . . τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς δικαιοσύνης.
34 οἱ ἀφέντες τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ θεοῦ.
27 οἱ διώξαντες τοὺς δικαίους καὶ παραδόντες αὐτούς.

There are two phrases which recall passages of *Eth.* that I conjecture to belong to the *A. P.*:—

Vis. i 2. 1 μετὰ τὸ λαλῆσαι αὐτὴν τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα ἐκλείσθησαν οἱ οὐρανοί.

Eth. 'Alors se ferma le ciel qui s'était ouvert.'

Vis. i 3. 2 ἐνγραφήσονται εἰς τὰς βίβλους τῆς ζωῆς μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων. Cf. *Sim.* i 9.

Eth. 'Glorifiant le Seigneur de ce qu'il avait écrit les noms des justes sur le livre de vie qui est aux cieux.'

There are also passages which recall the Gospel of Peter:—

Sim. ix 6. 1 εἰς τὸ μέσον ἀνήρ τις ὑψηλὸς τῷ μεγέθει ὥστε τὸν πύργον ὑπερέχειν. 2 καὶ οἱ ἓξ ἄνδρες . . . ἐκ δεξιῶν τε καὶ ἀριστερῶν περιεπάτησαν μετ' αὐτοῦ. Cf. *Sim.* ix 12. 8.

Ev. 39, 40 τρεῖς ἄνδρας, καὶ τοὺς δύο τὸν ἕνα ὑπερθοῦντας . . . καὶ τῶν μὲν δύο τὴν κεφαλὴν χωροῦσαν μέχρι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, τοῦ δὲ . . . ὑπερβαίνουσαν τοὺς οὐρανούς.

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Sim. ix 16. 3 ἔλαβον οὖν καὶ οὗτοι οἱ κεκοιμημένοι τὴν σφραγῖδα.
4 κἀκείνοις οὖν ἐκηρύχθη ἡ σφραγὶς αὕτη.
5 κοιμηθέντες . . . ἐκήρυξαν καὶ τοῖς προκεκοιμημένοις.
Ev. 41. 42 ἐκήρυξας τοῖς κοιμωμένοις; . . . Ναί.

Besides the possible, though not certain, testimony of Hermas, we have the passage in the tract *de aleatoribus*, adduced by me in my first article (p. 50, note). It may be repeated here:

§ 8. Aleae tabula qui ludet, et maleficium nosse debet, quod a dei servos longe sit scientes quoniam *foris est maleficus et uenenarius*, et iterum *in iudicii diem in igne rotante torquebitur.*

For *foris est* Harnack read *furor iste* with the MSS, and for *diem in, dei.* But there can be little doubt that in the former place there is an allusion to Rev. xxii 15, and the presence of *et iterum* is surely a very strong indication that the words which follow are again a quotation: this same section, two lines further on, has 'dicente domino: *sacrificans diis eradicabitur* etc., et iterum: *nolite sacrificare diis alienis* etc.' The same formula occurs some six times elsewhere in the tract. In *Eth.* there is a description of the torment of enchanters by wheels of fire, which I have no doubt was in the mind of the Latin writer.

Within the last few weeks an entirely fresh and undoubted quotation of the *A. P.* has come to light in a Latin text edited by Dom A. Wilmart in the first number of the new *Bulletin d'ancienne littérature et archéologie chrétiennes.* The text in question is an exposition of the Parable of the Ten Virgins, preserved as a 'Homily' in an Épinal MS. It is considered by Dom Wilmart to be a fragment of a series of *Quaestiones* on the Gospels, and he assigns it to the fourth century. On p. 37 is this sentence: '*Ostium clausum* flumen igneum est quo impii regno dei arcebuntur, ut apud Danielum et apud Petrum in Apocalypsi eius scriptum est.' Later on: 'Resurget et illa stultorum pars et inueniet ostium iam clausum, opposito scilicet flumine igneo.'

There are two mentions of a river of fire in the Ethiopic text of *A. P.*: one on p. 43 'the flames . . . will make them come to the judgement of wrath, in a river of fire, inextinguishable &c.'; the other on p. 44 '(My Father) will command them to pass through the river of fire . . . the elect . . . shall come to me . . . But the unrighteous . . . shall be set in the midst of abysses of darkness, &c.' Passages from *Sib. Orac.* ii 252 (πάντες διὰ αἰθομένου ποταμοῦ . . . διελεύσονται κτλ.) and Cyril of Jerusalem *Cat.* xv 9 (ποταμοῦ πυρὸς . . . δοκιμαστικοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων) confirm, what the Latin text indicates, that the fiery river of Dan. vii had become, in the *A. P.*, an instrument of punishment, and of discrimination between the righteous and the wicked.

M. R. JAMES.

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LITURGICAL COMMENTS AND MEMORANDA.

IV

A FRIENDLY enquiry as to a point that will not come under consideration here leads me to resume this series of 'Comments', which I fear must be always of an occasional, or even spasmodic character. I propose to take up the question of the place of the diptychs in the Constantinopolitan Liturgy at the stage at which it was left at pp. 109–111 of the Appendix to Dom Connolly's *Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, and carry the subject to a conclusion.

(A) At pp. 109–111 I raised the question of the correctness of Mr Brightman's reconstruction of the pre-anaphoral part of 'the Byzantine Liturgy of the Seventh Century' given in Appendix P in his volume (pp. 535–536). Mr Brightman would have the order thus: (1) Great Entrance (the processional carrying of the bread and wine to the altar); (2) the Diptychs; (3) the Kiss of Peace; (4) the Creed; (5) the Anaphora. I pointed out that whilst the evidence adduced in support of this order was of the slenderest, the order itself runs counter to the order described by the contemporary St Maximus of Constantinople, who in a formal exposition of the liturgy of that Church three times gives the order of the parts of the liturgy up to the anaphora but makes no allusion to the diptychs; and I adduced as witness John, patriarch of Constantinople, who, in a letter dated 7 September, 518, expressly states that the diptychs were said 'at the time of the consecration'; which indeed is the place where they are recited in the Byzantine liturgy at the present day.

Dom Connolly soon after his book was published pointed out to me a testimony on this point, which of itself, and independently of anything said in *Narsai* pp. 109–111, is decisive. It occurs in the Epistle of the Monophysite James of Edessa (who lived A.D. 640–708) expository of the mass followed by him and his coreligionists. I would add in passing that the Monophysites (according to my experience of them) were a people who appear singularly well informed, and also curious, about the rites of other Churches. The following (Br. 492. 37–493. 11) is the passage in question. So that there may be no chance of misunderstanding I give in square brackets an explanatory gloss, reducing James's words to our modern ritual forms of speech:—

'And it is right that I should speak to you about the variations found in the kurōbho [=the anaphora, the canon; see James in Br. 491. 22 to 492. 11]. There are two orders which are found in this ministry of the kurōbho—one affecting the kurōbho and the celebration

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of the mysteries themselves [=one part concerned with the specifically consecratory prayer] and the other affecting the commemorations [=the other part is (what we modern ritualists call) "the Great Intercession"]. And those who dwell in the imperial city [that is, Constantinople] and in the provinces of the Greeks, in like manner as we offer they also make the commemorations: so that first they offer and then forthwith make the commemorations [=in their anaphora or mass-canon the consecratory part comes first and the Great Intercession follows it]; some commemorate many and others few and those specified. And therefore the priest says: "remember, O Lord, those whom we have mentioned and those whom we have not mentioned" [see this in the Syriac St James used by the Monophysites in Br. 91. 36–37; cf. also lines 32–34, and the Greek St James, Br. 56. 18–19]. But the beginning of the order of the commemorations is when we say: "Moreover we offer unto Thee this same fearful and unbloody sacrifice for Sion the mother of all churches" [Syriac James, Br. 89. 30–90. 2; Greek James, Br. 54. 24–27], which is the church of Jerusalem . . . But the Alexandrine Fathers [i. e. the liturgies of Egypt] offer after another sort in that they first perform that order of the commemorations [see St Mark, Br. 126. 12–131. 15; Coptic St Cyril, Br. p. 166 seqq.], and then, after this, is the order of the holy kurōbho' [i. e. the consecratory part of the prayer: Mark, Br. 132. 11, &c.; Coptic St Cyril, Br. 176. 5, &c.].

The account given by James of Edessa of what was done at Constantinople in his day is precise and shews unmistakeably that at that time the diptychs came after the consecration. This entirely confirms what I may call the negative evidence supplied by Maximus of Constantinople when in describing the pre-anaphoral part of the liturgy of that church he is silent as to the diptychs.

It seems, then, there can be no doubt as to the place of the diptychs in the Byzantine Liturgy of the seventh century, and that the order in Br. Appendix P should be amended thus: (1) Great Entrance; (2) Kiss of Peace; (3) Creed; (4) Anaphora.

(B) In Br. Appendix O, 'The Byzantine Liturgy before the Seventh Century' (p. 528), is the following order in the 'Mass of the Faithful': (1) Great Entrance; (2) Kiss of Peace; (3) Creed; (4) Diptychs; (5) Anaphora. In support (so far as the present subject is concerned) two passages are adduced, one from the Council under the Patriarch Mennas in 536 (p. 530 note 2), the other from one of the series of homilies of Chrysostom on Acts delivered at Constantinople in 401 (p. 532 note 11). The former passage comes really from the Acts of a council held at Constantinople in the year 518, the *procès-verbal* of which is embodied

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in the acts of the later council, and it relates to the events of that year. It will be convenient to consider the case of each period—the early years of the sixth century, and the first years of the fifth—separately.

First for the text of A. D. 518. In order duly to appreciate the meaning and value for the history of diptychs of the text cited it is necessary to have in mind some idea as to the council itself—or whatever name we may give to this particular set of bishops' meetings—and of the circumstances in which it was held. Here only the briefest and most necessary indications will be given.[1]

On 9 July, 518, died the Emperor Anastasius, if not precisely a Eutychianizing suspect yet a fautor of Severus of Antioch and no favourer of pure Chalcedonianism. Justin was proclaimed his successor on the same day. The orthodox began to breathe freely and felt that now at last their time was come. On Sunday, 15 July, on the occasion of an assembly of bishops presided over by the Patriarch John, the populace of Constantinople, ever passionate in their religious zeal, gave clear expression in the Great Church to their expectations; if indeed it would not be more correct to say, began to lay down their terms. This intervention of the people would seem, so far as the mere recorded *Acts* go, the main part of the conciliar proceedings. So soon as the patriarch appeared on the ambo the crowd broke into cries of: 'Proclaim the Council [i. e. of Chalcedon] at once. Proclaim it now, at once. The faith of the orthodox is victorious. Proclaim the Council of Chalcedon.' Then came menaces; followed by the encouraging shouts: 'Justin reigns. Whom do you fear?'; and at length the threat that they would close the doors, and thus the patriarch would be unable to leave until he had done what was demanded of him. The specific demand was a celebration, the very next day, in honour of the Council of Chalcedon. They were finally promised that to-morrow memory should be made of the 'Fathers of the Four Councils'; and with a further promise by and by that Severus of Antioch should be anathematized the proceedings of the first day came to an end. The next day on the reassembling of the conciliar Fathers in the Great Church, the people were ready with more demands, more shoutings: Euphemius and Macedonius, former patriarchs, had been exiled by the late Emperor Anastasius and had died in exile; their bodies (so the populace cried) must be brought back, their names inscribed in the diptychs. It is unnecessary to detail what follows: but at last, after long shouting—ἐπὶ πολύ—as on the day before, and no satisfactory compliance having been obtained, the people carried out their threat of the preceding day and closed the doors. On this the patriarch fairly capitu-

[1] As usual Fleury is good to refer to; but in this particular case for a due impression the very instructive *procès-verbal* itself should be perused.

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lated; for 'the most holy and most blessed Archbishop and Oecumenical Patriarch John (so say the Acts), taking the diptychs, ordered the four General Councils to be enrolled on them, and the names of the deceased archbishops of the imperial city, Euphemius and Macedonius of worthy memory, and of course of Leo, late archbishop of Rome, also'. Then the people as with one voice sang out the first verse of the *Benedictus* (Luc. i 68) and continued for a long time singing it antiphonally from side to side (*ἐπὶ πολλὴν δὲ ὥραν ἀντιφωνούντων ἑκατέρων τῶν μερῶν*) until at last the cantors began the Trisagion,[1] when all the people kept quiet and listened to the Trisagion; and after the reading of the holy gospel, the divine liturgy proceeding in the usual way, and the doors being shut and the holy creed as customary said,[2] at the time of the diptychs the whole body of the people quite quietly made haste to surround the altar, and as soon as there were read out by the deacon the names of the said four holy councils, and of the Archbishops, of holy memory, Euphemius and Macedonius, and Leo, all cried out with a mighty voice, 'Glory be to Thee, O God', and after this the divine liturgy was finished in all good order.

I should not myself have gathered from this narrative that we are

[1] The Trisagion in the Constantinopolitan mass is a song preparatory to the lections; and the beginning of the Trisagion by the cantors was a sign to the people that the noise on their part must cease and the mass itself must now begin.

[2] It is to be observed of course that the creed is by no means immediately sequent on the shutting of the doors. The introduction of the creed into the mass is involved in obscurities. That it was so introduced at Constantinople in the time of the patriarch Timothy (511–518) is on all hands agreed. But what creed? The ancient discussions on the subject may be neglected and we may come at once to the most recent. Opinion on the subject depends on verisimilitudes, congruities, and nice conjecture. Kattenbusch, whilst declining a formal discussion, is of opinion that the creed introduced by Timothy was the genuine Nicene text, implying that this was done with distinct anti-Chalcedonian intent, and that C (= 'Constantinopolitanum', the 'Nicaeno-Constantinopolitan', which is produced in the Acts of Chalcedon) first came into the mass at Constantinople in 518 (*Das apostolische Symbol* II note 20 pp. 739–740, and 232 note 71). Kunze on the other hand considers (and Kattenbusch agrees that it is not impossible) that Timothy introduced C. The title 'creed of the 318' used at that date does not of itself settle the question. It is easy indeed to see how in such a case this might (without loss of principle) be a polite concession by Timothy to the current of feeling of the people and monks of Constantinople which soon after his death was to carry everything before it. On either view it is the countenance given to C at Chalcedon around which interest turns, and it is easy to see how in this account of the triumph of Chalcedonianism the writer of the Acts of 518 should specially mention the creed. As usual Krazer (*De antiquis eccl. occid. liturgiis*, 1786, pp. 444–445) conveniently sums up and discusses the views of the earlier writers. He definitely states, what seems to be in Kattenbusch's mind, that it was at the very mass we are considering that C was introduced. If so, there is an obvious reason for the special mention of the creed by the redactor of the Acts of 518.

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here in presence of an account of parts of the liturgy immediately sequent on each other. I should have gathered indeed just the contrary; for there is, in the circumstances detailed in the narrative as a whole, a perfectly natural and obvious reason why the recital of the creed and of the diptychs in particular should be selected for special mention;—simply because they are the parts of the celebration of the Mass of the Faithful which *are* pertinent, and the intervening parts are *not* pertinent, to the writer's special purpose.

But we can go further than this. The letter of the Patriarch John, of the date 7 September 518, mentioned above (p. 384), relates precisely to this scene, to this particular mass, described in the *procès-verbal* of the Council; and he expressly states that the diptychs were recited *tempore consecrationis* (see John's letter in Thiel *Epp. Rom. Pont.* p. 833; and, I suppose, in any of the editions of the Councils published in the eighteenth century).

We may, then, so far as I can see, safely and certainly indulge in the positive assertion that as in the middle of the seventh century so in the early years of the sixth the diptychs in the Byzantine Liturgy were recited, as they are now, just after the Epiklesis; and Br. Appendix O is to be corrected accordingly.

(C) It remains to see if the passage from homily 21 of St Chrysostom on Acts delivered at Constantinople in A. D. 401 witnesses to a different practice at that date. Mr Brightman says that he refers this passage 'to the diptychs with some hesitation' (p. 532. 57), and that it 'may refer to the litany during the fraction' (p. 533. 3).

As so often in cases of this kind, it will be convenient for the moment to dismiss as a 'text' in 'proof' the passage cited by Mr Brightman (p. 532 note 11), and come to it as found in its context, considering it in relation to that context. In homily 21 on Acts Chrysostom had been impressing on his people the utility of prayers generally, of alms also to the poor, and finally of προσφοραί for the dead, especially for those who had not been much good in themselves, or done much good for themselves, in this world. And then he says: 'It is not in vain that the deacon calls out: "For those deceased in Christ, for those who cause memorials to be made for them" (καὶ τῶν τὰς μνείας ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐπιτελουμένων). He goes on to explain the surroundings, the conditions, in which this diaconal proclamation is made: 'The sacrifice is engaged, and all things are set ready; angels and archangels are present; the Son of God is present; all [i. e. the clergy and people] stand with great fear; they [i. e. the angelic choirs, an evident allusion to the closing words of the preface] stand by crying aloud, all (else) silent. Think you these things are for nothing? . . . and what is offered for the Church,

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for the priesthood, and for the generality?'[1] Then he passes on to the commemoration of the martyrs and says that it is a great honour for them 'to be named whilst the Master is present' (*ὀνομασθῆναι τοῦ δεσπότου παρόντος*) . . . Chrysostom proceeds to enforce and illustrate his point by two examples thus: how whilst the emperor is sitting on his throne what the petitioner asks for he may obtain, but after the emperor has risen he will speak in vain. Thus, too, it is a subject of the greatest honour to all to be thought worthy of remembrance[2] whilst the Mystic Things lie set out (*ἕως ἂν πρόκειται τὰ τῶν μυστηρίων*) . . . For as in an imperial triumph the companions in victory are triumphantly acclaimed [cf. the parallelism of the martyrs] and also those in chains are in consideration of the occasion set free, but when the time has passed he who has then obtained nothing gets nothing; so too here: this is the occasion of the festal triumph: for it is said 'as often as you eat this bread you shew forth the death of the Lord'.

Let us take into account the various elements thus put before us by Chrysostom: first his general considerations on prayer and especially intercessory prayer; and then the scene he pictures, all silent in the presence of the Son of God Himself save for the voiceless song of the angelic choirs; the illustrations he gives in order to enforce the lesson he would wish his people to take to heart as to the specially acceptable time for prayer and petition, the king on his throne, the emperor, amid his companions in victory, in his triumphal progress; the emphasis laid on the honour to the martyrs in being named, name by name, in the presence of their Master; and all this to enforce his teaching as to the value of intercessory prayer for the dead to which the proclamation of the deacon specially summons the people. Taking all this into account I should not of myself—without some strong and clear arguments or reasons on the other side—have been disposed to infer that 'the tone' of St Chrysostom here 'reflects a moment of expectation like that immediately before the anaphora' (Br. p. 533. 1–2). Quite the contrary: if I had from the tone and matter of this homily to infer anything as to the place of the diptychs in the time and church of the preacher, I should have said, and with some feeling of assurance, that it was some point between the consecration and the communion. If, of course, there were evidence that subsequently to the date of the homily, A. D. 401, the diptychs in the liturgy of Constantinople were recited in the pre-anaphoral part of the mass, this I conceive would be an argument or reason such as is mentioned above. Seeing, however, that

[1] *καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ πληρώματος.* Cf. in the Clementine Liturgy, in the litany after the canon: *ὑπὲρ . . . παντὸς τοῦ πληρώματος τῆς ἐκκλησίας* (Br. 23. 31).

[2] It is well in passing to note the distinction between this expression (*τὸ μνήμης ἀξιοῦσθαι*) and that used (*ὀνομασθῆναι*) in regard to the martyrs just above.

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at the present day and ever since the end of the eighth century (cf. the Barberini MS of the liturgy of St Chrysostom of that date), that in the middle of the seventh century, and that in A. D. 518, the diptychs were said just after the Epiklesis, I think the only reasonable inference from Chrysostom's homily is that in A. D. 401 the names of the martyrs were in the liturgy of Constantinople said, and the deacon's proclamation made, after the consecration.

As a conclusion of the whole matter it is, I think, certain, so far as evidence exists on the subject, that at no time, from the beginning of the fifth century, were the diptychs said at Constantinople in the pre-anaphoral part of the Mass but only in the anaphora itself and after the consecration.

This ends what I have to say, at all events for the present, as to the diptychs in the Byzantine Liturgy. But I think it will be well before leaving this question to sum up in a few brief statements some of the conclusions expressed, indicated, or implied in Observation III of the Appendix to the *Liturgical Homilies of Narsai* as to the use generally of the diptychs (or public recital of names at the mass) in Western Europe and the East; Africa being for the time left out of account. I will endeavour by the form of phrasing adopted to indicate the conclusions which seem to me (to use the words of a recent and illuminating writer) warranted by 'knowledge-knowledge' as distinguished from those arrived at on 'belief-knowledge'. The statements are as follows:—

(*a*) So far as I can see—and the case seems to me *clear*—the practice of reciting at the altar the names of 'offerers' [i. e. of bread and wine to be used at the altar] is in the West a practice attested as already well established—for Spain, that is—so early as the very first years of the fourth century; and such attestation continues up to the ninth in other regions of the West also. On the other hand I recall how I have not been able to find in the East any secure liturgical attestation of this at all.[1]

(*b*) The recital of names of persons deceased is first attested among the

[1] See, however, the *Testament* i 19. Rahmani (p. 189) already called attention to this passage, and considers the provision there made the 'origin of the diptychs'. From which I infer he was little informed as to the history of diptychs generally. He also calls attention to the fact that this recital of names of 'offerers' is not mentioned in the liturgy of the *Testament* (i 23); and, indeed, as we read the anaphora of that liturgy (translation by Dr Cooper and by the Bishop of Moray, pp. 71–75), it does not appear, though the formula is wordy, where the commemoration of the 'offerers' can come in; it can hardly be in the Invocation (*ibid.* p. 74 ll. 1–4). The note (*ibid.* p. 151, cf. p. 204) suggests that this is a 'commemoration of benefactors', 'probably the deacon's litany'. But this, too, seems to require explanations and elucidations which I do not find given.

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(Greek-speaking) Eastern Christians—Jerusalem, Upper Egypt—about the middle of the fourth century. So far as there is any indication on the subject at all, the practice would seem to have been at that date a novelty.

(*c*) There seems then, so far, a clear distinction between East and West, inasmuch as the earliest attestations in the West are connected with the living, in the East with the dead; and, indeed, in Eastern, but still Greek-speaking, Syria even at as late a date as the end of the fifth century the names of dead persons only were recited.

(*d*) And there is this further distinction. In the Churches of Gaul, Spain, and Italy alike the names of the living mentioned at this early period as recited at the altar (or 'in the mass') are a defined and specific class—'offerers'. This is a permanent tradition witnessed to (particularly in Gaul) in the still extant official mass-formulae. Though information as to what determined in the East the recital at the altar of the names of living persons is slight and unsatisfactory, one thing is certain, namely, that these were not the specific class so consistently attested in the European West.

(*e*) But it may be said that the practice of the offering by the laity of the bread and wine of sacrifice disappeared in the East (at least in the Greek-speaking Eastern Churches) generally before the end of the fourth century. Quite so. But it still remains true that the entire absence in the East (so far as is known to me; cf. (*a*) above) of record or evidence of the recital of names of 'offerers' (i.e. of the bread and wine for use in the mass) is significant as in its bearing on (*b*) above so also on the distinction drawn in (*c*) above between the early practice of East and West as to the recital of names generally.

(*f*) Moreover, there is something else that I ought to note in passing: namely, that whilst the early documents of the three West-European regions mentioned are in agreement and consistent as to recitals of the names of 'offerers', differences are as a fact observable in their liturgies as regards recital of names of dead. In Gaul ordinary dead persons only, 'our dear ones', are specified in the 'nomina' prayers.[1] In Spain the names of 'saints' also are recited, and in the prayers in which this is attested[1] the same sort of distinction is specifically drawn between 'saints' and the ordinary dead as was drawn by St Cyril of Jerusalem. In Rome the names of dead recited in every mass were those of 'saints'; whilst our earliest evidence on the subject—confirmed by the omission of the ordinary '*Memento* of dead' in some of our earliest manuscripts,

[1] I conceive that such mention of saints as is found in the 'nomina' prayers of e.g. masses iv and xi of *Richenov.*, masses v, vi, &c. of *Goth.*, are quite different in idea and purpose from e.g. that in *Mos.* (ed. Lesley), 27. 83, 345. 9; and that the mention of a saint in the Gallican prayers cited has (obviously) nothing to do with the question of the diptychs.

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and (as I think) by the tenor of the present Roman canon itself—tells us that this '*Memento* of dead' was not said on the days precisely of regular public assembly and the solemn mass, that is Sundays.

I should prefer, provisionally at all events, to think that these variations in regard to recital of names of the *dead* in the three regions named of the West, as compared with their common agreement in a singular practice, namely, the recital of names of *offerers*, points, so far as the former is concerned, to a later and independent adoption in these regions of a practice imported or suggested from elsewhere.

V

So far then for the question of the diptychs. But the homily of St Chrysostom reviewed under IV (C) above, may not be thus easily dismissed. It is worth while to look at it again and observe its import; for the questions it raises will, if I mistake not, prove to be of crucial importance for the developement of Christian liturgy, and to touch the very principles of divine worship and the rationale of the eucharistic service itself.

As said elsewhere—and I think this is worth repeating again and again—the true promise and even necessary condition of the solid progress of liturgical studies (in the state in which these studies are at present) is the examination and treatment of particular questions of detail, of practice, one by one—isolated as it were—each in and for itself, without concern for the bearing which the results of each particular enquiry may have on other questions. By and by will come the time for synthesis, and it will be seen if and how the results arrived at along various lines of enquiry fit into each other. An incidental advantage of this course lies in the opportunity of our individual progress, each one for himself, in the art of distinguishing between our actual state of knowing and not knowing, which the broad treatment of large subjects, or the summary treatment in gross of documents individually complex, can never afford. But, above all, this method gives promise, if duly observed, of some corrective to our liableness to view questions of early liturgy through the mists of inter-confessional Christian disputes instead of in the dry light of mere unimpassioned historical enquiry and critical investigation.

In the present case, however, so far from approaching on this plan the little problem I propose next to investigate, and excluding from the mind the idea of results and their bearings, I intend in this Comment to try first of all to bring out as clearly as I can how the enquiry bears on the general question of the principles of divine service as exemplified in the Christian Eucharist, the Liturgy, or Mass.

The great problem presented by the history of Christian worship at

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large—looking at the matter especially from the point of view of the people and their relation to the service—is surely this: how is it that the primitive Christian Eucharist described by St Paul, the character of which the very abuses reproved by him only serve to emphasize, has become the High Mass of the basilicas of Rome or of the cathedrals of St Petersburg?[1] I know it is easy to make summary answer to such a question, for instance, thus: because the eucharistic service is of its nature a service of laud and thanksgiving. But an answer of this kind does not solve the historical question or explain the actual concrete facts. If we are to come to an understanding of the matter, we must never, as I conceive, dissociate it in our minds from the worshipping people, what they are doing, what they are thinking; what effect words and actions proceeding from the clergy are having on them, in them. What a recent writer has said of another and even more momentous problem of Christian history holds good of traditional worship. The developement it has undergone does not proceed from definite and considered design; it takes its own course irresistibly as though by a natural law but always without breach with the past. In spite of the intervention of this or that great personality here or there, at this time or that, the developement is really dominated by the religion of the many, of the mass of the common Christian people, pressing forward as if instinctively, and it combines an unceasing slow progress of change with a tenacious holding fast of what has been inherited. The change whilst thus irresistible and ever in progress comes without observation, without any suspicion perhaps, and certainly without conscious anticipation of the broad results that will ultimately manifest themselves. Where early liturgy is concerned generally, but especially in matters that the lapse of ages shews to be of most decisive and weightiest import, the change too is most commonly without regular and clear contemporary note or record.

But, on the other hand, though it is very real, we must beware of exaggerating this latter difficulty. We have at least three early sets of formal addresses to newly-baptized Christians delivered within the ensuing Easter week; and fortunately, too, a good part, indeed the greater part of our best material consists of homilies, sermons, popular addresses. In order, however, duly to understand and appreciate these

[1] Of course on the principles of Fr Baumgartner for whom here the critical passages of St Paul do not relate to the Eucharist, or of Dr Probst for whom the Liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions was substantially the Liturgy bequeathed to the Church by the Apostles, or of Bishop Rattray for whom the Liturgy of St James substantially was just as primitive, the question put in the text does not arise. I do not understand what would be the position of the Bishop of Moray (see his *Ancient Church Orders* pp. 62 seqq.) on the question discussed by Father Baumgartner.

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in regard to worship and the needs of the many, and what the many make of them, we must come down out of the sanctuary, even from the steps thereof, and from any high places whatsoever; we must, so to speak, disinterest ourselves in what is merely technical, ritual, professional, and taking our stand in the nave listen, as becomes those stationed there, with willing and receptive mind to the words of the eloquent preacher or easy and familiar instructor. Moreover, in the present case, the scene being Constantinople and the preacher Chrysostom, we must recall the peculiar religious disposition of the people (and the religious temper of the Christian people of Antioch was much the same kind), easily and well affected to what a recent writer has called, speaking of Constantinople at a later period, 'la dévotion raffinée et élégante'. It was too the ready and fluent word that suited them, not close argument; the easiest appeal was to religious sentiment, not the reasonable mind; whilst with Chrysostom, it was the moral lesson, the pious affection that lay near to his heart, and his concern was not with the niceties of dialectics, or doctrinal discussion.

The general drift and the points of his homily 21 on Acts have been recapitulated above (p. 389). The point for consideration now is what must have been the natural effect on his hearers of all this falling from the lips of their pastor, their bishop—the effect on the minds of the willing, the good, the pious among them? For it must be remembered that the cold, the unwilling, the indifferent in the earlier course of change (however they may act as a conservative force and a drag by and by) do not count as an active factor in the developement of Christian worship.[1] What must the pious and devout, then, have felt to be the lesson they were intended by Chrysostom to draw from his insistence on the special efficacy of intercessory prayer τοῦ δεσπότου παρόντος, now whilst πάρεστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ? I do not know whether Mgr Duchesne may have had this particular homily in mind, or only the drift of Chrysostom's general eucharistic teaching[2]; but if that writer's words may seem to come somewhat harshly and rudely on the ear, he yet, as I believe, justly and correctly sums up the inevitable result of that teaching on Chrysostom's well-disposed hearers when, in describing 'the Syrian

[1] I should like to refer here to the last dozen lines of a paper on 'The Doctrine of the Eucharistic Presence and the Anglican Divines' printed in the *Dublin Review*, October 1898, p. 336: 'But if we are to understand,' &c.

[2] See Observation II ('Fear and Awe') in the Appendix to Dom Connolly's *Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*. In that place only the barest indication of the liturgical and religious value of the subject could be given. It ought to be worked out on a systematic examination of Chrysostom's homilies, and presented with a due sense of what this particular feature of Chrysostom's teaching must have meant for his people, and of the results which the spread of the ideas embodied in such teaching must inevitably, and eventually did in fact, produce.

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Liturgy of the fourth century', he writes thus: (after the consecration) 'The prayers are resumed, but directed now to the present and invisible God' (*Christian Worship, its origins and evolution*, first English Edition, 1903, p. 62). It is not to the point to object, or reflect on, St Chrysostom's personal mind and intention—say, in regard to what is frequently called nowadays non-communicating attendance. The future was hidden from his eyes; and doubtless (to judge from other utterances of his) the eventual resultant was the last condition of things that he would have desired to bring about. But (as Mgr Duchesne so well sees) in Syria, already *le pli est pris*; and we have in the great preacher of Antioch and later bishop of Constantinople, in principle already, that type of Christian worship which (clothed in differing forms suited to the differing mental tone and religious temper of East or of West) has in the great traditional Churches of East and West alike become all-dominant, and is justly as well as conveniently indicated by the expression 'the devotion of the Mass'.

And now we can come to the particular question which I propose to submit to examination. It is this: What was the place in the eucharistic service of the 'Great Intercession'[1] in the earlier ages of the Church? In the light of what has been said above, the bearing of this enquiry will I think sufficiently appear if we take two alternative cases. First, a service in which the passage from the consecration to the communion is direct and without intervening 'Great Intercession', such prayers as the people hear from the lips of the celebrant between the two acts of consecration and communion relating to and bearing on the communicants themselves and their approaching act of communion. Secondly, a service in which the consecration is followed by a 'Great Intercession'; whilst hearing this long-drawn prayer for all sorts and conditions of men, the mind of the people, at least those who are attending to and following the service, must naturally be drawn off from the direct thoughts of their own impending act of communion. Of these two types of eucharistic service, which would be the more likely to facilitate and induce that particular type of worship indicated by Duchesne which, as pointed out above, is actually all-dominant in the traditional Churches of East and West alike? To say so much is, I think, to say all that is needed here, and sufficiently shews that the enquiry as

[1] This is the name given to the prayer in question by the liturgical systematists of this country; in Germany the term adopted by some is 'allgemeines Kirchengebet', by others 'Gemeindegebet', or even 'Fürbitten' merely. If the expression were not clumsy to use the best title would doubtless be: 'Prayer for all sorts and conditions of men.' I should prefer, as at once practical for use and fairly descriptive, the term 'General Intercession', but think it best, for avoidance of confusion, to acquiesce in the chosen terminology of the systematists.

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to the place of the 'Great Intercession' in early liturgy is not otiose, or a mere subject of curiosity as to indifferent matter of fact. When the enquiry is closed and its results are before us, further observations and reflexions may appear called for. But that it may be entered on generally without risk of ambiguity or vagueness, and that the survey I propose to make of the liturgies may not be interrupted by the examination of one subordinate question, two points must be dealt with, in the briefest and most elementary way. These are: (1) the mutual relations of the 'intercession' and the 'diptychs'; (2) the relations of the anaphora of the Ethiopic Church Order and the Abyssinian Liturgies. What has to be said on these two points shall be thrown into a separate Comment.

VI

(1) The non-expert may say something of this sort: 'When I read the printed liturgies (see Br. pp. 93–95, 169, 224, 228–230, 275–284, 438–442) I am at times puzzled to know whether I am reading "intercession" or "diptychs". What, pray, is the relation and difference, in origin and meaning, between them?' This is not, I think, a vain question, nor a captious one. A further question may be asked: Mr Brightman prints pp. 501–503 a diptych of Jerusalem of the twelfth century, p. 503 a modern diptych of the same church, p. 552 a Byzantine diptych of the fifteenth; are we to understand that these were the sort of diptychs that were to be heard read out by the deacon in church in the fourth and fifth, or even sixth and seventh, centuries? Elsewhere I have called attention (*Narsai* pp. 121 seqq.) to Le Brun's mistake in regard to the silent recitation of the anaphora and the effect of Justinian's *Novella* on the subject. It is to be assumed then that, except in a few places, the priest in the fifth and sixth centuries, within the limits of his empire, recited the anaphora no less than the rest of the service so that he could be heard by the people. The intercession was part of the celebrant's prayers; the diptychs were said by a deacon. The question then is whether after the priest had said aloud the relative parts of the intercession and stopped for the reading of the diptychs, the names (as in the printed diptychs mentioned above) were prefaced by and as it were framed into liturgical formulae resembling those the people had already heard from the lips of the celebrant; or whether it is more reasonable to suppose that the deacon read out a mere list of names at the place or places in the intercession where the priest stopped that this might be done? Slight as are the extant records they all point to the conclusion (see footnote 1) that in the earlier period, and until the spread of the practice of silent recital of the anaphora (canon), the diptychs consisted of a mere list of names,

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the only addition being (since the names were read out in separate categories, bishops, priests, laymen; dead, living) a simple title indicating each category.

So far, then, as the earlier period is concerned there can be no chance of mistake or confusion between 'intercession' and 'diptychs'. The one is an integral part of the prayers said aloud by the celebrant, the diptychs a mere list of names read by the deacon.[1]

(2) In Observation VI of the Appendix to the *Liturgical Homilies of Narsai* attention was called (p. 144) to the very general neglect in England of the labour bestowed on the early Church Orders by the late F. X. Funk of Tübingen. This was done with special reference to the anaphora contained in the so-called Ethiopic Church Order. In so doing I had no intention of implying any sort of assent to his opinions or views so far as concerns purely technical questions of liturgy. It must, I think, be said that this great scholar, this master of 'those

[1] (*a*) That only names were recited: see for Upper Egypt c. 350 Serapion (*Narsai* p. 101); for Rome, the *Gelasianum* for such time as the book was in use there (*Narsai* p. 100 note 2). (*b*) That the names were prefaced by a bare indication of 'category': Mopsuestia in the sixth century (*Narsai* p. 107); Constantinople in the middle of the seventh (*Narsai* p. 104 note 1). (*c*) On the other hand the Sicilian diptych, now in the Mayer Collection at Liverpool, which I should rather think of the time of Adrian I (772–795), has a liturgical setting; so, too, the diptych from Upper Egypt of about the middle of the seventh century, published by Mr W. E. Crum (*J. T. S.* xi 67). This may well indicate the adoption of the silent recital of the anaphora. (*d*) The text of the Barberini diptych, now in the Louvre, is of course quite of another class, and is, I conceive, the kind of document referred to in texts of the Roman canon like that of the Bobbio Missal, where it is said: 'quorum animas ad memorandum conscripsimus vel quorum nomina super sanctum altarium scripta adest evidenter.'

The question may be asked how it comes about that in some of the liturgies referred to at the beginning of this Comment the priest secretly says what is clearly 'diptychal' matter. The answer doubtless is that this is one of those parallel developements found in East and West even though separated in communion. The priest by and by was not content simply to stand silent and listen to those parts of the service that fall to others, but must needs repeat to himself secretly what others said aloud.

Before dismissing the intercession and diptychs I may make one further remark. The Bishop of Moray (*Ancient Church Orders* p. 39) speaks of (what is evidently meant for) the Intercession as 'a litany-like series of petitions'. This expression may prove quite useful if we keep in mind the points in which 'litany' and 'intercession' differed and agreed. The differences were: (*a*) that the 'intercession' was said by the priest, the 'litany' by the deacon; (*b*) that the priest's words in the intercession are addressed to God, the deacon's words in the litany to the people; (*c*) that as both were said aloud, the intercession and litany could not in accordance with decency and order be said at one and the same time. The point of likeness lies in the general sameness of subject-matter. It may be well also, when describing the intercession as 'litany-like', to be on our guard against any implication that the 'intercession' was modelled on and derived from a pre-existing litanic form of prayer.

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who would know', whose word is so weighty, whose sense is so safe, in what concerns the beliefs, discipline, and history of the Church of the first five or six centuries does not, where questions of pure liturgy are concerned, maintain his usual level; and the fault, as I conceive, does not wholly or even mainly rest with him. I had already determined to take the anaphora of the Eth. Ch. O. for a text on which to attempt the elucidation of more than one problem of earliest liturgy. At present only a very simple matter is in question. Mr Brightman has long since in his volume of the *Eastern Liturgies* (p. lxxv ll. 28–31) called attention to the relations subsisting between this Church Order and the anaphora of the Normal Abyssinian Liturgy. But these few lines of small print seem easily overlooked, or perhaps forgotten, especially in view of the interest excited by the 'Lost Church Order'.

All that I propose to do here is to repeat, but with more (it may perhaps be thought altogether excessive) particularity and in tabular form, Mr Brightman's statement of correspondence between the two documents mentioned; together with references to the corresponding portions of the Abyssinian Anaphora of our Lord and of the Liturgy of the *Testament* in the version of these two last given in *The Testament of our Lord* by Dr J. Cooper and the Bishop of Moray (1902) pp. 245–248 and 71–75. It will only then remain to draw briefly the conclusions required for the purpose immediately in hand.

Anaphora of		
Ethiopic Church Order. (Br. pp. 187–192.)		*Abyssinian Normal Liturgy.* (Br. pp. 228–244.)
(1) Br. p. 189 line 19 word 1 to line 23 word 3.	=	Br. p. 228 l. 17 word 1 to l. 21 word 5. [Cf. *Anaphora of our Lord*: p. 245 lines 8, 10–11; 246 lines 21–22. *Testament*: p. 71 l. 32; 72 l. 2–4.]
(2) p. 189 l. 23 w. 4 to p. 190 l. 1 w. 3.	=	p. 231 l. 6 w. 4 to l. 7 w. 5. [*A. O. L.* 246. 22–23; *Test.* 72. 29–31.]
(3) p. 190 l. 1 w. 4 to l. 2 w. 10.	=	p. 231 l. 11 to l. 12 w. 5. [*A. O. L.* 246. 34–35; *Test.* 72. 31–73. 2.]
(4) p. 190 l. 2 w. 11 to l. 8 w. 4.	=	p. 232 l. 6 w. 2 to l. 12 w. 2. [*A. O. L.* 246. 36–39, 42, 43 to 247. 2; *Test.* 73. 2–6, 8–12.]
(5) Recital of Institution p. 190 l. 8 w. 5 to l. 12.	=	largely developed p. 232. 12–13, 17–22, 27–31, and 35. [*A. O. L.* 247. 3, 4, 5–6, 8; *Test.* 73. 13–17.]
(6) p. 190 l. 14 to l. 18 w. 9.	=	p. 233 l. 5 to l. 10. [*A. O. L.* 247. 12–19; *Test.* 73. 19–20, 21–23. Embodying the anamnesis and prayer of offering which in

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these two documents are addressed to the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity.]

(7) p. 190 l. 18 w. 10 to l. 21 w. 7.[1] = p. 233 l. 26 to l. 29 w. 1. [For correspondence see *A. O. L.* 248. 13–16; *Test.* 73. 26–74. 5 and 75. 5–6.]

(8) p. 190 l. 37 to p. 191 l. 3. = p. 233 l. 15 to 20.

(9) p. 191 l. 7 to 11. = p. 234 l. 33 to p. 235 l. 3.

(10) p. 191 l. 14. = p. 235 l. 12.

(11) p. 191 l. 16 to l. 23 w. 10. = p. 235 l. 14 to l. 22 w. 11.

(12) p. 191 l. 27 to p. 192 l. 5. = p. 237 l. 14–20 and 22–25.

(13) p. 192 l. 10 to l. 16.[2] = p. 243 l. 11 w. 6 to l. 17.

It now only remains to draw the necessary conclusions:—

(*a*) The anaphora of the Ethiopic Church Order, in the state in which it is now found, is (as will be seen on verification by aid of the foregoing table) the basis of the anaphora of the Normal Abyssinian Liturgy.

(*b*) This latter simply *is* the former enlarged, enriched, and brought up to the level of (Greek-Eastern) Catholic practice. It is derived directly from the Ethiopic Church Order and without any intermediary. These two documents embody the ancient genuine and native tradition of the Ethiopic (Abyssinian) Church.

(*c*) A further observation has to be made. It has been stated (Cooper and Maclean *Testament, Notes* p. 167) that the Abyssinian Anaphora of our Lord 'is specially interesting as being the connecting link between the modern Abyssinian liturgy and the Testament'. This, in so far as it may imply that the Anaphora of our Lord is earlier than the Normal Abyssinian anaphora, is a misapprehension and historically a mistake. When the four documents used in the foregoing tables are drawn out into parallel columns, one conclusion—and one only—will I believe appear admissible to those familiar with textual investigation; namely, that the Anaphora of our Lord, so far from standing between the *Testament* and the Normal Abyssinian anaphora, is the anaphora of the *Testament* enlarged and enriched with materials drawn from the Normal Abyssinian anaphora. It is necessary to say so much in order not to be embarrassed in the survey to be made of Egyptian liturgies by a text

[1] To end of l. 23 is a doxology; in connexion with which, and the doxologies p. 191. 9–11, 24–25; p. 192. 14–16, I hope to give a detailed review of doxological history and practice in East and West in the third and fourth centuries. Page 190 lines 24–35 are a blessing of oil to which of course there is nothing to correspond in the Normal Abyssinian anaphora.

[2] The prayer of the Eth. Ch. O. with the title 'Dismissal' Br. 192. 25–33 evidently lies behind or is connected with the prayer in the Normal Liturgy Br. 243. 20–31 with the title 'The Inclination'. The 'Dismissal' prayer in this liturgy (p. 244) is quite different.

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which, however useful or interesting when resolved into its constituent elements, has no claim to be regarded as a liturgical witness for the place of the intercession in the early ages of the Church. The 'Anaphora of our Lord' therefore falls out of account. The relations between the anaphora of the Ethiopic Church Order and that of the *Testament* is a different question; but one that is of no concern here, and we may in the next Comment go forward with the investigation itself as to the place of the intercession in the eucharistic service.

VII

Since the foregoing Comments IV–VI were in type, and indeed had received their corrections for the press, I have had the advantage of reading Mr Brightman's remarks (pp. 319–323 above) on my Appendix to Dom Connolly's *Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*. They shew me that it is desirable to give some further explanations on three points in order that my view of the case may be the better understood. The three points are:—(A) on St Chrysostom's Hom. 21 on Acts (see IV C above); (B) on the expression *tempore consecrationis* in the first letter of John of Constantinople to Hormisdas of Rome; and (C) on the κοιναὶ εὐχαί of St Justin Martyr (p. 322 above).

(A) When returning the proofs of Comm. IV–VI, which I had asked him to look over, Dom Connolly called my attention to Chrysostom's Homily 41 on 1 Cor. (a series delivered at Antioch in, so Bardenhewer suggests, 392) as parallel to Hom. 21 on Acts delivered some ten years later at Constantinople. I begged him to draw up a note on the subject; he complied with my request. That note, which I now print with his permission, is as follows:—

'On reading the proofs of your "Liturgical Comments and Memoranda", no. IV C, I was at once reminded of a similar passage of St Chrysostom which I had recently read in Syriac. This I soon found in an Appendix of Bedjan's *S. Martyrii, qui et Sahdona, quae supersunt omnia* pp. 870–871; and it turned out to be a Syriac translation of a passage from St Chrysostom's homily 41 on 1 Cor. (delivered at Antioch). The Greek of it is to be found in Migne *P. Gr.* lxi col. 361. As perhaps you have not a copy of Chrysostom's works by you, I have copied out and enclose the relevant part of the passage:—

'. . . Οὐ γὰρ ἁπλῶς ταῦτα ἐπινενόηται, οὐδὲ εἰκῇ μνήμην ποιούμεθα τῶν ἀπελθόντων ἐπὶ τῶν θείων μυστηρίων, καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν πρόσιμεν, δεόμενοι τοῦ ἀμνοῦ τοῦ κειμένου τοῦ λαβόντος τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου, ἀλλ' ἵνα τις ἐντεῦθεν αὐτοῖς γένηται παραμυθία· οὐδὲ μάτην ὁ παρεστὼς τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ τῶν φρικτῶν μυστηρίων τελουμένων βοᾷ· Ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν ἐν Χριστῷ κεκοιμημένων, καὶ τῶν τὰς μνείας ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐπιτελούντων. Εἰ γὰρ μὴ

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ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν αἱ μνεῖαι ἐγένοντο, οὐδ' ἂν ταῦτα ἐλέχθη. Οὐ γάρ ἐστι σκηνὴ τὰ ἡμέτερα, μὴ γένοιτο. . . . Μὴ δὴ ἀποκάμωμεν τοῖς ἀπελθοῦσι βοηθοῦντες, καὶ προσφέροντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν εὐχάς· καὶ γὰρ τὸ κοινὸν τῆς οἰκουμένης κεῖται καθάρσιον. Διὰ τοῦτο θαρροῦντες ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκουμένης δεόμεθα τότε, καὶ μετὰ μαρτύρων αὐτοὺς καλοῦμεν, μετὰ ὁμολογητῶν, μετὰ ἱερέων· καὶ γὰρ ἓν σῶμά ἐσμεν ἅπαντες, κἂν λαμπρότερα μέλη μελῶν· καὶ δυνατὸν πάντοθεν συγγνώμην αὐτοῖς συναγαγεῖν, ἀπὸ τῶν εὐχῶν, ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δώρων, ἀπὸ τῶν μετ' αὐτῶν καλουμένων . . .

'This passage is worth bringing into connexion with the one from homily 21 on Acts. By the phrases τοῦ ἀμνοῦ τοῦ κειμένου and τὸ κοινὸν τῆς οἰκουμένης κεῖται καθάρσιον St Chrysostom at Antioch seems to imply that the names of the departed were read, "with the martyrs, confessors, priests", after the consecration. And I see that the passages in which these phrases occur are in fact cited by Mr Brightman (see his Appendix C, "Liturgy of Antioch from the Writings of St Chrysostom", p. 474, 30–32, 26–27) as indicating a time (here for the Intercession) after the consecration. In view of this, is it possible that St Chrysostom at Constantinople uses ὀνομασθῆναι τοῦ δεσπότου παρόντος with reference to a point of the service earlier than the consecration? Of the two homilies I should say that no. 21 on the Acts is the more pointed, and less open to doubts on the question whether St Chrysostom is thinking of the actual eucharistic presence of our Lord or not.'

With the exception of what is said below in footnote,[1] I do not know that I need add anything to Dom Connolly's words; and I now pass on to the next question.

(B) In reference to the letter of the patriarch John to Hormisdas (see above pp. 384, 387) Mr Brightman writes:—'It looks plausible, but one would like to know what was the Greek represented by *tempore consecrationis*' (p. 321).

First it is necessary to state in clear terms what is the *dubium* that we have to deal with. I should, however, say that I am not quite clear what is the exact point Mr Brightman aims at in taking his exception; but I presume it is of this kind: that the expression *tempore consecrationis* may be no evidence for any order, and may mean no more than 'what time the mass is celebrated', 'at mass'. Our *dubium* then I should

[1] In addition to what Dom Connolly says I should like to point out that the deacon's proclamation in both homilies, that on 1 Cor. at Antioch and that on Acts at Constantinople, is the same formula (cf. p. 388 above). It would seem then that if this proclamation is to be assigned at Constantinople in 401 to a point of the service before the anaphora begins and at Antioch some ten years earlier to a point after the consecration, some clear reason for this difference of treatment should be given.

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venture to state thus :—'Is there reasonable ground for supposing that the Greek words rendered by the translator "tempore consecrationis" meant simply "at mass"; or (if it be granted that some definite point of the mass is alluded to) designated some point in the service not in the anaphora at all but immediately before the anaphora began and immediately after the creed (see Mr Brightman's reconstruction, p. 528. 27–529. 5)?'

As regards the former alternative I may observe that, so far as my knowledge goes, among the various terms used by Latin writers in the first six centuries to designate the mass as a service (or even the canon of the mass) 'consecratio' is expressly not to be found, whether at Rome or elsewhere.[1] And whatever this word would naturally imply to one who knew Latin and no Greek, one thing it would not mean to him, the 'mass' in a general and vague sense as a 'service'.

We come then to the second alternative.

In *Homilies of Narsai* p. 111 I had said :—'Although the original Greek is not extant, the fact that the letter is contained in the *Collectio Avellana* may preclude any exception that might be raised as to the translation.' By this remark I hoped to obviate the objection which Mr Brightman has made. But as I did not succeed in my aim, and as there is no probability, or indeed chance, that the original Greek of John's letter will ever be found, I must give reasons for my belief that the circumstances attending the preservation of the Latin version of this letter offer some guarantee for the accuracy of the translation.

The *Avellana* is a canonical collection, the latest document of which is of the year 553. Nos. 1–104 of the 243 pieces of which it consists fall into five well-defined sections covering the period 366–514 along with a dozen documents of c. 533–553; Nos. 105–243 all relate to the short pontificate of Hormisdas (514–523). Maassen in 1877 (*Sitzungsberichte der kais. Akad. d. Wissensch.*, Phil.-hist. Cl., 85 pp. 249–250) pointed out that this second part of the *Avellana* could only have been put together by some one who had access to the archives of the Roman Church and actually used them. Since Maassen wrote great advance has been made in knowledge as to the history, condition, &c., of the

[1] It may be said for purposes of mere nicety that the nearest semblance of approach to such use that I know of is in canon 2 of the 7th Council of Toledo of 646 in which does occur the expression 'consecrationem coepti officii' (cf. canon 14 of the 11th Council, 675). But this provides for the case of a priest falling ill whilst saying mass and for the completion of the service; the word 'consecratio' (even in the Spanish Latinity of that date) does not here mean 'mass' or 'service' at all. Of course the curious enquirer will, on the general question of ancient Latin names for the mass, consult, if he please, the liturgists, as for instance Bona *Rer. liturg.* lib. i cap. 3.

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archives of the Roman Church from the fifth century onwards. Otto Günther, the recent editor of the *Avellana*, has put the whole question, so far as the period of Hormisdas is concerned, in a clear light, pointing out that the section relating to that pontificate (Nos. 105–243) stands on an entirely different footing from the rest of the collection; that its compiler had actually used—'durchblättert' is the term he employs—Hormisdas's register throughout; and indeed shewing that this section of the *Avellana* is unique in giving us a close insight into the practice of the Papal Chancery. Any one who wishes really to understand the general question as to the source or authenticity of the text of the particular letter with which we are concerned must read pp. 1–66 of O. Günther's 'Avellana-Studien' (in vol. 134 of the *Sitzungsberichte*). The following are the considerations that concern us here. In the case of John's letter we have not to deal with a chance translation made we do not know when by we know not whom, a translation made by a private person for his pleasure, by one responsible to nobody for any blunders he may commit; but the translation was made by a regular official of the Chancery whose duty it was to understand his business, the translation being intended doubtless for the use of the Pope in *his* current business, and certainly by and by for permanent record in the register of his pontificate. Next, simple as the letter may seem if we do not remember the circumstances, it was in reality a highly important document, as the first letter that had been addressed (so far as is actually known, and may be conjectured) by a patriarch of Constantinople to a pope of Rome for more than five and twenty years. Moreover the item concerning the diptychs was perhaps the most important item in the letter, for this act was (so far as the public was concerned) the outward sign and seal of a redintegration of amity, and a herald of the close of the schism which had for so long separated Rome and Constantinople, the first practical step indeed towards peace.

There is also another point of view: the order of the Constantinopolitan mass which (as Mr Brightman's Appendices O and P—and, may I add, these Comments also—sufficiently shew) has to be so laboriously reconstructed to-day, must have been, indeed was, matter of common knowledge in Rome in the year 518. Although patriarch did not write to pope or pope to patriarch there was continual passing—and that by envoys, messengers, agents of all sorts—to and fro between Rome and Constantinople on ecclesiastical business.[1] From whatever point of view it be looked at this particular letter in the translation that

[1] The evidence of this is in the body of documents relating to the papal history of 500–520; for the time of Hormisdas generally, O. Günther's 'Beiträge zur Chronologie der Briefe des Hormisdas' in *Sitzungsberichte* vol. 126 may be consulted.

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has come down to us is *prima facie* as little open to suspicion as well can be.[1]

It now remains to enquire whether there be any positive ground or reason for assuming, or inferring, a mistranslation at the point 'tempore consecrationis'. I know of none except Mr Brightman's reconstruction of the Constantinopolitan Liturgy in his Appendix O. The only evidence which Mr Brightman gives us for his theory that the diptychs at Constantinople were said in the sixth century between the creed and the beginning of the anaphora is a short extract from the 'Conc. sub Mennâ'. This passage I have endeavoured in Comment IV B above to place in its proper historical setting, and so regarded it does not seem to me to justify the inference Mr Brightman draws from it.

All this may seem a very long and serious discussion of trifling points. But a now prolonged experience has all gone to teach me the lesson that in the study of the history of early Christian worship small points may be the pivot on which grave questions may turn, and it was necessary for me to deal with this point in order that in the progress of an enquiry to be taken in hand later I may not appear to have ignored the authority of *Eastern Liturgies*, Appendices O and P. With this in mind I sum up here in precise terms what I conceive to be, on the evidence, the just view of the case, and state the position I take up, thus: at no time, from the beginning of the fifth century, were the diptychs said in the Constantinopolitan mass at any other place than that to which they are assigned in our earliest manuscript of that mass (a manuscript of about the close of the eighth century), viz. just after the consecration.

(C) Now for the κοιναὶ εὐχαί of Justin Martyr. This involves some consideration of the question of mass-litanies in general. I propose to divide what I have to say into two parts or periods, the historical and the prehistoric. The first named is that for which we possess documentary evidence in the strict sense of the term; it begins, therefore, with the second half of the fourth century; the prehistoric period comprises all that goes before.

In introducing the present series of 'Comments' I said (*J. T. S.* x p. 447) that my writing 'must be in an informal way . . . degenerating possibly sometimes into the tone of a mere chat or gossip as the mood

[1] Besides these general considerations I may as well mention a point—a minute point—of detail. There is an expression in the *Acts* of 518 pertinent here: viz. τῷ καιρῷ τῶν διπτύχων (see Mr Brightman's extract p. 531. 4), which shews us (from a document relating to the very same scene; an expression designating a particular point of the service) a (? the) Greek phrase for the 'tempore' of the translation.

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of the moment may dictate'. I now take this liberty of freedom to be expository or to lapse into the didactic, nor shall I feel any scruple at incurring the reproach of being 'autobiographical', whilst I feel bound to add that the elucidation of the early history of litanies in Christian worship involves work tedious enough and dull enough to satisfy the most exacting and conscientious disciple of Dryasdust. For it is exclusively concerned at present with the criticism of erudition or 'external criticism'. But 'let us never be tired of repeating that "external criticism" is wholly preparatory; it is a means to an end; the ideal state would be that it had already been so generally applied to the documents that are the source of [liturgical] history that we could dispense with it for the future. If it is a necessity, it is, after all, but a provisional necessity'.[1]

We cannot make a more convenient beginning than with Mr Brightman's remark in regard to the concluding portion of my 'Observation IV' (on mass-litanies) in the Appendix to *Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*: 'I do not find this at all convincing,' he says. I must ingenuously confess to a certain surprise that any part of that 'Observation' should have been found convincing at all, for none of it was written with the idea of carrying conviction to the mind of anybody. It consists of not quite four pages (pp. 117–121), whereof the first three are devoted to exposing the *status quaestionis* in such a plain and simple way that the statement could be understood by any one without 'expert' liturgical knowledge. The concluding portion (less than a page) consists of the expression of *my opinion*, in sum, on the whole subject. I cannot here enter into details (were my words), but 'may indicate in a few words what seems to me to have been its history [i.e. of "the litanic form of prayer in the mass"] as evidenced by documents' (p. 120).

What I propose now is this :—to detail and explain what was done by me before penning that concluding portion (less than a page) of Obs. IV in *Narsai*, and what was in mind whilst it was in course of writing. If I lapse into the form of describing a programme, it is to be

[1] I must be excused for quoting myself, *Downside Review*, July 1899, vol. xviii p. 105. I should like to refer generally to this paper, 'Historical Critics and the Critical Art', which, derived as it is from, or inspired by, M. N. V. Langlois, seemed to me in the writing (and has seemed since in the reading) to touch on many of the things which to my mind we liturgiologists, so far as we occupy ourselves with ancient Liturgy, may very well take to heart. At the same time I would mention as full of important and fruitful hints for this particular class of *érudits* the booklet, marked by a *finesse*, lightness of touch, and grace characteristically French, of M. Paul Desjardins, *Catholicisme et Critique* (1905). This indeed is concerned with and owes its existence to the *affaire Loisy*; that is now liquidated; what specifically concerns it can be neglected, and the general observations can now be taken in the full measure of their simple instructiveness.

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understood as a programme of work already done. This work had already in the spring of 1905, after going through the preliminaries of draft upon draft, reached the stage of a paper settled and completed in a form such as might appear in this JOURNAL. Still I was not content and withheld it, and reworked the whole over again in a renewed survey of the documents, taking into account every class of Greek litany, in whatsoever rite occurring, and not merely those in the mass, as well as the documentary evidence in the Latin liturgies—whatever the form, litany or prayer—the subject-matter of which is cognate with the Great Intercession of the Greek liturgies. The Greek section was taken in hand for detailed examination because it appeared, on a survey of the liturgies generally, that in it lay the key to the particular history of the mass-litany.

First of all it was necessary to fix limits of time: in the case of the Greek litanies (in which class of course the mediaeval Latin translations are included) it soon appeared that the later limit was the close of the twelfth century; in the case of the Latin documents the middle of the ninth. The litanies of two or three Greek manuscripts of the thirteenth century (among which Goar's Pyromalus, see p. 322 above) were *pro maiori cautela* added as 'extravagantes'. It then appeared (so far as the Greek section was concerned) that material supplied from some five and twenty MSS, dating from the end of the eighth century to the end of the twelfth, had to be taken into account, over and above the litanies of the Clementine Liturgy, the litanic material afforded by St Chrysostom, and the mass-litanies of the four texts of 'St James' as given by Dr Swainson.

If we take in hand the Greek material relating to mass-litanies and put aside for the moment Dr Swainson's litanies of 'St James' (the oldest MS of which, however, is not earlier than the tenth century) the point where the difficulty lies is soon apparent. For the eleventh and twelfth centuries our material is good and abundant; and we can, I think, constitute a sufficiently reliable text, even down to minutiae, of the Constantinopolitan mass-litanies then in use. Unfortunately the earliest of our MSS to which a date can be assigned is of the year 1041 (Goar's 'Cryptoferrat. Arsenii'; Dr Swainson's G 1, see his p. xxiii), from which Goar has given some readings. Any one of the MSS assigned in general terms to the 'eleventh century' may perhaps be, may perhaps not be, a few years earlier. But such minutiae do not affect our difficulty, which is this: there is nothing to bridge over the chasm between the mass-litanies in the (Clementine) liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions of the later part of the fourth century and these texts of the eleventh—a gap of over six hundred years.

As mass-litanies fail us we must turn elsewhere. The Barberini

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(Constantinopolitan) Euchology—a MS commonly assigned to the end of the eighth century—contains indeed no mass-litanies, but it has litanies in other rites, baptism, ordinations, &c. How many of such litanies the MS contains I do not know; but nine of them, so far as my knowledge goes, have actually appeared in print. After an examination of these texts it has appeared to me that, though they enable us to say in a few cases that this or that particular suffrage shews the same text as the eleventh-century MSS, these litanies give us no effectual help for ascertaining what was the state or form of the Constantinopolitan mass-litanies at the time when the Barberini Euchology was written.

Foiled here we turn to Western documents. The Mozarabic and the Ambrosian litanies, and the litany of the Stowe Missal entitled the 'Deprecatio S. Martini', have long engaged the attention and interest of scholars,[1] whose remarks on the subject, however, so far as known to me, are not of use for our present purpose. But there is a document which has hitherto (so far as my knowledge goes) been quite overlooked, but which (in combination with the *Stowe* litany) will, when duly investigated, give us precisely the help we are in search of. It comes from our own domestic, that is to say English, stores. In his *Officia per ferias* Alcuin incorporates a litany to which he gives this curious title: 'Deprecatio quam Papa Gelasius pro universa ecclesia constituit canendam esse.' The reader is at once struck by the difference of style between this 'Deprecatio' and that in *Stowe*; whilst in expression *Stowe* is simplicity itself, even to bareness, the style of Alcuin's document is rotund (though not inflated) yet grave, and distinctly aims at literary form.[2] Indeed the mere style itself of this latter raises some sort of presumption that Alcuin may be right in attributing his document to a Roman source. Moreover—a matter too often forgotten, on which the late Ludwig Traube has more than once insisted—in the eighth century and the earliest decades of the ninth, that is in Alcuin's days, the manuscripts in use of the Fathers and early ecclesiastical documents were quite commonly, indeed ordinarily, of the fifth and sixth century, although that great age of rescription, the Carolingian renaissance, was soon in the event to be fatal to the preservation of these ancient codices generally. Unless there be positive grounds for thinking otherwise, the presumption then would be that the actual manuscript in Alcuin's hands

[1] Cf., for example, for the last named the Rev. F. E. Warren *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church* pp. 251–255; Dr M'Carthy's Introduction to his edition of the Stowe Missal pp. 199–201; and Mgr Duchesne's *Origines* in the account of the Gallican mass, § 6.

[2] For instance, whilst *Stowe* has: 'Pro his qui in sancta ecclesia fructus misericordiae largiuntur', Alcuin's has: 'Pro operariis pietatis et his qui necessitatibus laborantum fraterna charitate subveniunt.'

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from which he copied his litany was rather of the sixth century than of the seventh or eighth.

But the document itself contains an indication which, in my opinion, confirms Alcuin's attribution of the piece to a Roman origin, and enables us to assign that origin to a period between c. 460–470 and c. 540–550; in other words there is not merely no improbability, but there is an actual *prima facie* probability, in Alcuin's attribution of it to the time of Gelasius I (492–496). The sixteenth suffrage reads thus:—'Pro refrigerio fidelium animarum, praecipue sanctorum Domini sacerdotum qui *huic ecclesiae* praefuerunt *catholicae*, Dominum spirituum et universae carnis Iudicem deprecemur.' Duly to illustrate this a somewhat large excursus would be necessary, and one, as I think, that would prove an interesting example of a phenomenon writ large over the broad page of history whether of Church or State: how compliments come to crystallize into formalities, and formalities are by and by clamped and worked into effective usage. I throw together a few items in a footnote,[1] and without thinking of elaborated developement in 'proof' proceed.

[1] What we are concerned with is primarily mere matter of ecclesiastical etiquette. First of all it will be well to run the eye over the beginning and ending of the papal letters of A.D. 400–440 in Coustant or the delightfully handy little Schoenemann: nothing can be more simple than the official form designating (whether on his own part or on the part of others) the 'bishop of Rome'. Exactly the same impression is derived from those imperial documents derived from the *Avellana* so conveniently brought together by that veteran worker Wilhelm Meyer (now of Göttingen) in his capital appendices to the Göttingen Index Scholarum of 1898 and 1899; although here a favourite designation is 'pope of the city', quite simple. So much for the ecclesiastical and civil upper circles. The first intimation (known to me) of the complimentary change interesting us is in a document addressed to the emperors by the inferior clergy—the (? parish) priests—of Rome in favour of Boniface as their bishop in succession to the deceased Zosimus (A.D. 418): 'Post abscessum sancti Zosimi (they say), papae ecclesiae catholicae urbis Romae...' (W. Meyer's second Programme, 1898–1899, p. 18; in Coustant, he says, p. 1007; Schoenemann, p. 712). The next instance of this 'style' that I have come across is the signature of an underling again, one Siricius, a notary, in the Acts of the Council of Ephesus (431), who, instead of using the form common in the Acts for Roman clerics, viz. *τῆς ἀποστολικῆς καθέδρας*, subscribes himself as *τῆς ἁγίας καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας πόλεως Ῥωμαίων* (Harduin *Concil.* i coll. 1466, 1468). At the Council of Chalcedon (451) this form is used by the representatives of the Pope themselves (*ibid.* col. 1799; cf. ii 465, 467). The first case in which I find the style formally adopted (unless I have overlooked it in too summary a glance at Leo's letters which have not been gone through by me formally for the present purpose) and specially used by the Pope for his signature to and approval of a solemn and official act—a *Constitutum*—is the Roman Council under Hilary in 465: 'Hilarus episcopus ecclesiae catholicae urbis Romae' (Harduin ii 799); by the time of Vigilius (middle of the sixth century) the word 'sanctae' is added to the formula (Harduin iii col. 46, cf. col. 8); cf. Pelagius II, *ibid.* col. 414). Gregory the Great in 594 (see de Rozière's edition of the *Liber diurnus* p. 15) fixed the form

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The next step—with the body of Greek litany texts before me—was to investigate the source of these two Latin litanies, to see if it is possible to identify, 'fix', the documents which their compilers actually used, and attempt an answer to questions like these:—Whence did they derive their models? Was it from Constantinople? Was it from Jerusalem? or from both? or from elsewhere? This, of course, was the most troublesome, the nicest, part of the whole enquiry; and on the justness of its conduct the value for practical purposes of all depends. This was the point to which the article above mentioned as ready prepared for this JOURNAL in the spring of 1905 was directed. But at this date, now six years later, I confess to looking rather ruefully at this special 'investigation' again; and wonder who would care for it, who would endure it? Frankly, I think it fairly well complies with the requirements of that critical, yet detached, and eminently non-specialist observer already quoted, M. Paul Desjardins, where he speaks (as of an acquirement particularly desirable for at least some 'jeunes clercs' in these days) of 'le goût sévère et la constance, comment conduire honnêtement une recherche. Discipline qui n'est pas si triviale, parmi les libres penseurs non plus' (*Catholicisme et Critique* p. 101; cf. p. 19).

Here I am going to trouble no one with such 'severities', but intend only to formulate in categorical statements what is my opinion on the questions involved—mere statements of opinion, to be appreciated or depreciated, taken or left, according to individual preference.

(1) The compilers of the two Latin litanies drew their materials and inspiration from Constantinople and the mass-litanies there, not from Jerusalem or other places, or (say) from the litanies in the (Clementine) liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions.

(2) The text of the Constantinopolitan litanies which they used was in an earlier stage than that shewn by our texts of the eleventh and

of subscription at: 'episcopus sanctae ecclesiae catholicae atque apostolicae urbis Romae'; see this form in the Acts of the Roman synod under Martin of 649 *passim*. Of course to understand the case 'historically' and estimate what was really *en jeu*, it is necessary to follow up the contemporaneous stylistic developement (to, say, 520) of the archbishop of Constantinople into the Oecumenical Patriarch; and along with these two main currents which issue in serious events there are side enquiries that must not be neglected, rivulets as it were that lose themselves and disappear in the sands of the desert: the use, for instance, by commonplace and inferior bishops of the form 'bishop of the Catholic Church'; or 'holy Church'; or 'the holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of God' in such and such a place (for instance at Ephesus). Though even here we must distinguish between such sort of subscription as is found (say) in the Acts of the Conference with the Donatists in 411 and the use in the East. But all these subordinate enquiries in their results only confirm and emphasize the singularity and uniqueness of the Roman bishops' domestic official form of c. 466–540 which finds its echo in the terms of our litany: 'the bishops of *this* Catholic Church.'

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twelfth centuries—a stage evidencing in some details resemblances to the litanies of the Apostolic Constitutions that had disappeared by the eleventh century.[1]

(3) I have no doubt whatever that the litany preserved by Alcuin is a litany compiled and written for use in the church of Rome; and I see no sound reason whatever for doubting that the title he gives to it preserves to us the name of the pope (viz. Gelasius I) under whom, and consequently the date at which (viz. 492–496), it was written.[2] That Gelasius prescribed the use of this litany by the 'universal Church' (i.e. the West), as is said in Alcuin's title, is doubtless a fiction; but the statement has so much of truth in it that, when once on the track, we find traces (of course hitherto unnoticed as the document itself has been unused) of its use and influence in quarters so diverse, that it is certain that in Alcuin's day the documents must have been widely known, although in his day too it was on the eve of falling into disuse and long oblivion through the growing popularity and the enlargements of the new-fashioned 'Litany of the Saints'.

(4) Different as is the style of the two litanies—that of Alcuin and of *Stowe*—it appears that there must have been, somehow, some relation, some connexion of origin, between the two documents.[3]

[1] At this point a *dubium* suggested itself, viz. is such change in the text of the Constantinopolitan mass-litanies, between, say, the end of the fifth and the eleventh century, likely or not? This doubt was most conveniently settled by the examination of a parallel case. Fortunately what we are in want of in the case of mass-litanies, namely a set of texts that represent various periods extending over three or four centuries, we possess in the litanies of the Constantinopolitan baptismal office: in regard to these latter we can account for the time from the end of the eighth century to the twelfth. Investigation of these texts is the subject of another excursus; with a result that is certain; namely, that in the course of that period the baptismal litanies were undergoing a process of modification without losing, however, their original and native character and substance generally. We may then readily allow that, in the long period for which we have no evidence as to the text of the Constantinopolitan mass-litanies, the same sort of process of change was going on.

[2] All liturgists are familiar with Mgr Duchesne's theory according to which the attribution of liturgical documents (specifically the Sacramentary) to Gelasius I is a mere ninth-century school dogma; that is, a school-theory, an invention of the doctors and teachers of that age. (The English translation (1st ed.) has it that the Gelasian Sacramentary was 'a subject of teaching in the schools'.) But this is no more than an example, of which I find not a few in the very brilliant and instructive *Origines*, of Mgr Duchesne's insufficiency of detailed knowledge in more obscure or difficult matters, and, it may be added, his somewhat undue readiness in affirmation.

[3] This will appear, I think, from the following considerations:—

(*a*) Mgr Duchesne has already pointed out that the first suffrage and response of the *Stowe* litany (and the same is to be said of the simpler form in Alcuin's) are the same as those of the litany said at Constantinople between the Gospel and the Dismissal of Catechumens (Br. 373).

(*b*) The same response (ἐπάκουσον καὶ ἐλέησον—'exaudi et miserere') is used for

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(5) My next observation is cautionary; but it needs a rather tedious proem. In a dissertation printed nearly a dozen years ago (*Downside Review*, Dec. 1899, March 1900; and in a separate print) I pointed out that (so it seems to me) the litany response 'Kyrie eleison' was introduced into the European West first in Rome in the second half of the fifth century, and thence early in the sixth into Gaul, &c. I pointed out too how what is now the simple 'Kyrie eleison', &c., of the mass was, in the time of St Gregory the Great and at least on high days, merely the response to suffrages of the same type as those in the present Greek mass-litanies. Finally, adducing two parallel passages, one from the 'Gelasian' Sacramentary, the other from the Rule of St Benedict, I pointed out (*Kyrie eleison*, separate print, p. 21) how it would be 'unsafe' to conclude from St Gregory's famous letter to John of Syracuse that it was Gregory himself who at the end of the sixth century first introduced the Kyrie into the Roman mass. To all this I now add the following:—that in my opinion (as a dozen years ago, so too now) not only the simple 'Kyrie eleison', but suffrages also of the type of those in Greek mass-litanies, were in use in the Roman mass a century (more or less) before Gregory's time; and that when in his Rule St Benedict speaks of 'the *supplication* of the litany, *that is* "Kyrie eleison"', he has in mind just the same phenomenon, familiar to him in his boyhood days in Rome, as that *visé* by the writer of the rubric in the 'Gelasian' Sacramentary when he says:—'the "Kyrie eleison" *with* the litany'; and that both writers knew what they were speaking of.

the greater part of both Latin litanies (in *Stowe* 12 out of 16 suffrages; Alcuin 17 out of 21), although in the Greek litanies from which the suffrages themselves are derived the response may be only κύριε ἐλέησον.

(*c*) The concluding suffrages (13–15 of *Stowe*; 17–20 of Alcuin) both have the response of the Constantinopolitan litany after the Great Entrance: παράσχου κύριε; but in this form: 'Praesta, Domine, praesta.'

(*d*) Moreover, allowance being made for a slight inversion in disposition (suffrages 9 and 10 of Alc. = suffrage 10 of *Stowe*; 11 of Alc. = 9 of *St.*) where the subject-matter of the two litanies is common, both litanies present the same order and sequence in their suffrages. As to this see remark below on the Fulda text.

When these peculiarities are taken together, and it is further observed that (so far at least as my knowledge goes) they are found in combination in these two documents only, it seems clear that all this cannot be merely a matter of accident.

I have to add here that for the confrontation of the two Latin litanies with their Greek originals, and due comparison with each other, I have found it desirable to utilize for the constitution of the *Stowe* text G. Witzel's text of the same litany (taken by him from a now lost Fulda MS), and for Alcuin's to take account of some variant readings supplied by documents which (as stated above under (3)) I find or consider to have utilized it. In my opinion (and this was Dr M^c^Carthy's view) Witzel's (Fulda) text is more generally correct or genuine than that in the missal; indeed the presumption is that the lost Fulda MS would be older than our extant MS of the missal.

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This long proem is to lead up to a quite simple, but I hope useful, remark, viz. that whatever the 'possibilities' (*sensu largo et largissimo*) of the case, we have no ground for asserting that the suffrages of the Roman litany preserved by Alcuin were the suffrages said along with the 'Kyrie' of the mass in the time of St Gregory, or at any earlier period up to and including the pontificate of Gelasius. In a word, we *know* nothing on the subject; and in this connexion, as well as in not a few others, it is, in the present condition of liturgiological science, well to remember that if we are to seek above all for 'knowledge-knowledge', and may usefully aspire to well-grounded 'belief-knowledge', there is one thing which we shall do well to guard ourselves against to the utmost of our capacities—*per fas et nefas* it may be almost said—viz. 'make-believe-knowledge'.

(6) The paper in this JOURNAL (October 1905) entitled 'The Litany of the Saints in the Stowe Missal'[1] was really a piece of the general enquiry as to the early history of the Litany sketched in the present 'Comment' and in Observation IV on *Narsai*, a piece detached, as it were, from the outer fringe of the subject. What has now been said induces me to give answer, in brief form, to some of the questions asked in that article (pp. 131, 132), any suggestion as to which I said must be deferred 'until something has been done to clear up the obscurities of the earliest history in the Western Church of that form of prayer which we call a "litany"' (p. 132).

In my opinion the two litanies of Alcuin and *Stowe* date from the late years of the fifth century or the early years of the sixth, and, as said above, I see no reasonable ground for hesitating to credit Alcuin's title in so far as it attributes (or seems to attribute) the origin of the Roman document to the pontificate of Gelasius I; on the point of anteriority, if I must make a choice between the two documents, I should say that this 'Gelasian' document is the earlier of the two, and just as the 'Kyrie' spread from Rome to Gaul so too this 'Gelasian' litany—this 'Deprecatio Gelasii'—gave the hint, and the idea of the general framework, on which a Gallican imitator (who kept, however, both as regards selection and use of material, his own freedom and individuality) fashioned the *Stowe* 'Deprecatio S. Martini'; and probably the compilation of the two falls within a very few years, 10, 20, 30, of one another.

(7) Finally, in my opinion these two documents are—whether for

[1] On looking over it again I see that it is 'stiff reading'; thirty pages, with *inter alia* a full print of texts, would have been better than fifteen. Since it was written I have obtained an actual text of 'the Gallic, the Italian, and the Roman' litanies (see p. 133 of that number); and they form, be it said in passing, just the text for quite a pretty introduction giving the 'origins' of that form of high liturgical compliment commonly called the 'Laudes', but by some 'the litany of Hincmar'.

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mass or other service—the *beginning* in the European West of the 'litany', i.e. in the usual sense in which we employ the word for formulae like the litanies of the Greek liturgies, the litany of the Saints, Luther's litany, the litany in the Book of Common Prayer, &c. But this remark brings me up straight, and face to face with the 'prehistoric period' (see p. 404 above), and the κοιναὶ εὐχαί of Justin Martyr. The consideration of this subject must, however, be reserved for a later continuation of this Note.

EDMUND BISHOP.

'TRANSFORMARE' AND 'TRANSFORMATIO'.

DR FELTOE, in his recent 'Study of some Eucharistic Phrases in the West' (*J. T. S.* xi 575–579), cites the following words from a blessing in the *Ordinatio Presbyteri* of the so-called *Missale Francorum*, 'ut . . . [per obsequium plebis tuae] corpus et sanguinem Filii tui immaculata benedictione transformet' (Mur. ii 668 and Migne *S. L.* lxxii 323 A); and, comparing them with the 'ut . . . [in obsequium plebis tuae] panem et uinum in corpus et sanguinem Filii tui immaculata benedictione transforment' of the present Roman pontifical, gives it as his opinion that—except for words in each which I therefore enclose with square brackets—the two passages are substantially identical, and that there is 'no difficulty as to the meaning originally intended', the meaning, that is to say, of 'corpus et sanguinem transformare'. In other words, he equates the two phrases 'corpus et sanguinem transformare' and 'panem et uinum in corpus et sanguinem transformare'. I think that Dr Feltoe is mistaken, because, inasmuch as the Person of our Divine Lord is the subject-matter of *transformatio* in the earlier passage, while bread and wine are the subject-matter of *transformatio* in the later, I suspect that the verb *transformare* had not the same grammatical sense and was not intended to connote the same theological idea in the one phrase as in the other. I also think that he is in error in his interpretation of the words 'per obsequium plebis tuae'.

The document which contains the older and shorter of the two phrases, though known by the name of *Missale Francorum* is, as to its first half, a sacramentary and, as to its second, a missal; and there is good reason for believing (i) that, as now known to us, the former moiety is the resultant of numerous amplifications which, from time to time in the course of fully a hundred years, had accrued to a nucleus of Roman origins; (ii) that the literary history of this moiety resolves itself into three stages, the first Roman, the second Gallo-Roman, the third

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Frankish; and (iii) that the second of these is to be associated, as to place, with south-eastern Gaul, and, as to time, with the close of the fifth century; the third being referable to Aquitaine and to editors to whom the Latin language was not a classic. And it is because I believe the blessing which contains the words 'ut . . . per obsequium plebis tuae corpus et sanguinem Filii tui . . . transformet' to have been composed, if not before or during the first of these, yet early in the second, that I am anxious to learn whether or not, to the intellectual apprehension of those who introduced it, *transformare* was synonymous with such words as *conuertere* and *mutare*.

St Paul (Rom. v 14) says of the first Adam, ὅς ἐστι τύπος τοῦ μέλλοντος. Such comparatively modern translators as Tremellius and Junius render this by 'qui est *typus* illius qui erat uenturus', and Robert Etienne by 'qui *typum* gerit illius futuri'; but St Jerome renders τύπος by a word less likely to occur to most of us than *typus*, and says 'qui est *forma* futuri'. He also renders St Peter's ἀντίτυπον βάπτισμα by 'similis *formae* baptisma' (1 Pet. iii 21), where the modern translators represent the radical of ἀντίτυπον by *figura* and *exemplar*—'cuius *figurae* nunc respondens baptismus', 'cui rei nunc respondens *exemplar* baptismi'. Similarly: St Paul's καθὼς ἔχετε τύπον ἡμᾶς (Phil. iii 17) is in Jerome's phrase 'sicut habetis *formam* nostram', and his ὥστε γενέσθαι ὑμᾶς τύπον (1 Thess. i 7) 'ita ut facti estis *forma*', whereas in each instance the modern translators prefer *exemplum* or *exemplare*.

And if we consult St Jerome's subcontemporary Leo the Great, we find that he in his turn uses *forma*, and with the frequency of a commonplace, as the equivalent of τύπος in one or other of its two senses of precedent ideal and of exemplar to be copied. Thus, to cite but a few instances, he says in his twenty-fifth *Sermon*,[1] 'De magna factum est potestate ut Dei Filius . . . nostram naturam quam condidit reformaret', and, in his sixty-fourth,[2] 'ut cuius erat conditor esset etiam reformator'; where *reformaret* and *reformator* connote restoration to a τύπος or ideal. Again, in the twenty-fifth,[3] he says, 'Qui [*scil.* Christus] ideo se uiam dixit esse ut conuersatio magistri sit *forma* discipulis', 'that the life and converse of the Master be τύπος, model, exemplar, to His disciples'; and in the third[4] he expounds a well-known passage in the Psalms thus, 'Secundum ordinem Melchisedech in quo aeterni pontificis *forma* praecessit'. This last is singularly proper to my purpose; for, as will be seen presently, if a Frankish document of perhaps the seventh or eighth century called the priesthood of Melchisedech a *praefiguratio* of our Lord's, a presumably Gallo-Roman writer

[1] Migne *S. L.* liv 209 C. [2] *Ib.* 358 D. [3] *Ib.* 212 B.
[4] *Ib.* 145 A.

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of the fifth or sixth had called Melchisedech's oblation a *praeformatio* of the Eucharist.

Nor is it only in respect of the underlying *forma* of *transformet* in the 'ut . . . corpus et sanguinem transformet' of the *Missale Francorum* that St Jerome, as contrasted with modern translators of the New Testament, would seem to be of service to us. I think that his rendering of St. Paul's ταῦτα δὲ . . . μετεσχημάτισα εἰς ἐμαυτὸν καὶ Ἀπολλώ (1 Cor. iv 6) gives a clue to the scope and force of the other factor, *trans*. Tremellius and Junius express the complex idea of figure in σχῆμα and of transferred appropriation in μετά by '*figura* quadam *trans*tuli', and Robert. Etienne, with like felicity, by 'per *figuram trans*tuli'. Eleven centuries before the earliest of these, and perhaps within living memory of the composer of the blessing cited by Dr Feltoe, St Jerome had, with simple boldness, said '*trans*+*figuraui*', 'Haec autem . . . *transfiguraui* in me et Apollo'.

Hence it would seem to follow that in the philosophical idiom of churchmen whose literary ideals resembled those of St Jerome and St Leo[1] no verb by which to denote the idea of setting forth by means of an attributive, substitutive, or translatory τύπος could have been at once more apt and more intelligible than *transformare*.

As to the words 'per obsequium plebis tuae',[2] I think that, unlike the very different 'in obsequium plebis tuae' of the present Roman pontifical, they are necessary to a true understanding of the phrase in which they occur; and that, if we can but ascertain the meaning they were intended to connote, they will help us to surmise the bearing of the whole 'ut per obsequium plebis tuae corpus et sanguinem Filii tui immaculata benedictione transformet'. Whom, then, are we to understand by *plebs*? Surely not the laity, as Dr Feltoe seems to hint; nor, indeed, all the assistants at any one celebration, whether they be lay or clerical; but, rather, the whole Christian *familia*, the whole state of Christ's Church, though of course with special reference to the 'congregation here present' on any given occasion, as in a *Collectio* of the Bobbio Missal (Mur. ii 931; Migne lxxii 554 D)[3] which is so apposite to my meaning that I transcribe it in full: 'Deum ineffabilis potentiae, bonitatis immensae, fratres carissimi, deprecemur ut (i) sacerdotes [*scil.*

[1] In contrast to such, Faustus of Riez, a not much younger man than Leo, preaching to a community of monks employed the less recondite 'typum gerere'—'Unde et ille typum gerens diaboli Pharao premens populum Dei', &c., Migne *S. L.* lviii 878 D.

[2] In this paragraph I deal with a subject discussed by Mr Brightman in a communication to the JOURNAL of January 1911 (vol. xii p. 293). Let me therefore say that it, and indeed the whole of the present article, had been written some months previously. I leave it as it is.

[3] In succeeding references I shall drop 'Mur. ii' and 'Migne lxxii'.

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episcopos] (ii) clerum ac (iii) populum suum uisitet et tueatur: illuminet (i, ii, iii) totam plebem suam, et illa qua redemit pietate sua miseratione conseruet.' Nor do I think that there can be any doubt as to *obsequium*. I cannot find that in the old sacramentaries this word ever signifies, as Dr Feltoe suggests, the co-operation of *assistentes* with *celebrans*, important as is the unquestionable fact that the eucharistic sacrifice is theirs as well as his. The word is not of frequent occurrence; but since on the Feast of St Peter's Chair the *Gothicum* (565: 257 D) gives us 'Suscipe, Domine, inter angelicae uocis officium nostrae quoque seruitutis obsequium', thus equating *officium* and *obsequium*; since in their respective *Missae in Symboli Traditione* both the *Gothicum* and the *Gallicanum Vetus* (575 and 719: 263 D and 354 C, D) equate *famulatio* and *obsequium* — 'nostrae seruitutis famulatio . . . in hoc seruitutis nostrae obsequio'—and since in the Bobbio Missal we read of the awe-stricken *obsequium* of the angelic choir (936: 557 C), I infer that the abstract *obsequium* should be rendered in English by some such general word as 'homage'. In the present instance, however, the governing *per* seems to indicate a very important fact which it behoves us by no means to overlook, the fact, namely, that the *obsequium* indicated is the instrumental means whereby the priest is to effect the 'transformatio corporis et sanguinis Christi', and therefore that it is to be understood in a concrete sense and as the equivalent of 'munera supplicantis familiae', 'munus oblatum', 'nostrae humilitatis oblatio', and other like well-known formulae for denoting the elements of bread and wine; as the equivalent, that is to say, of the 'oblatio seruitutis nostrae sed et cunctae familiae tuae' of the Canon.[1] There would thus seem to be sufficient *prima facie*

[1] I cannot do better than cite the very words of the Canon and their context:—'Hanc igitur oblationem seruitutis nostrae sed et cunctae familiae tuae quaesumus Domine ut placatus accipias . . . Quam oblationem tu, Deus, in omnibus quaesumus benedictam, adscriptam, ratam, rationabilem acceptabilemque facere digneris, ut nobis Corpus et Sanguis fiat dilectissimi Filii tui,' &c. The celebrant is directed to say these words 'tenens manus expansas super oblata'. I equate the 'oblatio seruitutis cunctae familiae tuae' of the Canon with the 'obsequium plebis tuae' of the *Missale Francorum*. The readers of the JOURNAL have no need to be reminded that in the early Church the elements to be consecrated by the officiant had been selected from the offerings in kind made by the 'congregation here present'. The tradition is even now perpetuated in a modified form day after day in the Ambrosian rite, as also in the Roman rite for the consecration of a bishop, which directs the newly consecrated prelate to make an offering of two loaves of bread and two small barrels full of wine.

The dogmatic significance of this offering in kind cannot be better illustrated than by the following *Secretae* from the *Leonianum* (XVIII. xiiii, xvii) and the *Gregorianum* (*missae* for Third Monday in Lent and for Midnight at Christmas):—1. 'O. s. d., qui offerenda tuo nomini tribuis, et oblata deuotioni nostrae seruitutis

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ground for rendering 'ut per obsequium plebis tuae corpus et sanguinem Filii tui transformet' by 'that by means of Thy people's oblation of bread and wine he may symbolize the Body and Blood of Thy Son', where for the moment I render *transformet* by 'symbolize', but in the hope of being able to elaborate a somewhat more explicit definition.

There is nothing in the other items of the *Missale Francorum* that tells either for or against this rendering of the passage; but the so-called Reichenau Missal yields valuable evidence, for it contains (Neale and Forbes, p. 11) a prayer thus worded: 'Descendat, Domine, plenitudo maiestatis, diuinitatis, pietatis, uirtutis, benedictionis et gloriae tuae super hunc panem et super hunc calicem; et fiat nobis legitima eucharistia in transformatione corporis et sanguinis Domini, ut quicunque et quotiescunque ex hoc pane et hoc calice libauerimus,' &c., where, as by the interpretation I just now gave to *obsequium*, bread and wine are categorically stated to be the instrumental means by which is effected the *transformatio* of the Body and Blood of our Lord. Again, the *Richenouense* (*ib.* p. 17) seems to give us *forma* in the sense of τύπος when, telling us that God took compassion on fallen man, it describes Him as 'formae suae imaginis miserator', *forma* here standing to *imago* in the relation of an unseen τύπος to its visible εἶδος. The *Gallicanum Vetus* also is of service in this respect; for (740: 368 D) in its *Benedictio Fontis*, a constituent which we may therefore assume to be one of its earliest, we find the phrase 'formare creareque iussisti', where *formare* seems to notify the abstract design of the Divine artificer and *creare* the concrete exhibition of that design in the creative act.

Turning to the *Missale Gothicum* we get fresh help. The only known edition of this document cannot, it is true, be much older than the eighth century, for it commemorates the martyrdom of St Leger, who suffered in the last quarter of the seventh; but we must not there-

adscribis, quaesumus clementiam tuam ut quod praestas unde sit meritum proficere nobis largiaris ad premium. per.' 2. 'Altaribus tuis, Domine, munera nostrae seruitutis inferimus, quae placatus accipiens, et acceptum tibi nostrum quaesumus famulatum et sacramentum nostrae redemptionis efficias. per.' 3. 'Munus quod tibi, Domine, nostrae seruitutis offerimus, tu salutare nobis perfice sacramentum. per.' 4. 'Accepta tibi sit, Domine, quaesumus, hodiernae festiuitatis oblatio, ut, tua gratia largiente, per haec sacrosancta commercia in illius inueniamur forma in quo tecum est nostra substantia: qui tecum.' The '*per* haec sacrosancta commercia' of this last illustrates and, I think, justifies my interpretation of '*per* obsequium plebis tuae'; while the first and second citations prove that in the Roman Church of the fifth century it was no mere theological 'fiction' but an explicitly taught dogma that the Church's oblation of the elements was part of a divinely instituted transaction between her and the Creator. Without bread and wine there could be no eucharist; but these were bread and wine which had first been offered by her in obedience to God's command.

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fore assume that it does not embody a nucleus, or ultimate original, of greater antiquity. The distinction is carefully borne in mind by Tommasi, who, after mentioning the Mass in honour of St Leger, goes back in thought to a remoter period than St Leger's martyrdom when he says 'descriptum tamen censeo ex uetustioribus exemplaribus', and then to another and yet earlier time when he adds 'Si de libri auctore inquiratur, nihil plane compertum: uerum, si locus coniecturae daretur, diuinaretur aliquis qui eius conditorem diceret esse Musaeum presbyterum Massiliae . . . mortuum . . . circa annum 460?' This guess of Tommasi's must not be made the basis of an argument, for it has not, so far as I am aware, been verified; but, should it ever prove to have been happily inspired, scholars will be able to say with some confidence that the nucleus of the *Missale Gothicum* was in close touch, as regards both date and provenance, with that edition of the *Missale Francorum* to which is referable the phrase 'ut corpus et sanguinem Filii tui transformet'. Meanwhile, and as at present known to us, the *Gothicum* supports my interpretation of the phrase; for (i) it attests the meaning of *forma* on which my interpretation is based; (ii) it gives us *praeformare* in the sense of *praefigurare* and (iii) it gives us a *transformatio*, which, like that of the *Missale Francorum* and the *Missale Richenouense*, has the Body and Blood of Christ, not bread and wine, for its subject-matter. And it is especially valuable from the fact that (iv) whereas it more than once asserts a change of which bread and wine are the subject-matter, that change, whatever be the precise philosophical definition of it, is notified by such words as *mutare*, *uertere*, *conuertere*, and even, it may be, by *transferre*, but never by *transformare*. I also think that (v) it contains a passage which gives us a morally certain clue to the precise scope of the factor *trans* in *transformet*.

1. In a *missa dominicalis* (652 : 314 C) of pure diction, and presumably early date, we find 'Qui [*scil.* Christus] formam sacrificii perennis instituens hostiam se tibi primum obtulit et primus docuit offerri', where it is evident that *forma* is to be equated, as by Jerome and Leo the Great, with τύπος in the sense of archetype, model, or exemplar.

2. In the *Post Nomina* of a Mass in honour of SS Ferreolus and Ferrucio (618 : 293 B) we find 'Oremus dominicam miserationem ut . . . sacrificium hoc nostrum, sicut in praeformationem [*lege fortassis* praeformatione] Melchisedec, in uirtute sanctificet'; where the *praeformatio* of the Melchisedechean type is contrasted with the *uirtus* of the Christian antitype, and where *praeformatio* connotes the same idea as St Leo's 'forma praecedens' when he says 'Melchisedech in quo aeterni pontificis forma praecessit'; where, therefore, the underlying *forma*, so far from having anything whatever to do with

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'substance' or 'accidents', as used in the vocabulary of the scholastics, has an entirely different meaning from that of either term and is to be understood, as in the preceding instance, as the equivalent of τύπος; so that *praeformare* would mean 'to set forth, or symbolize, by means of a prophetic or anticipatory type or emblem'.

3. On the Feast of the Circumcision (534: 237B) we have, in the *Post Secreta*, 'Suppliciter oramus uti hoc sacrificium [*scil.* oblationem] suscipere et benedicere et sanctificare digneris ut fiat nobis eucharistia legitima . . . in transformationem corporis et sanguinis' &c., and in the *Post Mysterium* for that of St Peter's Chair (565: 257 D), 'Sacrosancta munera . . . offerimus obsecrantes ut immiscere [*lege* immittere] digneris Spiritum tuum Sanctum super haec solemnia ut fiat nobis legitima eucharistia . . . in transformatione corporis et sanguinis' &c.; where, in the first of these passages, both idiom and construction advise us to render 'in transformationem' &c. by 'so as to symbolize' &c., and, in the second, to render 'in transformatione' &c. by 'thereby symbolizing' &c.

4. I find that *mutare* and *conuertere* denote in the *Gothicum* either a conversion of one thing into another, or else a change of purpose; as on the Feast of the Epiphany (542: 242 B and C) and in the last *missa dominicalis* (656: 317 A),—'ut in sanguinem suum oblationum nostrarum uina conuertat', 'ut oblationes et uota conuertere dignetur in sacrificium diuinum', 'panem mutatum in carne, poculum uersum in sanguine': nay, on the Feast of the Assumption, *transferre* is used in a like sense and in a passage (548: 246 C) cited by Dr Feltoe, 'translata fruge in corpore, calice in cruore'. But, so far from seeing in these passages anything that may fitly be compared with its use of *transformare*, I see a diametrical contrast. Whatever be the precise theological definition of the change designated by these words, bread and wine are the subject-matter of that change; and I never find them used to denote the concomitant, but distinct idea, an idea, however, which is absolutely necessary to a right apprehension of the eucharist as a sacrament; the idea, that is to say, that representative symbols cognizable by sense are the divinely ordained pledge of unseen realities. This the *Gothicum* denotes by *transformare* and *transformatio*. I hope I have made my meaning clear. The *Missale Gothicum* uses *mutare*, *conuertere*, *transferre* (i) in the sense of 'to change, convert or transmute', and (ii) with bread and wine, but (iii) not the Body and Blood of the Redeemer for their subject-matter. On the other hand, it uses *transformare* in the sense of 'to represent by means of an appropriated or attributive symbol', and (ii) with the Body and Blood of Christ for its subject-matter, (iii) not bread and wine.

5. The elements offered by Melchisedech were a prophetic or

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anticipatory type of like elements, the bread and the wine which were to be blest at the first Eucharist: they were thus a *forma praecedens* of these as, in the words of St Leo, Melchisedech himself was a *forma praecedens* of Christ. When, therefore, the author of the *Post Nomina* in the Gothicum Mass for SS Ferréol and Ferrucion styled them a *praeformatio* of the first Eucharist he employed a phrase which is in strict accordance with the philosophical terminology of St Leo. On the hypothesis, then, that a writer of the same literary school as St Leo or the author of the *Post Nomina* should have desired to express the dual idea that it is the function of the Church of Christ 'until His coming again' to employ bread and wine as symbols (i) not of other bread and wine but of verities unlike themselves, and to employ them (ii) neither as retrospective nor as prospective symbols, but representatively, there can be no doubt, if analogy may guide us, that the word whereby to express this dual idea of an (i) attributive and (ii) representative symbolization would have been the word *transformatio*, the very word employed, and employed with eucharistic reference, in the *Missale Francorum* and in two Masses of the *Missale Gothicum*.

On review, therefore, of the evidence thus far adduced, it would seem that in the philosophical vocabulary of St Leo and of the Gallo-Roman theologians of, at least, the latter half of the fifth century the sense of *transformatio* was not change, conversion, transmutation, and the like; but attributive representation, as of abstract by concrete, of unseen by visible, and, in the case of the Eucharist, of an intrinsic spiritual grace by an extrinsic material symbol; and therefore that the Roman pontifical, in replacing 'ut . . . corpus et sanguinem Filii tui . . . transformet' by 'ut panem et uinum in corpus et sanguinem Filii tui . . . transformet', so far from doing a thing 'not detrimental to the proper meaning', the meaning, that is to say, of 'the original form of the phrase', extinguished it and replaced it by another.

In good truth, it would seem as if the same sort of fate had befallen *forma* as has befallen many other words; the sense slipping from that of τύπος = an abstract ideal, to that of τύπος = a concrete exemplar; thence to that of semblance, until, no specific meaning given to it, a compound word like *transformatio*, so far from being used, even by theologians, to denote a translative or attributive symbolization, was regarded as a mere synonym for *conuersio* or *mutatio*.[1]

[1] It would be interesting to know (1) when and (2) where this remarkable substitution first found its way into a pontifical, and (3) when it was first adopted at Rome. Dr Marco Magistretti, in his *Pontificale in usum Ecclesiae Mediolanensis*, tells us that it is to be found in a Maintz pontifical of the ninth or tenth century preserved at Milan. To both theologians and historians it is a long cry from south-eastern Gaul at the close of the fifth century to Maintz at the close of the ninth.

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And, indeed, in the case of Gallican missals or pontificals the change not improbably began at a comparatively early date. We can scarcely suppose that a Burgundian, a Frank, or a Visigoth would be likely to form an accurate conception of an abstract idea and, having formed it, to embody it with precision in a language that was not his own. Nay; we may fairly doubt whether in the latter half of the sixth century, in the seventh, or in the eighth, men who, though of Gallo-Roman descent, no longer thought in Latin would be likely to respect and perpetuate a metaphysical formula such as I believe *transformatio* to have been. My meaning may be illustrated from the *Gothicum* itself which (563: 255 D) styles the conversion of St Paul a *mutatio* and extols his 'flagrantia praecepta'; which, in a panegyric of St Saturninus of Toulouse (556: 251 D), instead of inviting us 'insignem martyrem debito honore excolere', bids us 'conclamantissimum testem suscipere'; which, improving on some such phrase as 'expleuit episcopatum', tells us that he 'cathedram consummauit', and which with cruel erudition calls angels 'nuncii' (578: 265 D) in the first constituent of its Maundy Thursday *missa*. This very constituent is specially apposite to my present argument, inasmuch as the writer of it would seem to have gone to the trouble of analysing the word *transformatio*; for he informs us that those who 'offer immaculate hosts on sacred altars' on the anniversary of the *Coena Domini* 'celebrate the *effigies* in sacrificio spiritali *transfusa*' of the 'dominica immolatio'. What definite idea, if any, this 'effigies transfusa' was to formulate the context does not enable us to say; but the formula itself would certainly seem to have been suggested by an analysis of *transformatio*.

If from the *Missale Gothicum* we turn to the *Missale Gallicanum Vetus*, we perceive that here, possibly as a consequence of change from one place to another, possibly from lapse of time, possibly from impaired literary tradition, and not improbably from more than one of these causes, *forma* is not the sole term used as the equivalent of τύπος, but that the word has a rival in *figura*. I have already observed that in presumably one of the earlier items of the *Gallicanum Vetus*, its *Benedictio fontis* (740: 368 D), we find the phrase 'formare creareque', where, in at least the order of human thought, *formare* would seem to denote that design of the Divine Artificer which we conceive to have preceded the act notified by *creare*; *formare* thus being the precursor of *creare*, and bearing to it the relation of type to antitype: but, on the other hand, we encounter on Good Friday (727: 360 B), as if in a parenthesis or inserted gloss, the phrase 'quodammodo figuralis tangentes hostiae caput', and on the following day (730: 362 B) 'agnus figuratus diu'. In like manner: its *Expositio Symboli*, presumably a very ancient composition but possibly an imported item, gives us

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what I venture to call the classical use of *forma* in the sentence 'Quicquid . . . praeformatum est in patriarchis . . . quicquid praedicatum est in prophetis' &c.; and yet in its one surviving, but acephalous, Mass for Maundy Thursday (723: 357 B) it styles the Melchisedechean offering[1] not, as does the *Gothicum*, a *praeformatio* but a *praefiguratio*. It may, indeed, be urged, as a way of accounting for this divergence, that *praefiguratio* was chosen in order to avoid tautology, for *transformare* occurs in the next sentence. Be it so. But here is the word; and its very presence proves that to the author—or, if not the author, the editor—of the constituent *praeformatio* was not the sole word, nor even, it may be, the most readily occurring word, by which to notify what St Leo would have styled a *forma praecedens*. Nor is this all. The contextual *transformare* which I just now mentioned has not the Body and Blood of our Redeemer for its subject-matter, as on its one and only occurrence in the *Missale Francorum* (668: 323 A), as on its one and only occurrence in the *Richenouense* (Neale and Forbes, p. 11), and as on its two and only occurrences in the *Gothicum* (534 and 565: 237 B and 257 D); but, on the contrary, the elements of bread and wine. This change of subject-matter connotes for *transformare* as used in the *Gallicanum Vetus* a distinctly different sense from that of 'to represent by an attributive symbol'; but, even so, I cannot persuade myself that we are to see in it a logical precursor, an adumbration, an anticipation of the Tridentine definition of the mode of the Real Presence; still less, in Dr Feltoe's words 'the nearest approximation to the doctrine of Transubstantiation at present to be found expressed in the chief Roman service books'.

I cite the passage in full; observing only that, although Dr Feltoe does not, like Mabillon, turn *in sacramento* into *in sacramentum* he treats as unnecessary to the general sense the clause 'quae Melchisedech . . . obtulerat', words which Mabillon encloses within brackets. I remove Mabillon's brackets and neglect his *in sacramentum*, thus giving the passage as we find it in Muratori[1]:—

[1] The *Qui pridie* clause of the Canon which immediately follows this *Hanc igitur* represents our Lord as standing at the sacrificial act of eucharistic oblation:—'Qui pridie quam pro omnium salute pateretur hodierna die *stans* in medio discipulorum suorum accepit panem.' This would seem to be better than the view seemingly implied, if not categorically expressed, by St Thomas Aquinas in the immortal

'In supremae nocte coenae
Recumbens cum fratribus', &c.

It certainly emphasizes the idea which pervades all these Gallican commemorations of the institution of the Holy Eucharist, that our Lord made an oblation of the elements before He said to the disciples 'Accipite et manducate', &c.

[2] Muratori's text, however, gives us '*quo* Melchisedech' for '*quae* Melchisedech'. But this must be a printer's blunder.

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'Hanc igitur oblationem quam tibi offerimus ob diem ieiunii coenae dominicae in qua Dominus noster Iesus Christus Filius tuus in nouo testamento sacrificandi ritum instituit dum panem ac uinum quae Melchisedech in praefiguratione futuri mysterii sacerdos obtulerat in sacramento sui corporis et sanguinis transformauit quaesumus Domine ut placatus accipias diesque nostros.'

Treating the clause 'quae Melchisedech in praefiguratione futuri mysterii sacerdos obtulerat', not as a needless parenthesis, but as an intrinsic part of the whole *Hanc igitur*; assuming that *trans+formare* when used, as here is the case, of *formae* or τύποι denotes with philosophical accuracy the conversion of one sort of type into another, but declining, *pace* Mabillon, to regard *in sacramento* as a corrupt substitute for *in sacramentum*—a procedure which, after all, would give us anything but transubstantiation—we have a meaning which is convincingly luminous, simple and consistent:—'We therefore pray Thee, O Lord, that Thou wouldest be pleased to accept this oblation which we offer to Thee on the fast of the Supper of the Lord, the day wherein our Lord Jesus Christ Thy Son instituted the rite of sacrifice under the new covenant; for then it was that in the sacrament of His Body and Blood He gave a new symbolism to bread and wine which Melchisedech had as priest offered in prophetic figure of the mystery that was to be.'

Thus, though the *transformare* in this passage of the *Gallicanum Vetus* differs from the *transformare* of the *Missale Francorum*, the *Reichenau Missal* and the *Missale Gothicum* in having bread and wine, not the Body and Blood of our Lord, for its subject-matter, the two significations, though distinct, are akin and collateral, since in this document, as in those, the reference is to symbols, not to substances; the *Gallican Vetus* no more predicating in its employment of *transformare* a conversion of bread and wine into the Body and Blood of the Redeemer than do the other books predicate a conversion of these into bread and wine.

But, as has already been intimated, the very fact that the *transformare* of the *Gallicanum Vetus* thus differs from that of the *Missale Francorum*, the *Richenouense* and the *Gothicum*, and the further fact that in it *figura* appears as a rival to *forma*, may fairly lead us to suspect that the philosophical sense of *forma* known to St Jerome and St Leo was not always and everywhere preserved in its integrity. Indeed, when we turn to the Bobbio Missal we find reason to believe that there were parts of Western Christendom to whose vocabulary it was not indigenous.

Carefully excepting the Mass in honour of St Martin, we find on perusal of the Bobbio book, that, if the document is not of another age than the *Missale Francorum*, the *Gothicum*, and even the *Gallicanum*

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Vetus, it represents another school of philosophical terminology than does any of these; for neither are derivatives of the abstract *forma* nor the abstract *forma* itself to be found in it. The Mass in honour of St Martin does indeed use *forma* in the sense of 'norm' or 'pattern'—'sic egit suscepti pontificatus officium ut per formam probabilis uitae obseruantium exegerit disciplinae' (892: 529 C); but here, as often happens, 'exceptio probat regulam'; for the Preface in which this 'forma probabilis uitae' occurs is a constituent of the *Gothicum Missa sancti Martini Episcopi*, and this must certainly be deemed the earlier of the two Masses, since in prayers peculiar to itself it commemorates (644, 645: 309 C, D) the 'patris nostri Martini episcopi hodie depositio' and styles the feast a *celeberrimus dies*, and must therefore be attributed to St Martin's own spiritual children at Ligugé.

Apart, then, from this one constituent of this one Mass, I find that the Bobbio book recognizes neither the abstract *forma* nor its derivatives. Thus, although the normal *missa* with which it begins comprises the Roman Canon, and is indeed rubricated *Missa Romensis Cottidiana* (777 and 776: 453 B and 451 A), the prooemium to the Lord's Prayer differs conspicuously from the Roman; for, instead of 'Praeceptis salutaribus moniti et diuina institutione formati audemus dicere', it is worded 'Diuino magisterio edocti et diuina institutione audemus dicere' (779: 455 B), a construction which dispenses with *formati* as if this were an unfamiliar idiom. We saw just now that in the *Gallicanum Vetus* the word *formare* bears to *creare* the relation that an artist's abstract ideal bears to his concrete handiwork, but in Bobbio the nearest approach to this is the relation of *figurare* to *facere*,—'Cur non credis eum in utero uirginis hominem figurasse quem credis hominem fecisse de terra?' (831: 489 C): and when we do find *forma* we perceive that it denotes not the abstract or unseen ideal, but the concrete or visible copy; for, whereas the *Gothicum* has 'formae tuae imago', Bobbio expresses the same idea by the precisely converse 'imaginis tuae forma',—'Tu . . . Deus . . . imaginis ac similitudinis tuae formam in nobis magis magisque restaura' (791: 463 A). Again, Bobbio does not, after the idiom of the *Gothicum* (619: 293 B), describe the patriarch Joseph as one who *praeformauit* the Redeemer or even, like the *Gallicanum Vetus* (723: 357 B), as one who *praefigurauit* Him, but (824: 484 B) as His *typum portans*. Nay, it styles the paschal lamb of the Mosaic institution not only a *figura* but an *imago* of the Lamb of God (959: 572 C), an idiom which I should imagine to have been impossible to the compilers of the other sacramentaries,—'Domine Deus . . . qui populo tuo . . . praecipere dignatus es . . . agnum immaculatum imaginari, quem in figura . . . Domini nostri . . . immolaret', &c.

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In short, whereas in the *Gothicum* an Old Testament type is a *praeformatio* and in the *Gallicanum Vetus* either a *praeformatio* or a *praefiguratio*, Bobbio, knowing nothing of either *prae* or *forma*, employs the words *figura* and *imago*: whereas in the idiom of St Jerome, of St Leo, of the *Richenouense* and of the *Gothicum*, *forma* denotes sometimes the abstract as contrasted with the concrete and sometimes a type as contrasted with an antitype, there is no trace of either idiom in the Bobbio book: whereas in the *Gothicum* and the *Gallicanum Vetus forma* is used as of a model for imitation, the one constituent in the Bobbio book which thus exhibits it is an imported Preface. It cannot, therefore, surprise us to find that the Bobbio compilers, so far from using *transformatio*, like the *Missale Francorum*, for the symbolizing of the abstract by the concrete and the representing of the unseen by a visible, or, like the *Gallicanum Vetus*, for the substitution of a new antitype in place of an old, make no use whatever of it. I doubt if it can have had a place in their vocabulary.

For the only remaining instance of *transformatio* in this group of Sacramentaries we must return to the *Gothicum* (637: 305 A). The item in which that instance occurs is the Mass in honour of St Leger, who suffered in the year 678; it is therefore presumably, though not certainly, of later date than the other proper *missae*. But even here, notwithstanding the extreme unlikelihood that at the end of the seventh century and in a district more Gothic than Roman, as Languedoc then was, a term of such delicacy as St Leo's metaphysical *forma* should have retained its proper clearness of philosophical definition, *transformatio* cannot reasonably be regarded as of the same category with 'mutare panem in carnem' and 'conuertere poculum in sanguinem', for the constituent in which it occurs contains nothing that obliges, or even invites, us to infer that it connotes, as Muratori would have us believe, a '*substantialis mutatio et conuersio*' of bread and wine into the Body and Blood of the Redeemer. That the writer assumed some sort of change we need not doubt, but he does not categorically assert it; nor was it congruous that he should make implicit reference to it; for he is evidently contemplating the consecrated elements, not as visible figures of a present, if unseen, reality, but as, what they no less certainly are, the fulfilment of a past type and the pledge of a future blessing.—'Haec facimus, Domine, passionem tuam commorans [*lege* "commemorantes"]. Haec facimus Pater [*lege fortassis* "per te"] Iesu Christe, qui nobis de lege ueteri nouam tradidisti. Concede nobis . . . ut descendat hic benedictio tua super hunc panem et calicem in transformatione Spiritus tui Sancti, uti haec benedicendo benedicas, sanctificando sanctifices; ut quicunque ex utraque benedictione sumpserimus aeternitatis praemium et uitam consequi mereamur aeternam. Per.'

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Here bread and wine are the subject-matter of the *benedictio tua*; but, though the ultimate object of the Holy Spirit's action is clearly stated, we must conjecture as best as we can, for we are not told, what is the precise sense that we are to give to *transformatio*. I think, however, that this may be apprehended by a careful study of the *Post Secreta* as a whole. The style in which this is written is perhaps more pregnant than lucid; but the most obvious interpretation would seem to be the right one:—'This, O Lord, we do in commemoration of Thy passion. This we do, O Jesus Christ, for Thy sake who out of the old law didst for us evolve and to us hand on the new. Grant to us that . . . Thy blessing may come down upon this bread and cup *in transformatione Spiritus tui Sancti*, that blessing Thou mayest bless [this bread], sanctifying sanctify [this cup], that so whosoever of us shall partake of each blest element ["ex utraque benedictione" being abstract for concrete] may be counted worthy to attain the reward of eternity and the life everlasting. Through.' If this be the true general sense, then the most obvious way of dealing with 'in transformatione Spiritus tui Sancti' is either to collate it with, and explain it of, the *de lege ueteri nouae traditio legis* of the first part of the paragraph or to interpret it by the 'ut quicunque . . . aeternam' of the sequel; unless, indeed, we adopt both methods; and the fact that by the meaning which I give to *transformatio* both are permissible, while each has the support of parallel places in *Gothicum* and *Gallicanum Vetus*, convinces me that that is the meaning intended:—'This we do . . . for Thy sake who out of the old law didst for us evolve and to us hand on the new. Grant to us that . . . Thy blessing may come down upon this bread and cup in Thy Holy Spirit's replacement of type and promise by antitype and fulfilment, that blessing Thou mayest bless this bread, sanctifying sanctify this cup, that thus so many of us as shall partake of each blest element may be deemed worthy to attain the reward of eternity and everlasting life.' The passages which bid us understand by the Holy Spirit's *transformatio* the replacement of type by antitype need not be cited again, for they are fresh in the memory of the reader. The following, from the *Gothicum* in its *Missa in Symboli Traditione* (577: 265 B), justifies us in further explaining it of the replacement of promise by fulfilment:—'Sic nobis [Deus] cibum praebendum [*lege fortassis* "cibum praebuit sumendum"] uel poculum ut quicquid praefigurauit in mysteriis reddat in praemiis'; for if the mysteries are a *praefiguratio* or *praeformatio*—the words, as we have seen, are synonymous—the corresponding reward is, *ui terminorum*, a *transfiguratio* or *transformatio*.

There is a similar prayer in the third Sunday Mass (651: 313 D),—'Te, Pater omnipotens, deprecamur et supraposita altario tuo munera

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laetus aspicias, atque haec omnia obumbres [*lege* obumbret] sancti Filii tui Spiritus, ut quod ex hac tua benedictione acceperimus aeternitatis gloria consequamur', where, though the Holy Spirit is mentioned in close connexion with the *munera supraposita altario*, no mention is made of the *res sacramenti*, and our thoughts are carried off from the 'he that eateth Me' to dwell on the 'he shall live by Me'. In like manner, but still more forcibly, the *Post Secreta* of the fifth Sunday Mass (654: 315 D) says 'Offerimus tibi . . . hunc panem sanctum et calicem salutarem, obsecrantes ut infundere digneris Spiritum tuum Sanctum edentibus nobis uitam aeternam regnumque perpetuum conlatura potantibus'.

It is not in contravention of Dr Feltoe's main thesis that I submit these considerations to his judgement and to that of other theologians, but rather the contrary. I do not pretend to suggest, for I certainly do not think, that he is mistaken in suspecting that the tendency to use strong and definite words on the subject of the Real Presence is first seen in Gallican, as contrasted with Roman, sources; but that *transformatio* is not one of them; my contention being (i) that the tradition of its employment with a eucharistic reference is Roman, not Gallican; (ii) that when thus employed it has a distinctly different sense from that of *conuersio* and *mutatio*, and (iii) that it is to be regarded as a metaphysical formula connoting either the exhibition of unseen verities by attributive τύποι in analogy with St Jerome's *transfiguraui* for μετεσχημάτισα, or else the replacement of one τύπος or set of τύποι by another, the second factor of the word having always a sense strictly akin to that of *forma* in St Jerome's *forma futuri* for τύπος τοῦ μέλλοντος and of St Leo's *forma* when he styles the priesthood of Melchisedech a *forma praecedens* of the everlasting priesthood of our Lord and Saviour.

MARTIN RULE.

THE LAMBETH ARTICLES. II.

The original propositions, as they stand in *Articuli Lambethani*, read thus:—

(1) Deus ab aeterno praedestinavit quosdam ad vitam, et quosdam ad mortem reprobavit.

(2) Caussa efficiens Praedestinationis non est praevisio fidei aut perseverantiae aut bonorum operum aut ullius rei quae insit personis praedestinatis, sed sola et absoluta et simplex voluntas Dei.

(3) Praedestinatorum praefinitus et certus est numerus, qui nec augeri nec minui potest.

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(4) Qui non sunt praedestinati ad salutem, necessario propter peccata condemnabuntur.

(5) Vera, viva et iustificans fides et Spiritus Dei sanctificans non exstinguitur, non excidit, non evanescit, in iis qui semel eius participes fuerunt, aut totaliter aut finaliter.

(6) Homo vere fidelis, id est, fide iustificante praeditus, certus est, certitudine fidei, de remissione peccatorum suorum et salute sempiterna sua per Christum.

(7) Gratia sufficiens ad salutem non tribuitur, non communicatur, non conceditur universis hominibus, qua servari possint, si velint.

(8) Nemo potest venire ad Christum nisi datum ei fuerit, et nisi Pater eum traxerit, et omnes homines non trahuntur a Patre ut veniant ad Filium.

(9) Non est positum in arbitrio aut potestate uniuscuiusque hominis servari.[1]

The *Lambethani* left (1) as it stood. Hutton, Andrewes, Baro, and F. G., all allow that the article is correct, though the three latter find it incomplete. F. G. says, 'Si per primum *quosdam* intelligantur *credentes*, per secundum *quosdam*, *increduli*, lis hic non intenditur'. Baro, more cautious, would by the second *quosdam* have us understand *incredulos, atque in peccatis contumaces ad mortem.* These cautions are really uncalled for. The prevalent lay opinion of to-day probably is that predestination is a vain invention of the theological mind. In the sixteenth century predestinarianism was universally accepted. The question was not whether or no some were predestinated to life and the others reprobated to death, but why some were reprobated. So staunch an opponent of Calvinism as Andrewes can express his full belief in predestination and reprobation. Accordingly he writes on this article:

[1] If these propositions are thus rightly set down, and if Strype's version of the amended articles is correct (taken from a MS in the Burghley collection, which seems to be the MS presented to Lord Burghley by Whitaker on his departure from Lambeth), F. G. must have overlooked or disregarded several verbal changes made by the *Lambethani.* In (2) Strype reads 'insit in personis' for 'insit personis'; in (3) 'numerus est' for 'est numerus'; in (4) 'propter peccata sua damnabuntur' for 'propter peccata condemnabuntur'; in (5) 'viva, iustificans' for 'viva et iustificans', 'extinguitur' for 'exstinguitur', and 'aut finaliter aut totaliter' for 'aut totaliter aut finaliter'; and in (7) 'si voluerint' for 'si velint'. For our knowledge of certain other most important changes made we are indebted wholly to F. G., to whom also, I believe, we are indebted for Andrewes's comment on the articles. I imagine that neither Andrewes nor Baro was aware of what the original propositions had been; and if so, they must have been somewhat hampered in their endeavour to understand the amended articles. F. G. was better equipped. I am not as yet prepared to argue the question whether he gives us an incorrect copy of the original propositions, or passes over some changes made by the *Lambethani.*

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'Esse apud Deum in aeterna illa sua sive praescientia dicere libeat sive scientia, qua videt quae non sunt tanquam ea quae sunt, praedestinatos quosdam, quosdam reprobos, extra controversiam esse arbitror. Scripturae verba sunt, πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου, id est, ab aeterno, scilicet, elegisse Deum nos; et cum elegisset, praedestinasse. Quos vero non elegit et eligendo approbavit (ut electionis natura est[1]) reprobasse.' He adds that the causes of predestination and reprobation are different, and, unless this is granted, he would have added to the article, 'aliter praedestinatos illos, nempe per Christum, aliter hos reprobos, nempe propter peccatum'.[2] But since the second article speaks of the cause of predestination to life, this was not the place to add the causes. The article, perhaps, has offended many in that it allows at all of reprobation from eternity. It did not for that offend Andrewes. The Book of Articles, it is true, does not mention reprobation; though, of course, as Andrewes would have acknowledged, it virtually confesses reprobation from eternity in article XVII. The Lambeth Articles were intended by the archbishop for esoteric use by the Vice-Chancellor and the Heads of Houses of the University of Cambridge, as he explicitly told them.[3] The position was really this. They asked for his sanction to check any one who should contradict the doctrine of reprobation altogether. He could not refuse that request without seeming to contradict the XVIIth of the XXXIX Articles. The fact is, then, that as regards the fundamental question in dispute between the 'Calvinists' and their opponents, whether reprobation is or is not irrespective, this article determines neither way; and we have yet to see whether that question is anywhere determined in the series.

I cannot but think that the second proposition was so written that it might be drawn to speak of the cause as well of reprobation as of predestination to life.[4] As to what is the cause of reprobation the Cambridge authorities and Whitgift were not agreed, and the former may have wished to attain their end by a side wind. If so they were disappointed. The *Lambethani* amended their proposition, making it read: 'Caussa movens aut efficiens praedestinationis ad vitam non est praevisio fidei, . . . sed sola voluntas beneplaciti Dei.' The article is thus definitely made to deal only with the causes of predestination to life.

F. G. finds the negative part of the article at any rate correct. It is

[1] Endorsing Calvin *Instt.* iii 23 § 1: 'Multi quidem ac si invidiam a Deo repellere vellent, electionem ita fatentur ut negent quenquam reprobari; sed inscite nimis et pueriliter, quando ipsa electio nisi reprobationi opposita non staret.'

[2] Contradicting Calvin: 'Neque alia de causa nisi quod ab haereditate quam filiis suis praedestinat, illos vult excludere.'

[3] ii 282.

[4] Foxe *Acts and Mon.* fol. 1505: 'Predestination is as well to the Reprobate as to the Elect, Election pertaineth only to them that be saved.'

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in accordance with Augustine, 'Praedestinationis causa quaeritur et non invenitur'. Baro, too, is content. Nor does Andrewes contradict it, though he writes a gloss, 'Verissimum Dei per prophetam verbum est, *Tantummodo in me auxilium tuum*, id est, nec a quoquam auxilium nisi a me, nec a me quicquam nisi auxilium: verissimum et apostoli, *Quis discernit?* id est, a Deo solo habere nos quo a reliquis discernimur'. His writing 'nec a me quicquam nisi auxilium' is uncalled for, the article not saying anything of the cause of reprobation. There is nothing 'Calvinistic' in the doctrine that the moving or efficient cause of predestination to life is 'sola voluntas beneplaciti Dei'.

Here, if anywhere, was the proper place to set down the cause of reprobation. But the archbishop had already expressed to the Vice-Chancellor and the Heads of Houses his opinion on that point, and he is not invited by them to do it again. In the circumstances the silence of the articles on this point is a surrender on the part of the Heads of Houses to the archbishop's opinion. There is nothing in the article to hinder the reassertion of Barrett's sixth position. The suggestion it makes, that there are various causes of predestination to life, is distinctly non-Calvinistic.

On (3) F. G. comments: 'Verissimus est si de praescientia Dei intelligatur quae nunquam fallitur. Non enim plures vel pauciores servantur quam Deus praesciverit.' The number is certain because it is foreknown, not foreknown because it was first ordained who should be saved, who not, irrespective of what particular men might prove to be. Andrewes and Baro would have 'Deo' interpolated after the phrase 'praefinitus et certus'; but the framers cannot have intended to say that the number was known to any one but God, and the interpolation would leave the article where it stood. No doubt the first framers meant that God's eternal irrespective choice of some and rejection of others necessitated each man's fate. To forbid this interpretation what is wanted is an explanation of 'nec potest'. A very similar proposition was discussed by the Council of Trent, 'The predestinated cannot be condemned, nor the reprobate saved'. The proposition was by no means universally condemned.[1] It was true, some said, in a compound sense, but damnable in a divided. 'God governeth and moveth everything according to its proper nature, which in contingent things is free, and such, as that the act may consist together with the power to the opposite; so that with the act of predestination, the power to reprobation and damnation doth stand.' Their logic, Heylin tells us, was ill understood; and no doubt further explanation is called for. It is said in the Irish articles of 1615: 'God from all eternitie did by his unchangeable counsell ordaine whatsoever in time should come to passe:

[1] Heylin *Hist. Quinquartic.* II vii.

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yet so, as thereby no violence is offred to the wills of the reasonable creatures, and neither the libertie nor the contingencie of the second causes is taken away, but established rather.' Ussher, or whoever framed the Irish articles, may have derived this opinion from Jerome Zanchius; but it is older than that. One asks how can these things be? The *Lambethani* would have answered, because God's foreknowledge determines his election, which Zanchius and his English followers would have denied. They cut the root, not in saying that the number, whether of the predestinate or of the reprobate, is fixed and cannot be increased or diminished, but in making God's absolute will the sole cause of reprobation. The framers of the Cambridge propositions were cunning enough not to introduce the reprobate into this article. Not that it need have made any difference. The article, then, is common ground.

From (4) Hutton would delete 'necessario'; for then *minus offenderet*. Andrewes writes: '*Qui non est inventus scriptus in libro vitae* (i. e. praedestinatus) *missus est in lacum ignis* . . . id est damnatus est; damnatus autem proculdubio propter peccata sua; quis enim hoc negabit? Atque id *necessario*, si sic loqui placeat; sed necessitate ex hypothesi, non absoluta; i. e. (ut articulus ipse se explicat) propter peccata, ideoque quia peccarunt, non autem ideo quia non sunt praedestinati.' He suggests the substitution of 'certo' or 'sine dubio' for 'necessario', as being more patristic words.

I think it probable that F. G. was better acquainted with the writings of the extreme predestinarians than was Andrewes. They granted that it was 'propter peccata sua' that the reprobate would be damned; but they denied it was 'propter peccata sua' that they were reprobated. Accordingly F. G.'s interpretation of this article is fuller than Andrewes's. 'Si hanc thesin et priorem interpreteris, ut et *peccata* et *damnationem* necessitate quadam ex ipsa praedestinatione deducas atque ex ea fluere existimes, aperte Augustino, Prospero, Fulgentio, &c., contradices, et cum Manichaeis Deum peccati auctorem necesse est facias.'

It does not seem to me that either Andrewes or F. G. has got to the root; and the former, I think, has a little confused himself. The proposition is another such as the last. It is true in a compound sense, but damnable in a divided. It was meant to speak of a nexus of necessity, not, as Andrewes would have it, between sin and damnation, but between reprobation and damnation; and the *Lambethani* so accepted it. The nexus, however, was not causal. Reprobation was damnation foreseen. The reprobate must of necessity be damned because God's foreknowledge was infallible. This proposition, like the last, is really common ground to the two parties.

Here, if anywhere in these first four articles, we are to find the doctrine of irrespective reprobation. Andrewes and F. G. allow that

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the proposition is not incorrect, 'quia statuit Deus non remittere peccata nisi credentibus' (F. G.). Foreknowledge determined the decree; and the immutable decree necessitated the damnation of *increduli*. But in the article the cause of reprobation is ignored.

At (5) the series comes to deal with the nature and functions of faith and of the indwelling Spirit of God.

For 'in iis qui semel eius participes fuerunt' the *Lambethani* substituted 'in electis'. F. G. thought the change so modified the original proposition that in the amended article 'nihil minus quam Whitakeri sententia probata est'; which is true. At the same time, though the article is now common ground, it is no less open to perversion than either of the two last. It is damnable in a divided sense, to the man who argues, 'Do what I will, faith and sanctification will be found in me at the end'. The *Lambethani* did not mean to allow that any particular man might assume himself to be of the elect, or they would not have erased the original phrase. Here, at any rate, they have shewn their hand clearly, and they thereby justify the interpretation I have put on their two earlier articles.

Andrewes says: 'Certe nemo unquam dixerit (credo) fidem in electis finaliter excidere.' He would have it understood that this is 'ex privilegio personae, non rei'. The root of the matter is that the nexus,—just as much one of necessity in this proposition as in the last,—is not causal. Some are reprobate because it was foreseen that they would not persevere in faith to the end, not necessitated to fall from faith because not elected.

Andrewes admits that faith in the elect 'non posse amitti totaliter'. We must understand that to mean 'non ita amitti ut non sit locus revertendi unde exciderunt'. So also Baro. Whitgift had asked the Heads of Houses 'To say that *electorum fides potest deficere totaliter* against what article of religion established in this Church, is it? That it is a matter disputable, and wherein learned men do and may dissent without impiety'. He may have had in mind the different meanings that might be given to the word *totaliter*. The *Lambethani* seem to me to have meant, 'either finally or even for a time utterly'. It would be harsh to wish to contradict this to prevent a fatalistic perversion.

In (6) the *Lambethani* changed the phrase 'certitudine fidei' into 'plerophoria fidei'. F. G. asserts that some of the members of the conference wished the substitution to be 'plerophoria spei'; but, by their absence when the point was decided, they lost their purpose. The phrase 'plerophoria fidei', he says, 'non designat plenam et absolutam certitudinem, qualis est scientiae vel principiorum fidei, sed minorem quendam certitudinis gradum, quippe cum etiam in iudiciariis et forensibus probationibus usurpetur'.

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Andrewes admits that 'qua certitudine certus quis est, se vere fidelem esse, aut se fide iustificante praeditum, eadem certum esse de salute sua per Christum'. We have not, however, the same assurance of something conditional, e. g. 'If thou call, thou shalt be saved', as of a categorical statement, e. g. 'God is almighty'. F. G. agrees, and comments further, the faithful is assured of the remission of his sins for the time being, hereafter of that and of his salvation, if he remain faithful ['si Christo ad finem usque adhaeserit', Baro], 'Credit enim fidelis se credere, et credit credentem servatum iri'. Nay more, 'Credit etiam perseveraturum se'; but with a somewhat different assurance, founded partly on God's promise, who will not suffer him to be tempted above that he is able, partly on the sincerity of his own intentions for the future. Andrewes would have this assurance called πεποίθησις rather than πίστις. 'Non haesitet, sed assensum suum ad alteram partem contradictionis determinet.'

We know that the archbishop was in agreement with F. G. and Andrewes as to the meaning of the word 'certitudo' in this connexion, and of the phrase 'certus de salute'. We may therefore be sure that the article was admitted in their sense.

The last three of the Cambridge propositions were no doubt meant to assert that grace was denied to the reprobated because he was reprobated, and that without regard had to his infidelity. But seeing the archbishop had pronounced that the doctrine of irrespective reprobation was false, the *Lambethani* had a right to admit these articles much as they stood, but in another sense.

In (7), however, they substituted 'Gratia salutaris' for 'Gratia sufficiens ad salutem', F. G. says, 'ut plane appareat loqui eos de ea gratia, quae est actu ultimo salutaris sive actu efficax, seu quae per se, non addita nova gratia, salutem operatur'; whereas the word 'sufficiens' in this connexion always means, 'non quod sit efficax, vel per se actu operetur salutem, sed quod sufficiens sit ad salutem ducere, modo homo non ponat obicem'. He would make 'gratia salutaris' to be 'gratia consummans'. I doubt if he is right. Andrewes seems to understand by 'gratia salutaris' what is called in the formularies of Elizabeth's day and earlier 'gratia Dei, quae per Christum est',[1] or 'Gratia Christi, seu Spiritus Sanctus qui per eundem datur',[2] or simply 'gratia Dei',[3] or 'gratia data',[4] sometimes even 'Spiritus Christi'[5]; in fact, the grace received in baptism, or the Holy Spirit.[6] This, says Andrewes, is

[1] Art. IX. [2] Art. X (1553). [3] Art. X. [4] Art. XVI. [5] Art. XVII.

[6] I think the *Lambethani* may have had in mind Titus ii 11 ἡ χάρις τοῦ Θεοῦ [ἡ] σωτήριος πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, a passage which justifies their proposition that 'gratia salutaris' is not granted 'universis hominibus', e. g. not to the Jews who rejected Christ. The word *salutaris* is uncommon in the reformation formularies. It

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offered to all, 'per homines autem ipsos stare quod oblata non conferatur'. F. G., however, remembers that this grace 'non conceditur, sed ne offertur quidem universis, cum sint plurimi (utpote pagani, &c.), quibus Evangelium nec interna nec externa voce praedicetur'.

It seems to me that the *Lambethani*, after rejecting the original phrase as having a Calvinistic savour, accepted the bait offered them in the phrase 'universis hominibus'. They have no idea of contrasting *praedestinati* with *reprobati* as such; but are opposing *vere fideles* or *iustificati* to *pagani*, &c. They mean to say, without faith in Christ there is no 'gratia salutaris'. It is another way of saying what is said in article X (1563): 'Ea est hominis post lapsum Adae conditio' &c., and in XVIII: 'Sunt et illi anathematizandi qui dicere audent, unumquemque in lege aut secta quam profitetur esse servandum, modo iuxta illam et lumen naturae accurate vixerit: cum sacrae literae tantum Iesu Christi nomen praedicent in quo salvos fieri homines oporteat'; which the earlier formulary (1538) expressed thus: 'Damnamus Anabaptistas, et alios, qui sentiunt Spiritum Sanctum contingere sine verbo externo hominibus per ipsorum praeparationes et opera.' Whitgift was well aware what he was saying when he wrote that he knew his articles to be sound doctrines, uniformly professed in this Church of England, and agreeable to the Articles of Religion established by authority, and yet that the doctrine of the Church of England did in no respect depend upon Calvin and the Calvinists. He held the doctrine of no grace without faith very strictly, and contradicting Hooker said, 'Papists overthrow the foundation, both by their doctrine of merit, and otherwise many ways. So that, if they have, as their errors deserve, I do not see how they should be saved'.[1] Hutton wished 'si voluerint' deleted, that the article 'minus offenderet'. But the authorized articles acknowledge the existence of a will to be saved even in those that profess a law or sect, and the first part of the Homily on Salvation quotes St Augustine, 'whether thou wilt or no, that work that cometh not of faith is naught'.

The article then is common ground to Papist, Calvinist, and the Church of England. All deny that saving grace is a universal gift. We only move off common ground when we ask to whom is grace denied. The Calvinist said it was denied to the non-elect. Nor was election confined to the Church.[2] Zwingli writes, for example, 'Nihil restat, quo

occurs, however, in the 1538 series. Article VIII has 'cuius beneficium sit ut veram salutaremque poenitentiam agamus'. The same articles speak of 'fides iustificans' as 'salutifera' in that 'habet spem et charitatem sibi individue coniunctas, ac etiam studium bene vivendi'.

[1] Isaac Walton, *Life of Hooker*.

[2] Non omnes, qui aqua baptizantur, consequi eo ipso gratiam aut donum fidei, sed tantum electos, *Articuli Visitatorii* (Francke, App. p. 119): Hardwick.

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minus inter gentes quoque Deus sibi deligat, qui observent et post fata illi iungantur; libera est enim electio eius'.[1] The articles of the Church of England commit themselves to 'praedestinatio et electio nostra in Christo'.[2] Hence Cranmer could say, 'To that eternal salvation cometh no man, but he that hath the Head Christ. Yea, and no man can have the Head Christ which is not in his Body the Church',[3] and as a rider to the article (XVII) on predestination and election comes article XVIII, 'Sunt et illi anathematizandi qui dicere audent, unumquemque,' &c.[4] It does not now concern us to enquire whether Whitgift's statement of the Roman doctrine of justification is correct or no. The judgement of the Council of Trent on the denial of grace was that 'etsi Ille pro omnibus mortuus est (2 Cor. v 15), non omnes tamen mortis eius beneficium recipiunt; sed ii duntaxat, quibus meritum passionis eius communicatur'; for 'nisi in Christo renascerentur, nunquam iustificarentur, quum ea renascentia per meritum passionis eius gratia, qua iusti fiunt, illis tribuatur'.[5]

Hutton wished (8) deleted as being the equivalent of (7). Andrewes, Baro, and F. G. all struggle to eject 'Calvinism' from the article, with little success, I think, because they fail to see in what sense the *Lambethani* accept 'omnes homines'. Andrewes and Baro explain 'ut veniant' to mean 'ita ut veniant'. F. G. says, 'non omnes trahuntur tractu ultimo'. The *Lambethani* meant to say that 'pagani, &c., non trahuntur, i. e. non convertuntur ad fidem et invocationem Dei'. In regard to them God's purpose is suspended. They are left for a time in their unbelief. The fact is patent; but the responsibility is with men. Hence the Church may pray: 'O Merciful God, who hast made all men, and hatest nothing that thou hast made, nor wouldest the death of a sinner, but rather that he should be converted and live, have mercy upon all Jews, Turks, Infidels, and Hereticks, and take from them all ignorance, hardness of heart, and contempt of thy word; and so fetch them home to thy flock, that they may be saved among the remnant of the true Israelites.' Amongst the contemners of God's word Whitgift would have included Papists, for their doctrine of merit. In the article the cause of heathen infidelity is ignored.

Andrewes's comment on (9) is, 'Non est positum aut in libero arbitrio cuiusquam nisi per Filium liberato, aut in potestate ullius nisi data illi

[1] *Opp.* ii p. 371 (Harold Browne).

[2] Art. XVII.

[3] *Works* iv p. 510.

[4] In the Irish Articles this XVIIIth article of 1563 is brought into one section, entitled *Of the communicating of the grace of Christ*, with a version of articles VII and VIII of the Lambeth series. This article reads, 'Neither is there such a sufficient measure of grace vouchsafed unto everie man whereby he is enabled to come unto everlasting life'.

[5] *Canones et decreta Conc. Trident.* Sess. vi c. 3.

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desuper.' Baro is content to supply 'naturali' after 'potestate'. This is the meaning of the article, if we understand 'uniuscuiusque hominis' to mean, as it should, 'of every one, Christian or heathen'. Andrewes allowed the word 'hominis' to escape him.

It seems strange to me that these three phrases, 'universis hominibus', 'omnes homines', and 'uniuscuiusque hominis' should all along have been supposed to include only the baptized. The framers of the series did not venture to ask the Archbishop to sanction what their friends abroad were saying, that the non-elect, who were passed by without regard had to their future sins and impenitency, were predestinated to continue to the end without grace. The doctrine of the articles, no doubt, makes the heathenism of the fathers to be visited on the children; but it is not fatalistic, or 'Calvinistic'.

It seems to me little less than monstrous that Whitgift, because he sanctioned the Lambeth Articles for a particular use in the University of Cambridge,[1] should to this day be accused of hoping 'to bind the Church of England to the narrowest and most repulsive form of Calvinistic doctrine'.[2] I think I have shewn conclusively that the fundamental proposition of the doctrine of absolute predestination, irrespective reprobation, is not to be found in any article of the series; that the derivative doctrines of the indefectibility of justifying faith, the absolute assurance to the faithful of remission of all his sins and of his salvation, the denial of saving grace to the reprobate, are not to be found there either. I think I have further shewn that the propositions contained in the archbishop's articles are in absolute agreement with his own expressed opinions. He regarded the charge against Barrett as one of impiety. Barrett had according to the Heads impiously detracted from God's part in the salvation or damnation of men. The Lambeth Articles are a statement of what must be conceded to the Heads of Houses who claimed that the work was wholly God's; and I say that no more was conceded than the archbishop guided by the Book of Articles was bound to concede.[3]

W. D. SARGEAUNT.

[1] Whitgift to the Vice-Chancellor and the Heads of Houses ii 282: 'The propositions nevertheless must so be taken and used as their private judgements; thinking them to be true and correspondent to the doctrine professed in the Church of England, and established by the laws of the land: and not as laws and decrees'; i. e. I take it, the private judgements of the Vice-Chancellor and the Heads.

[2] S. R. Gardiner *History of England*, 1603-1642, vol. i p. 153. I might quote such judgements *ad libitum*.

[3] Whitgift's letter to Nevill of December 8 is often quoted as evidence that he was as Calvinistic as the Heads. He begged Nevill to desire the Vice-Chancellor 'to use the said propositions, as there might be no publication thereof, otherwise than in private. For that indeed his meaning was to let them understand he did

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HOW DID THE JEWS BAPTIZE?

THE appeal to Jewish custom is generally regarded as affording one of the strongest arguments in favour of the theory that the Apostolic and Early Church administered baptism by submersion. It is important, therefore, to examine the evidence generally given for the belief that this was the custom of the Jews.

For, obviously, it is not enough to assert that the word commonly used, *ṭabal*, implies submersion. The meaning of a word is determined by its use and not vice versâ. To argue that *ṭabal* means to submerge, and that therefore it was the custom of the Jews to plunge the whole body at once in the water is to beg the question, and is as illogical as to assume that the Greek word *βαπτίζειν* means to immerse totally, and from that to conclude that such was the primitive method of administering Christian baptism. As Hooker wrote (*E. P.* iv 1, 7) 'words must be taken according to the matter whereof they are uttered'. The right method of understanding the significance of a word is to examine its use and, if possible, to gather its connotation from its context.

Moreover, the question has been complicated by an inexact employment of English terms. Immersion may be partial or total. Bu frequently writers after proving that baptism is spoken of as involving immersion, assume that that immersion was total. To prevent confusion, therefore, in what follows the ambiguous term 'immersion' will be avoided, and the word 'submersion' will be used to express the act of plunging the whole body at one time under the water. Thus the whole body may be washed in a shower bath, or with a sponge in a hip bath, and the act though rightly spoken of as one of immersion will not be one of submersion. Even the word 'to dip' does not necessarily imply submersion. When we dip a cup in water we only put about half of it under the surface. When we 'take a dip in the sea' very few of us dive in, or completely cover our bodies at any time while we are bathing.

Evidence from the Old Testament.

If we examine the Old Testament use of the word *ṭabal* we find from the *Oxford Lexicon* that it is employed some fifteen times in different connexions. There seems to be no distinction in its use in

concur with them in judgement, and would to the end: and meant not to suffer any man to impugn them openly or otherwise'. This, however, is only another way of saying that, as long as the Heads would make the articles their rule of judgement, he would support them. He had no idea of referring to such opinions of theirs as are not contained in the articles, *e.g.* irrespective reprobation; but assumes that they will maintain the agreement.

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P., J., and JE. The English word 'dip' is given as its equivalent. The word appears to be used of wetting any object when it is more convenient to apply the object to the liquid than the liquid to the object. It is the term used to express the dipping of anything in blood, as Joseph's brothers dipped his coat (Gen. xxxvii 31), especially in connexion with sacrifice (Lev. iv 6 and ix 9, of the priest's finger). It is used also of dipping a rod in honey (1 Sam. xiv 27), of bread in vinegar (Ruth ii 14), and of a cloth in water (2 Kings viii 15). In none of these cases, except possibly in the last, would the immersion have been total.

In one passage the meaning 'to submerge' is admissible. In 2 Kings v 14 we read that Naaman 'dipped' himself seven times in the Jordan. Elisha's messenger ordered him to wash (raḥaẓ) in the river, and we read that when he 'dipped' himself he did it 'according to the saying of the man of God'. There is nothing to indicate that the word means anything more than ordinary washing. No stress is laid on the particular method to be employed, nor is any contrast drawn between washing by the ordinary natural process and washing by submersion. The same word for 'wash' is used in Num. xix 19, of the man who is ordered to bathe himself after defilement caused by touching a dead body, and there is nothing to indicate that more than ordinary washing is contemplated. Even in Job ix 30–31, the contrast is between washing with snow or lye and being defiled with ditch-water, not with being smothered in mud.

Again the extreme difficulty of submersion would render its practice improbable. If it had been contemplated, surely the command to adopt a difficult and awkward process would have been more explicit. The laws of purification, such as that of Num. xix, are set out as applying to the sojourn in the Wilderness, where submersion would have been almost impossible. Moreover, we read of no structural baths in the Old Testament, nor have any traces of them been found before the Hellenistic period.[1] The Hebrew word for balneator, 'ballan', was borrowed from the Greek.[2] The word 'miḳweh', which in the Mishnah means the ritual bath that has played such an important part in Jewish life since the Middle Ages, in the Old Testament simply means a gathering of waters (Gen. i 10, of the waters into seas, Exod. vii 19, of pools in Egypt, Lev. xi 36, of a cistern). Even the miḳwah of Isaiah xxii 11, was a cistern and not a bath.

The Baptism of Proselytes.

The mere use of the word *ṭabal* tells us nothing of ancient Jewish practice; what is the evidence of later Jewish custom? It is well

[1] Benzinger *Hebräische Archäologie*[2], 1907, p. 85.

[2] Buxtorf *Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum, et Rabbinicum*, 1874, p. 164.

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known that the proselyte to Judaism was 'baptized'; how was this baptism administered?

The writer of the article 'Baptism' in Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible*, gives the following detailed description of the method of administration.

'According to the teaching of later Judaism, a stranger who desired to become a proselyte of the Covenant, or of Righteousness, i. e. in the fullest sense an Israelite, must be circumcised and baptized, and then offer a sacrifice; circumcision alone was not enough. Three of those who instructed the stranger in the Law became his "fathers" or sponsors, and took him to a pool, in which he stood up to his neck in water, while the great commandments of the Law were recited to him. These he promised to keep. Then a benediction was pronounced, and he plunged beneath the water, taking care to be entirely submerged. In the case of women, baptism and sacrifice were the things required to admit them to the full privileges of Israel. But for both male and female proselytes sacrifice was abolished after the destruction of the Temple.'

This is clear and decisive enough, and the last sentence shews that by 'later Judaism' is meant that of New Testament times and not that of the Middle Ages. The source of this description, however, is not stated; though at the end of the section the following references are given:—

'Literature. For the abundant literature on the subject, and for references to the Talmud, see Edersheim *Life and Times of the Messiah* II App. xii; Schürer *HJP.* II ii § 31, p. 319: Herzog *RE.* xii p. 250, first edition; less full in second edition, p. 300.'

Turning to Herzog's *Realencyclopädie* (first edition, vol. xii p. 297, art. 'Proselyten') we find a similar detailed description, which may be the source from which that in Hastings's *Dictionary* is drawn. No reference, however, is given to shew the authority on which it is based, and in the corresponding passage in the third edition, revised by Hauck (vol. xvi p. 118), the description seems to have disappeared altogether. A similar account, however, may be found in Buxtorf's *Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum, et Rabbinicum* under art. *Ger* גר, p. 212, which is given as describing the modern custom based on the authority of Maimonides. The passage referred to seems to be that in Hilc. Issure Biah xiv which is thus translated in the *Dissertatio de Proselytis Judaeorum* of Paul Slevogt in Ugolini *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Sacrarum* vol. xxii p. dcccxviii:—

'Tres illi stant a tergo eius, eumque monent altera vice ex parte praeceptorum levium, ex parte praeceptorum gravium, idque dum in aqua stat. Si vero femina fuerit: eam quoque feminae in aqua collocant

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usque ad collum suum et de foris consistentes, dum ipsa in aqua sedet, docent ipsam nonnulla de praeceptis levibus et gravibus; si baptizata est in earum conspectu, convertant facies suas et egrediantur ita ut non videant eam ex aqua ascendentem.'

For this a further reference to Yebam. 47 *b* is given, where the passage runs as follows :—

'Two learned men stand over him and inform him concerning some light commandments and some grave commandments, and when he has bathed and has come up again (out of the water) (טבל ועלה) he is like an Israelite in every respect. In the case of a woman women place her (מושיבות) into the water up to the neck, and two wise men stand outside and inform her concerning some light and some heavy commandments.'

It will be noticed that it is only in the case of a woman that immersion to the neck is prescribed, and in neither case is there any direction clearly enjoining submersion. This would seem to suggest that, whatever may have been the mediaeval doctrine, the original precept was merely given for the sake of decency. In Schürer's *History of the Jewish People* II ii § 31, we find numerous references to the Talmud for the Baptism of proselytes, but on p. 324 the author writes 'the Talmud, so far as I am aware, contains as yet no precise account of the ceremonial. It is therefore purely gratuitous to assert that the ṭebilah (baptism) mentioned in the Talmud is different from that mentioned in the Mishnah'.

In Edersheim's *Life and Times of Jesus*, vol. ii, Appendix 12, we read 'that baptism was absolutely necessary to make a proselyte is so frequently stated as not to be disputed'. For this fact several references to the Talmud are given as well as to later authorities (Ber. 47 *b*, Kerith 9 *a*, Jer. Yebam. 8 *b*, Yebam. 45 *b*, 46 *a* and *b*, 48 *b*, 76 *a*, Ab. Sar. 57 *a*, 59 *a*, and other passages). These seem, however, unless I have overlooked any point, merely to refer to the fact that proselytes were baptized. Dr Edersheim then alludes to the controversy as to whether both circumcision and baptism were necessary, and describes the act of baptism thus :—

'The person to be baptized, having cut his hair and nails, undressed completely, made fresh profession of his faith before what were designated "the fathers of baptism" (our godfathers), and then immersed completely so that every part of the body was touched by the water. The rite would, of course, be accompanied by exhortations and benedictions.'

As this passage is perhaps more frequently relied on by modern writers on the subject than any other it is worth following up the references given. These are to Ketub. 11 *a* and Erub. 15 *a* in the Talmud, and two to Maimonides, one of the latter being that quoted above.

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The evidence of mediaeval practice need not detain us, though it is somewhat misleading to quote it side by side with that from earlier authorities with no indication of the difference of date. The first passage from the Talmud mentions the baptism of a Ger and alludes to the fathers; the second refers to the water, and the same words reappear in Ḥagiga 11 *a*, Peṣaḥim 109 *a* and *b*, and Yoma 31 *a*. These four references, therefore, represent only one single authority. The passage thus repeated, which (so far as I am aware) is unique, is so important that it should be quoted in full. I translate from L. Goldschmidt's German edition of the *Babylonian Talmud* now in course of publication :—

'He must wash his body in water, in water of the bath ("miḳweh", "Tauchbad", or in the translation of Erub. 14 *a*, "in angesammeltem Wasser"), his whole body, water for the whole body (שכל גופו "in Umfang seines ganzen Leibes", elsewhere, "es muss den ganzen Leib umgeben"), a cubit broad, a cubit wide, and three cubits deep ("zu einer Elle, in der Höhe von drei Ellen"), and the Rabbis have defined that the bath must have forty seahs.'

General Customs of Purification.

This passage is quoted four times in the Talmud but not apparently with direct reference to the baptism of proselytes. It is based on the Halakhic Commentary on Leviticus xv 16 preserved in the Sifra. We must therefore consider it in connexion with the general Jewish practice of ablution. For the law about proselyte baptism seems to have been based on the principle that the Ger was subject to the ordinary laws of purification. Is there any reason to believe that these involved submersion?

To answer this question we may refer to the *Jewish Encyclopedia* (Funk & Wagnalls). The art. 'Proselyte' adds little to our knowledge on this point. It merely says that 'the details of the reception do not seem to have been settled before the end of the second Christian century', and that 'it was based on the laws that proselyte and native Israelite should be treated alike'.

In the art. 'Ablution' we are told that there were three forms of washing, that of the hands (called 'baptism' in Luke xi 38), that of the feet, and that by 'immersion' of the whole body in water. Thirteen references to the Old Testament are given in which the latter is prescribed. Of these twelve merely read 'he shall bathe himself in water', or make use of some equally general phrase. The thirteenth refers to Bathsheba washing herself on the housetop. The author himself does not seem to mean submersion by his expression 'immersion of the whole body in water' as he illustrates one of his own examples by saying 'the Levites were purified by having water of the sin offering

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sprinkled upon them'. A general washing of the whole body seems to be all that was originally implied in the texts, and it is to be noted that in the cases of ablution of the hands, at any rate, the water was usually poured over them instead of their being plunged into it.

In the art. 'Baptism' we read again that 'the Rabbis connected with this (the washing of clothes for purification) the duty of bathing by complete immersion', and reference is made to the legend that our first parents, as a means of penitence, stood up to the neck in water, Adam for forty days in Gihon, and Eve for seven in the Tigris. A later form of the story, written perhaps under Christian influences, places Adam in the Jordan to connect his penance with the idea of the Sacrament. The *Vita Adae et Evae* (called the *Apocrypha of Moses* by Tischendorf), though it may contain early traditions, is of late date, and there seems to be no real connexion between this legend and the earlier Jewish customs of purification which the author of the article connects with Ezek. xxxvi 25, 'I will sprinkle clean water upon you'.

The quotation from the Halakhic Commentary on Lev. xv 16, mentioned above as preserved in the Sifra, runs as follows: (Biblical text in italics) '*He shall wash in the water* even though it be a miḳweh, *all his flesh*; water into which his whole body can enter. How much is this? A cubit by a cubit to the height of three cubits. You are found asserting that the contents of a miḳweh is forty seah.'

The words 'even though it be a miḳweh' are introduced to shew why the running water is not demanded as in *v.* 13; still water will do as well if there is enough for the whole body. This is estimated by the measurement of a man as three cubits high, but it does not seem to be implied that the miḳweh must literally be of a sort of well shape. We may reasonably suppose that 'height' is merely used as a term to express the third dimension. The object clearly is the sufficiency of the supply, not the shape of the bath.

This is borne out by the discovery of 'a large rock-cut trough at which presumably ablutions were performed' near the remains of the altar recently discovered at the High Place above Petra. Its measurements are 5 feet 7 inches long by 18 inches wide, by 16 inches deep. 'The sacred place does not seem to be of more ancient date than shortly before the Christian era.' Cp. S. R. Driver *Modern research as illustrating the Bible*, Schweich Lectures 1908, p. 62, and the authorities quoted there.

The section Miḳwa'oth of the Mishnah deals with Jewish customs of purification. Only one section, that dealing with the purification of women, appears in the Jerusalem Talmud, and the regulations ordered in other cases seem to have fallen out of use in the Dispersion, even if they were ever really carried out in practice. The Mishnah may be

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read in Surenhusius's Latin Translation, published with the comments of Maimonides and Bartenora in 1685, or reference may be made to the art. 'Miḳwa'oth' in the *Encyclopedia*. In the first chapter we find that great stress was laid on the kind of water that might be used. There were six grades of sanctity. The lowest was that of water from a pond, ditch, cistern, or cavern, or of standing water which had flowed from a mountain, that is, apparent surface-water; then follows that of a body of water containing forty seahs; then that of a spring to which water drawn from some source had been added; then that of a mineral spring; and last, the highest of all, that of pure spring water. Elaborate discussions follow as to when, and how, drawn water affects the purity of the spring water, but nothing is said about submersion. The one kind of water which is apparently disallowed is water drawn in a vessel.

If an artificial bath is used it must contain at least forty seahs. But though stress is laid on the quantity, no mention is made of submersion. It is the measure sufficient to cleanse the whole body if spring water be not used that is insisted on; if two people bathe one after another in the same bath containing only just so much, the second is still impure because the first has carried out some drops. This, at least, I take to be the meaning of the passage. But if the first keeps his foot in the bath, or even if part of his mantle is still in the water, that which is on his body is still part of the bath of forty seahs, and the second man is clean. (Miḳwa'oth chap. vii 6 'Si in lavacro quadraginta fiunt Sata congregata, et duo descenderunt lotum se, unus post alterum, primus mundus est, secundus autem immundus. R. Jehuda dicit, si primi pedes attigerint aquam, etiam secundus mundus est'.) An interesting passage in the Tosephta (Sekalim 1 *a*), containing a tradition dating from before the destruction of the Temple, tells how the legati Synhedrii, in the month before the Passover, were to see that the miḳwa'oth were in good condition and contained the requisite forty seahs.

In the passage quoted above as occurring four times in the Gemara, and therefore giving evidence of later ideas, the size of the bath itself is mentioned. But the object seems to be that of securing the full amount of water rather than that of rendering submersion possible. Thus in Erubin 14 *a*, Solomon's sea is said to have contained 150 miḳwa'oth, and the capacity of the miḳweh is explained by the passage in question. In Peṣaḥim 109 *a* it is quoted as explaining the capacity of a quarter of a log in connexion with the observance of the Passover. In Ḥagiga 11 *a*, after contrasting laws which 'are as mountains suspended by a hair and have no basis in the Bible' with those of purification, the passage is again quoted as giving a standard for the measure (Goldschmidt *Mass*) of the ṭebilah. In Yoma 31 *a*, after describing how the

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High Priest bathed five times on the Day of Atonement, it is stated that the first bath was taken over the Gate of Water near the High Priest's chamber, and the same quotation is made. From this it is argued that the spring from which the water came was twenty-three cubits higher than the floor of the court, since the gates were all twenty cubits high. To an objection that no allowance had been made for the architrave and bottom of the bath, it is answered that they were of marble and too thin to make any serious difference in the measurement.

In all these cases, except possibly the last, it is the quantity of the water and not the size of the bath on which the stress is laid. In the last it is pointed out that the depth of three feet was not exceeded, but this literal interpretation of height was probably, as we saw, not the original meaning. The exact length of a cubit is uncertain. In Biblical times it seems to have been 18 inches, but the ell of the Talmud was 56–58 centimetres, or 22–23 inches. It would be possible, of course, to submerge a man in a bath 22 inches by 22 inches by 5 ft. 6–8 inches, but the difficulty seems to have been felt in later times when the custom of submersion, it is asserted, was undoubtedly practised, for in the mediaeval critical explanation of the Talmud made in the twelfth century, and known as the Tosafot, it was explained that the bath must be four cubits, or over seven feet, deep, though the water need only have a depth of three, since the entrance of the body of the man who was being purified would make it rise to the required height. (Jo. Andreæ Danzii *Baptismus Proselytorum Judaicus* in Ugolini *Thesaurus* vol. 22, p. dccccviii, chap. xxiii note *g*.) Even more convincing a proof that the covering of the body up to the neck mentioned in the case of female proselytes in the passage quoted above, did not involve submersion, may be found in the Mishnah Berakoth III 4 and 5. Here we read that the man who, while saying the morning blessing, remembers that he is impure, must go down and purify himself and, if possible, come up, dress, and say the Shema before the sun rises. If he has not time he must cover himself with the water and say it:—

'Descenderit ad lavandum (ירד לטבול), si ascendere possit, sese vestire et recitare priusquam sol emicet, ascendat et vestiat se, et recitet; sin minus aqua se contegat et recitet' (ויתכסה so bedecke er sich durch das Wasser und lese; Goldschmidt) Surenhusius vol. i p. 11.

Obviously the covering here is partial and, as in the passage quoted above, for the purpose of decency. He could not read the Shema with his head under water, and the command to cover himself as far as the hips implies that otherwise the immersion would not have been above the thighs. Moreover, the Jerusalem Talmud orders that, if the water

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is still and pure, the man must trouble it with his feet so that it may hide his nakedness. I cannot find, in the other and very unpleasant comments of the Jerusalem Talmud on this and the preceding section about the ba'al keri, anything that implies submersion.

Conclusion.

We have examined the authority usually given for the statement that the Jews baptized by submersion. We have found that in Old Testament times ceremonial washings were ordered. These were interpreted by the later traditions of the scribes as in some cases implying washing of the whole body, if possible in fresh or running water. Then in the period represented by the Mishnah we find elaborate precautions ordered to secure the right kind of water, and a certain standard of sufficiency in quantity, forty seahs, where running water was not to be had. In one passage also the water is to be sufficient for partial submersion as far as the hips for purposes of decency. In the later period of the Gemara we have a sentence, repeated in four different places, which describes the size of a bath that would hold the required quantity, and another passage which orders in the case of women proselytes an immersion to the neck for the purposes of decency. Some five hundred years later, long after Hebrew had become a mere ecclesiastical language, we find a fuller description of the administration of the rite of baptism of proselytes in which it is said that submersion is ordered and the word employed henceforth is generally held to imply total immersion. The whole offers a striking parallel to the growth of the idea in the Church that Christian baptism should be by immersion (cp. my 'Baptism and Christian Archaeology', *Studia Biblica* vol. v p. 301, &c.).

In the vast literature of the Talmud there may, of course, be other passages which throw more light on the subject than do those usually quoted to support the popular assertion; but, unless this be so, it can hardly be said that it is proved that the Jews in Biblical times, or even during the first centuries of the Christian era, baptized by submersion.

CLEMENT F. ROGERS.

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THE TWO ZADOKITE MESSIAHS.

PROF. H. L. STRACK, of Berlin, has courteously sent me a copy of an article on Prof. Schechter's *Documents of Jewish Sectaries*, vol. i, which he published in *Reformation* (1911, No. 7); and as that article included a friendly but decisive challenge of the position which I took up with regard to the now famous 'Zadokite Document' in *The Athenaeum* for Nov. 26, 1910, it seems fitting that I should make an equally friendly and equally decisive reply.

So far as a final judgement on the origin, date, and historical bearing of the document is concerned, it is only right that students should take plenty of time for its consideration, and Prof. Strack himself promises a more elaborate contribution on the subject after a closer investigation of it ('nach genauerer Untersuchung'). The points for special examination are indeed very numerous, and the problem is at almost every step complicated with certain important matters relating to one set of religious ideas or another. But there is one point of vital difference between Prof. Strack's view and my own which seems to me of a comparatively simple character, and which may, therefore, be conveniently dealt with in a paper of fairly limited dimensions.

The question to answer is whether two different religious leaders are spoken of in the first eleven lines of the document or only one; and as in a matter of this kind the text itself must first of all be consulted, I will here reproduce the portion referred to in the original and add a translation. After a perusal of the text thus placed before him, the student will be in a position to appreciate the difference between my reading of the document on this important point and that of Prof. Strack, whose further argument concerning it I will then fully discuss.

HEBREW TEXT.

ועתה שמעו כל יודעי צדק ובינו במעשי | אל כי ריב לו עם כל בשר ומשפט
יעשה בכל מנאציו | כי במועלם אשר עזבוהו הסתיר פניו מישראל וממקדשו |
ויתנם לחרב ובזכרו ברית ראשנים השאיר שארית | לישראל ולא נתנם לכלה
ובקץ חרון שנים שלש מאות | ותשעים לתיתו אותם ביד נבוכדנאצר מלך
בבל | פקדם ויצמח מישראל ומאהרן שרש מטעת לירוש | את ארצו ולדשן
בטוב אדמתו ויבינו בעונם וידעו כי | אנשים אשמים הם ויהיו כעורים
וכימנששים[1] דרך | שנים עשרים ויבן אֵל אֵל מעשיהם כי בלב שלם דרשוהו |
יקם להם מורה צדק להדריכם בדרך לבו · ·

[1] So the MS.

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P. 1, l. 1. 'And now hearken, all ye that know righteousness, and meditate upon the works of God. For he has a controversy with all flesh, and he will execute judgement on all who contemn him. For because of their treachery in that they have forsaken him, has he hidden his face from Israel and from his sanctuary, and given them over unto the sword. Yet remembering the covenant he made with their forefathers[1] has he left a remnant | to Israel, and gave them not over to complete destruction. And at the end of the wrath, [namely] three hundred and ninety years[2] after delivering them into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babel, has he visited them, and he caused to sprout from Israel and Aaron a root of planting to possess his land, and to take pleasure in the good of his territory. And they meditated upon their sin, and they knew that they were guilty men, and like persons groping their way,| for twenty years. And God had regard to their works, for they sought him with a perfect heart. And he raised up for them a Teacher of Righteousness, in order to guide them in the way of his heart.'

In my *Athenaeum* article referred to I said that 'two Messiahs are clearly indicated in the text if read in its natural sense'. Proof for this seemed to me unnecessary. We have here a regular series of Imperfects with *waw* consecutive (ויצמח ... ויבינו ... וידעו ... ויהיו ... ויבן ... ויקם). I regarded it, therefore, as self-evident that two different persons are introduced in these lines, a space of twenty years intervening between the beginnings of the two ministries. But Prof. Strack (following Prof. Schechter) thinks that the two are in reality only one; and if so, my initial conception of the problem would fall to the ground. Prof. Strack's own words are as follows:—'A comparison of l. 11 with l. 7 of p. 1 does, it is true, produce at first an impression of different personalities ("macht allerdings zuerst den Eindruck der Verschiedenheit"), but this impression cannot be maintained in view of other indications. If, therefore, the statement about the "twenty years" is correct, it is necessary to assume that twenty years after its "sprouting", which need not necessarily be taken in the sense of "being born", the root appeared as the "Teacher of Righteousness".'

[1] Literally: the first ones.

[2] On the strength of a confused statement of Talmudical chronology found in *'Abodah Zarah* fol. 9[a] Prof. Strack considers that by the 390 years after the conquest of Nebuchadnezzar the year 47 B.C. is meant. On the correct reckoning it would be 197 B.C. (587–390). That we have here to deal with an erroneous piece of chronology is only too likely, the more so as similar instances can be cited. But Rabbinic chronology having been faulty to the extent of 150 years (197–47), why not that of the sect of the document faultier still if the clear impressions derived from the persons and events mentioned in the document should be found to demand it. But the entire subject of the chronology of the document requires further investigation.

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It is clear that Prof. Strack himself—and how can he help it?—realizes that in its natural meaning the document would be taken to refer to two different persons in ll. 7 and 11 respectively. Only he considers that other parts of it prove such a construction to be erroneous. It will, therefore, be best to collect in this place all the references to the 'Messiah' and the 'Teacher of Righteousness' found in both the fragments published by Prof. Schechter, so as to place the student in a position to decide for himself whether the indications they contain force us to abandon the natural meaning of ll. 7 and 11 of p. 1, and to regard the 'root of planting' as one and the same person with the 'Teacher of Righteousness'. In the notes which will accompany the phrases cited, some matters will incidentally be touched upon which have a bearing on the interpretation of the document in general.

1. There is first of all on p. 2, ll. 12–13 (fr. A) what may be fairly called the *locus classicus* of the document, and which had best be taken by itself:—ויודיעם ביד משיחו רוח קדשו והוא אמת ובפרוש שמו שמותיהם ואת אשר שנא התעה: 'And he made them know his Holy Spirit through his Messiah, and he is true. And in the explanation of his Name are their names. And those he hated has he caused to go astray.' (In the sentence: 'And in the explanation of his name are their names', I see an allusion to the great similarity of meaning between the name of Βοηθός, founder of the Boethusian section of the Sadducees and ישוע, Jesus, *vide Athenaeum*, but this only by the way.)

Now is there anything in this passage which obliges us to accept the forced and unnatural construction put by Prof. Strack on ll. 7 and 11 of p. 2?—Clearly not! For the Messiah here spoken of may, in full accord with the usual sense of such sentences, be identical with the 'Teacher of Righteousness' of l. 11, regarded as a separate personality. It is clear that the gift of the Holy Spirit could not have been bestowed during the ministry of the 'root of planting', for the people were after its appearance still 'like blind men . . . groping their way'. That ministry was essentially a negative one. They learnt to know 'that they were guilty men', but they could not find the way they wished to go. Then came the positive ministry of the 'Teacher', who guided them on the way which they had been seeking (compare Acts xix 1–5; also St John i 8–9).

2. We may next conveniently put together the passages in which the title 'Teacher' (מורה, but also יורה) is used in conformity with p. 1, l. 11.

On p. 6, ll. 10–11 (fr. A) is the sentence:—וחולתם לא ישינו עד עמד יורה הצדק באחרית הימים: 'And beside them none shall attain to it [i.e. to a certain religious way of life] until there arise he who teaches righteousness at the end of the days.'—Here we have a clear reference

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to the expected reappearance of the 'Teacher' at the end of the dispensation then present.

At the close of p. 19 and the beginning of p. 20 (fr. B) is the very significant sentence :—ובכתבו לא יכתבו מיום האסף מורה היחיד עד עמוד משיח מאהרן וישראל : 'And in his writing shall they [i.e. certain refractory people] not be written from the day when there was gathered in [i.e. died] the unique [or only] Teacher until there shall arise the Messiah from Aaron and Israel.' (Specially to be noted is the epithet היחיד, which—as Mrs Lewis of Cambridge has pointed out to me—is the exact equivalent of ܝܚܝܕ, the Old Syriac rendering of *μονογενής* in St John i 14 ; Pesh. similarly ܝܚܝܕܝܐ. But as this touches too closely on the question of identification of the persons referred to, it cannot be discussed in the present paper.)—The reference to the Messiah from Aaron and Israel will be noted again under (4).

On p. 20, ll. 13–15 (fr. B) we read :—ומיום האסף יורה[1] היחיד עד תם כל אנשי המלחמה אשר הלכו עם איש הכזב כשנים ארבעים : 'And from the day when there was gathered in [i.e. died] the unique Teacher until all the men of war who walked with the man of lies were destroyed there were about forty years.' (On my interpretation of the 'forty years' see the *Athenaeum*; the expressions used are, of course, adapted in the well-known allusive style, from Deut. ii 14–16. The rebels here spoken of —in my opinion, the followers of the Apostle Paul—are compared to the rebellious Israelites who were doomed to die in the desert prior to the entry of the people into Canaan.)

The last extant mention of the 'Teacher' is found in l. 32 of p. 20 (fr. B) :—והתיסרו במשפטים הראשונים אשר נשפטו בני אנשי היחיד והאוינו לקול מורה צדק : 'And they shall be chastised by the first judgement in which the sons of the men of the unique one were judged, and they will listen to the voice of the Teacher of Righteousness.' (This sentence requires elucidation, but the mere literal rendering is sufficient for our present purpose; but it is, in connexion with all the four passages, important to note how frequently *διδάσκαλος*, = מורה, is used of our Lord in the Gospels, and that in the disputed passage in Josephus, *Ant.* XVIII ch. iii 3, the same term is found.)

The question must now be asked whether there is anything in these four passages to make it necessary for us to take the series of Imperfects with *waw* consecutive in ll. 1–11 of p. 1 in any but their natural sense, and the confident answer may at once be given that there is absolutely nothing in them to point in such a direction. On the contrary, the passage at the end of p. 19 and the beginning of p. 20 may legitimately be taken to look the other way, the 'Teacher' being apparently regarded as distinct from the 'Messiah from Aaron and Israel'.

[1] The dots over the second ו merely mean that it is to be deleted.

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3. The designation 'Messiah', without indication of descent, occurs only twice, once on p. 2, l. 12, given under (1), and the second time in a passage beginning at the close of p. 5 (fr. A), where certain persons living at the 'end of the destruction of the land' (which I take to mean the final Roman conquest under Titus, A.D. 70) are accused of 'speaking rebellion against the commandments of God given by the hand of Moses and also against God's Holy Messiah; and there is clearly as little in this passage as in that found on p. 2, ll. 12–13, to suggest the necessity for taking ll. 7 and 11 of p. 1 in the sense adopted by Prof. Strack.

4. Lastly, we have four passages in which a Messiah with specified descent from Aaron and Israel is spoken of.

At the end of p. 12 (fr. A) is the phrase עד עמוד משוח אהרן וישראל: 'Until there arise the anointed one from Aaron and Israel.' The same phrase (with perhaps משיח for משוח) clearly stood on p. 14, l. 19 (fr. A), where (in consequence of mutilation) the words אהרן וישראל alone remain. On p. 19, l. 10 (fr. B), we have ובבוא משיח אהרן וישראל: 'When comes the Messiah from Aaron and Israel.' The fourth passage (end of p. 19 and beginning of p. 20) has already been given under (2).

In all the four instances the reference is to the appearance of the Messiah from Aaron and Israel at a future time; but it must be regarded as certain that what is meant is the reappearance of the 'root of planting' (manifestly a Messianic phrase, reminding one strongly of the idea of צמח in the Old Testament; and see especially Isaiah xi 1), also stated to be descended from Israel and Aaron. (On the idea of this double descent see *The Athenaeum*.)

But is there anything in these passages demanding our rejection of the natural sense of ll. 7 and 11 in p. 1?—Clearly not! On the contrary, it seems perfectly legitimate to argue that there is in the document an intentional distinction between the Messiah descending from Aaron and Israel and the Messiah, whose descent is not specified, the former having at his first coming awakened men to a knowledge of their guilt, and the latter having imparted to his followers the positive element by bestowing on them the gift of the Holy Spirit. In the language of the New Testament, Elias had to come first, and after him came the Messiah *par excellence*. The coming of both was, as is well known, the general expectation; and from the Zadokite document, now brought to light by Prof. Schechter, we learn that both were by the sect in question expected to reappear in the latter days.

G. MARGOLIOUTH.

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FRAGMENTS OF AN ANGLO-SAXON SACRAMENTARY.

WHEN in April 1908 I published in the JOURNAL (vol. ix pp. 398 sqq.) some leaves of eighth-century sacramentaries, of English origin, and therefore rare and valuable, I did not expect that as a result fragments of another sacramentary of similar date and origin would be brought to my notice; but in November of that year dom Cunibert Mohlberg, O.S.B., of the abbey of Maria Laach, most kindly placed at my disposal 'rotographs' of four leaves which he had found in the Cologne City archives in a wrapper entitled '4 Bll. aus dem Sacramentarium Gelasianum', and bearing the mark 'G B Kasten B N° 24'.[1]

As an appendix to my previous Note I gladly avail myself of his courtesy to make known his communication, premising that I have unfortunately not been able, as I had intended, to see the original, and must therefore be content with the photographs, which, in some places, and especially in the rubricated titles of the *Missae* and their parts, are scarcely legible, owing to the very soiled state of the fly-leaves. They come from Great St Martin at Cologne, the name of which, 'Bibl. Mart.-maj.', by a modern hand, occurs on one side of each leaf. Whether all four originally formed part of the same MS is uncertain and of no great importance.

The leaves have been cut down, and now vary from 207 to 210 mm. in height, and from 148 to 158 mm. in breadth; they are written with two columns to the page; ff. *a* and *b* have 25 lines to the page with, on the average, 15 letters (4 mm. high) to a line; but ff. *c* and *d* are the work of a different scribe who wrote 26 lines on a page and his letters are so much smaller that 23 of them go to a line.

There can be little doubt as to the date and *provenance* of these fly-leaves; they shew the characteristic script[2] (perhaps the most characteristic that exists) of a North English scriptorium of the first half of the eighth century; but as the same script was used in the houses founded by the Northumbrian monks of that date on the banks or in the neighbourhood of the Rhine (among them the Schottenkirche of St Martin at Cologne), it is difficult to decide on which side of the North Sea any given MS was written at this period. For liturgical purposes, however, this is of slight account, for these missionaries carried with them their books and their use. In any case we have in these

[1] Cf. *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* xi 3 (July 1910) p. 471.

[2] The script of ff. *c* and *d* is very similar to that of the second hand of MS B.M. Reg. I. B. vii (cf. Dr Kenyon's *Facsimiles of Bible MSS*, London 1900, pl. xii).

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leaves an evidence of the Saxon, or much more probably the Anglo-Saxon, sacramentary of the eighth century.

The fragments contain part of eight *missae votivae* from the third book of the 'Gelasian' Sacramentary and confirm the opinion expressed in the previous Note, that the eighth-century 'Gelasian' sacramentary was the current one in the north of England. Two collects only which do not appear to have been published are here given *in extenso*; for the others it will suffice to take Mr H. A. Wilson's edition of *The Gelasian Sacramentary*, Oxford, 1894, here cited as W, as the textbook, and to note such variants as are found in the fragments, thus allowing the liturgiologist to add them to his copy of that text; all references, unless otherwise stated, are to the pages of that book; the small numbers indicate approximately the position of the various readings.

Fol. *a*.

[INCIPIT ACTIO NUPTIALIS] exactly as Gel. III lii.

W. 265. [Adesto domine . . .] generis, &c.

" " [*Alia.*] Quaesumus omnipotens deus, &c.

" " [*Secreta.*] Adesto domine supplicationibus, &c.

3* *placitus* (a unique reading).

" " V.D. qui foedera, &c.

4* *tua gratia* for *tuaque gratia.* 6 add (as in Menard) *per Christum.*

" " [*Infra actionem.*] Hanc igitur, &c.

7 *illarum* (as Menard) *adque obtatam seriem.* 12 *diesque nostros* omitted but in its place (as in Menard) *per* [*Christum*, &c.].

" " [*Infra actionem*, &c.] Hanc igitur . . . deprecamur.

12* *domine* omitted. 13 *famulorum tuorum illarum et illarum* (!!). 13* *quo diem* for *quo die.*

Fol. *b*.

[AD POSCENDAM SERENITATEM] as in Gel. III xlvi without the second collect, but with a Preface.

W. 260. [Ad te nos . . .] serenitatem.

1 *supplicantes* as in MS Regin. 316.

" " [*Alia.*] Deus qui omnium rerum, &c.

3* *natura.*

" " [*Secreta.*] Praeveniat nos, &c.

7 *perficiant* as in MS Regin. 316.

V.D. per Christum dominum nostrum cuius creatura, &c. (only found in Gerbert *Monum. vet. lit. aleman.* i 302 and note (1)); the text of the fragment is in places illegible,

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but it concludes as in note (1) but with *nimborum* before *amoveri*.

W. 260. [*Post communionem.*] Plebs tua, &c.

[PRO FULGORIBUS.] Gel. III lxxvii.

W. 288. [*Oratio.*] Omnipotens sempiterne deus . . . noxios ignes.

Fol. *c*.

[The right-hand column of the recto and the left-hand column of the verso are practically illegible, and part of the rest is very indistinct; hence it has been impossible to collate the variants.]

[PRO PACE.] Secreta and first Postcommunion of Gel. III lvi.

W. 272. [*Secreta.*] [Deus qui credentes . . . suscipe]re, &c.

Of the three readings, *Christianorum*, *Christianos*, *Romanos*, the first is excluded as the letters *nos* are visible, but there is room for more than *Christia* before it.

„ „ [*Post communionem.*] Deus auctor pacis, &c.

[9] *fidemus* as in MS Reg. 316.

[PRO CARITATE.] 2 collects and Secreta of Gel. III xxvi and Post communionem and Ad populum of xxvii.

W. 247. [*Oratio.*] Deus qui diligentibus te, &c.

[*Alia.*] Deus qui iustitiam, &c.

[2] *Deus* as in MS. Regin. 316.

„ „ [*Secreta.*] Deus qui nos ad imaginem, &c.

The rest of the recto is undecipherable: the verso has

W. 248. [*Post communionem.*] [Spiritum no]bis tue caritatis, &c.

„ „ [*Ad populum.*] Confirma domine quaesumus, &c.

[ORATIONES PRO HIS QUI AGAPE FACIUNT.] Gel. III xlviii.

W. 261. Oremus dilectissimi, &c.

„ „ Sanctum ac venerabilem retributorem, &c.

„ „ [*Orationes ad Missas.*] Gel. III xlix.

W. 262. Deus qui post baptismi, &c.

'*secundum*' as in MS. Regin. 316. [2] *abolitionem*.

[2*] *operis* for *operibus*.

„ „ Deus qui homini . . . metat suo[rum].

[6] *illo*. [7] *veres* (unique).

Fol. *d*.

[This leaf is quite legible.]

[AD MISSAM IN DOMO NOVA.] i. Infra actionem and first of the two Postcommunion collects of Gel. III lxxiii.

W. 284. [*Infra actionem.*] Hanc igitur . . . quam tibi offert, &c.

the page begins with 'domus suae'.

[3] *consistentibus* !!

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W. 284. [*Post communionem.*] Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui facis, &c.

[3] *tuos* omitted. [4*] *rore* for *rorem.*

[AD FRUGES NOVAS.] Two collects which do not seem to have been printed; the second is of the Gallican type.

Te (de) domine sancte pater omnipotens eterne deus supplices deprecamur ut misericordiam tuam iugiter nobis concedas sufficienter mensium [cur]sus et fructuum omnium . . . quoque substantiam abu[n]dantem, arborum fetus, proventus omnium rerum adque ab his omnibus prestiferum (*sic*) fidus (*for* sidus) tempestatis universas procellas et grandinis amovere digneris, per.

[*Alia?*] [Misericordiam pietatis tue supplices deprecamur, omnipotens eterne deus, ut oblationes populi tui quas tibi de suis primitiis offerunt benignus (*sic*) suscipere digneris, tribu[e] eis domine in hoc seculo habundantiam tritici, uini et olei, in futuro autem uitam eternam, commemorationem quoque facientibus nobis beatissimorum martirum et confessorum ueniam peccatorum largire digneris, per.

W. 294. Oramus pietatem, &c. (second collect of Gel. III lxxxviii).

[2*] *dignatus est* for *dignatus es.* *cfundas* (? for *confundas*) for *perfundas.* The words 'et fructus terrae tuae usque ad maturitatem perducas' have been omitted by the copyist.

[*Benedictio ad fruges novas.*] Domine sancte pater omnipotens eterne deus qui celum et terram, &c., as in Muratori *Lit. Rom. vet.* (Venet. 1748) ii 228, with variants: *novum fructum, offerentium* for *offerentibus, laudis* for *laudes.*

W. 294. Benedic domine hos fructus, &c. i.e. first collect of Gel. III lxxxviii.

The conclusion is 'per quem hec omnia domine' as in W.

" " [*Benedictio pomorum*] i.e. Gel. III lxxxix.

Te deprecamur . . . diversis.

novum for *novorum*; *inlustratione* as in MS Regin. 316; *benediccionem* for *benedictione.*

H. M. BANNISTER.

THE ELZEVIR NEW TESTAMENTS OF 1624 AND 1633.

IT seems many a long day since I investigated the minute differences between Elzevir 1624 and Elzevir 1633. My eyes were certainly better

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then, but Dr Nestle's article in the JOURNAL,[1] which I have only just seen, certainly startled me. His remarks are brusque almost to brutality: 'Was Hoskier struck with blindness?' 'Was he mistaken in all these passages?' 'Therefore it is possible that Hoskier's attention did not keep up to the last.' Well, thank goodness, the answer is that I am perfectly right in the reading of *my* copies. I thought I had already guarded myself by remarking that the comparison of printed books is not like that of a single MS with any other standard. Dr Nestle in effect merely signalizes the fact that while both editions were passing through the press alterations were made in each after certain copies had been struck off.

Heb. ix 12, my copy of 1633 reads εὑρόμενος;
Rom. vi 4, „ 1624 „ εἰς θάνατον,

exactly as I stated in 1890.

Further, as to 1 Pet. iii 19 in the edition of 1624, I am correct in saying that the catchword is not transferred from p. 775 to 776. I am correct. Dr Nestle merely means that in his copy it is so transferred.

He says his copy reads top of 776:

μασι πορευθεὶς ἐκήρυξεν, Ἀπειθήσασι 20

My copy reads:—

πορευθεὶς ἐκήρυξεν, Ἀπειθήσασί ποτε, 20.

I will give the next line for Dr Nestle's benefit; for ποτε must be squeezed into *his* next line, or something again overflow into the third line. The second line reads:—

ὅτε ἅπαξ ἐξεδέχετο ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ μακροθυ—

Dr Nestle says, 'Is there no chance of finding the copy which he used?' He refers to my copy of 1624. The answer is that both the copies of 1624 and 1633 which I used in 1889 are still in my possession, and I do not know why he should suppose that they are roving. I shall be glad to submit photographs if any one really cares for such minute matters.

But would it not have been more generous of Dr Nestle to have asked me to verify my references before he pilloried me, and threw doubt on my accuracy? I am painfully conscious of fallibility; but I did take a great deal of trouble over those Elzevir lists, and my eyes were able to detect things in those days with no small accuracy and certainty.

I venture to make this reply, as I expect shortly to bring out another essay; and, although many faults and mistakes may be found in it, I would like the readers of this JOURNAL to know that in the main my observations can be relied upon.

Since writing the above, I have found on my shelves another copy of Elzevir 1633 (other than the one which I used in 1890), and in this

[1] *J. T. S.*, July 1910, vol. xi p. 565.

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copy, stands, sure enough, at Heb. ix 12, εὑρ̄άμενος. The change from εὑρόμενος is abundantly evidenced by the fact that ρ as well as ο were changed. In the other 1633 ρ is straight: here ρ is substituted with a curving tail to the right embracing the lower part of α. They had three *rhos* in their cases; for in 1624 the ρ is again different from either of these, being straight for a certain distance and then having a small curl.

EUANGELIUM GATIANUM.

In the July number of the JOURNAL (vol. xi p. 610) I notice that Dr Burkitt, in reviewing the new edition of *gat*, says: 'But there is nothing Irish about Mk, Lk, Joh in *h*. Because there are "Irish" readings in *h* (Matthew) that does not prove that *h* (Mk, Lk, Joh) has an Irish strain in its ancestry, much less that the Irish strain is the primitive "strues", to use Herr Heer's word.' Where did Professor Burkitt get his facts? I was unable to get the readings of *h* outside of St Matthew until I had the rest of the MS photographed for my private use. Now *h* in Mk, Lk, Joh *is* Irish, was written in Ireland by an Irishman, and has Irish decoration (the earliest of its kind that we know). Its text, however, is quite Vulgate and equals Wordsworth's Z.

THE ANTINOE GOTHIC-LATIN FRAGMENT.

With regard to the note on the Gothic (*J. T. S.* vol. xi p. 612) of the new Gothic-Latin fragment *giess*, it is not only *f* that the Latino-Greek part of the Gothic favours. This strain comes through a combination of *a f* and *q*.

See, for instance, at Luke xix 22:—

Gothic: unselja skalk jah lata
a: infidelis serve et male
f: serve nequa et piger
q: infidelis serve et piger

Here, *b* and *q*, which have so much in common, divide squarely; for *b* says (alone) 'crudelis serve', while it may be remembered, that *e* omits; and *c ff*$_2$ *l* write: 'O infidelis serve'; *i*: 'infidelis serve' (with Lucifer, quoting Luke xix 12/27 in full, but in his introductory notice: 'Serve nequam et piger')[1]; *r*: 'serve infidelis'; *d*: 'serve inique'; and *s* merely 'homo'; [*r*$_2$ is wanting, and *Durmach Dimma h* and *μ* shew no variation from Greek and Vulgate = 'serve nequam'; δ follows Greek order with 'nequam serve'].

Arm plays the variation (according to Sabatier) of ἄπιστε δοῦλε, with *Syr S* and five Latins, as above; while all Greeks, with Coptic, write

[1] Tischendorf goes wrong about this Lucifer quotation.

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πονηρὲ δοῦλε. This, then, is noteworthy, because the *Gothic* is as a rule so beautifully faithful to the Greek, and adapts itself so readily to it.

Syr cu goes with *a* (but inverting the order) while retaining ἄπιστε or infidelis. *Peshitto* with Greek and Coptic. [Not extant in Jerusalem Syriac.] The Diatessaron goes with *f*, although quoting in full from St Luke's account. Now this is important, for the phrase is not a simple importation from St Matthew. That the Gothic is here supported by *a f q* and *Diatess.* gives food for some thought. Then the Lucifer variation in the Luke text of *infidelis serve* (with *c ff*$_2$ *i l Syr S arm*) is noticeable. Of course ἄπιστε δοῦλε is the antithesis of St Luke's εὖ δοῦλε πιστέ, just as *infidelis serve et male* is the antithesis of St Matthew's εὖ δοῦλε ἀγαθὲ καὶ πιστέ, but St Matthew does not say *infidelis serve et male*, but πονηρὲ δοῦλε καὶ ὀκνηρέ as *f Goth Diatess.* in St Luke. While *Syr cu* and *a* in Luke render 'evil slave and faithless' or 'faithless slave and evil', and *q* 'faithless slave and lazy', none of the five agreeing with St Matthew. And *Syr S arm* and Lucifer simply 'faithless slave' in Luke. Lucifer, however, prefixes his long quotation from Luke by some short remarks including the phrase 'serve nequam et piger'. Nor does he go on to say 'in alio Evangelio' the account is so and so. But runs on with St Luke. Gothic is wanting for St Matthew's account, and *Syr S* badly mutilated in xxv 21/26 with 'and lazy' illegible in verse 26.

Neither Greeks nor other authorities vary here in Matthew from πονηρὲ δοῦλε καὶ ὀκνηρέ in any way except as to the order of πονηρὲ δοῦλε or δοῦλε πονηρέ, all having the addition καὶ ὀκνηρέ, and none καὶ ἄπιστε.

The point is that when the *Gothic* runs away at a tangent the reading is very old. This is shewn here by the Diatessaron support, as well as that of *Syr cu* and *a f q*, while the ἄπιστε of *Syr S* Lucifer (introduced into *their* amplified clause by *a q*), and supported by *c ff*$_2$ *i l r* also pushes the reading back far. Why then do the Greeks shew no variation?

Excellent as is the Gothic version, I do not think we have among our Greek MSS the recension upon which it was based. I expect to cite other examples elsewhere to shew this.

In other words the Gothic was based on a Greek document or documents which partook of a very early Graeco-Syriac-Latin stem.

H. C. HOSKIER.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

MR HOSKIER asks me where I got my facts about Codex Claromontanus (Vat. Lat. 7223), known as *h* of St Matthew. I am extremely interested to hear that it was written in Ireland by an Irishman, and I am sure that all readers of this JOURNAL will be grateful if Mr Hoskier will

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publish the colophon or note which establishes this important fact. My own knowledge of *h* is derived from a somewhat hasty examination, during which I was chiefly anxious to test the general accuracy of Belsheim's edition of Matthew, and to make sure that it did not belong originally to the rest of the volume. This indeed is clear; Matthew is written in quite a different hand, and a blank page (now *fol.* 66 b) separates it from Mk, Lk, Joh. I confess I did not go through this later portion, and so the evidence for its place of writing and the name of the scribe escaped me. The text, as Mr Hoskier says, is Vulgate, but is it really very much akin to Wordsworth's Z? Does it not read *quippini* in Lk. xi 28, where Z has *quinimmo*? Does it not have the shorter form of the Lord's Prayer in Luke xi 2–4, while Z adds, 'Thy Will be done', and other things besides? I would not quibble at a word, but Mr Hoskier has such a well-deserved reputation for minute accuracy in textual matters, and he is so severe on the lapses of other people, that his statement might very well be understood to imply a higher degree of similarity between Z and the Vulgate portion of Cod. Claromontanus than I imagine to exist.

I take this opportunity of making a few remarks on Mr Hoskier's Note about the Gothic version of Lk xix 22. Certain texts, including the Gothic and *f*, add the equivalent of καὶ ὀκνηρέ (from Matt. xxv 26) in Lk. xix 22, where the Greek MSS have only πονηρὲ δοῦλε. Some Old Latin texts (but not *f* or the Gothic) have the equivalent of ἄπιστε instead of πονηρέ or ὀκνηρέ. Here therefore *f* and the Gothic are in close agreement against the Greek on the one hand and genuine Old Latin texts on the other: the only difference is that the Gothic has 'bad slave and lazy',[1] where *f* has *serue nequa et piger*.

That the introduction of *infidelis* in this passage is very ancient is proved by its occurrence in the 'Old Syriac', and even in the Arabic Diatessaron, as well as most of the MSS of the Old Latin. But I fail to see the cogency of the evidence for the antiquity of the special feature of *f* and the Gothic, viz. the insertion of 'and lazy'. That it is found in the Arabic Diatessaron is one of the indications that in Tatian's Harmony certain incidents and sayings now separated in the Arabic were once welded together into one—though I do not suppose that Mr Hoskier would admit this.

Mr Buchanan has taught us that *b* in Lk. xix 22 reads *o infidelis serue* (with *c ff l*), not *crudelis serue*.[2]

A more important matter is the evidence of Lucifer. Lucifer's works are preserved only in a single ninth-century MS, but happily the text does not appear to have been contaminated from the Vulgate by copyists, and as Lucifer's general method appears to have been to open his Bible

[1] For *unsels* = πονηρόσ, see Matt vi 23. [2] *Journal of Theol. Studies* x 122.

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and go on transcribing passage after passage, only dropping a few sentences or paragraphs here and there, his longer quotations are practically equivalent to extracts from a Latin codex of the fourth century. But Lucifer's shorter quotations, where we have no particular reason to think he had his book open before him, are no better than those of other writers who trust to their memory. In this instance he says (*Hartel* 248 last words, 249): 'Quem me uis inueniri? illumne seruum qui acceperat unum talentum . . . meruit etiam ipsum talentum amittere et audire *serue nequam et piger*, an illum qui acceptam quantitatem decies multiplicatam repraesentauerit cuique fuerit dictum *euge serue bone et fidelis, quia in modico fuisti fidelis et in plurimis te constituam, intra in gaudium domini tui*? sed istud unde audire potero, si te metuens quae tibi fuerint placita fecero?

'Intuere in Euangelio quid nos facere uoluerit Dominus et desine nos dicere adrogantes: *Homo quidam erat diues. . . .*'

[Here follows Lk. xix 12–27 in full, in surprising general agreement with *b*.[1]]

The long quotation is, as we should expect, very accurate: no doubt Lucifer was copying from a book. But the shorter quotations at the beginning are not so accurate: it is difficult to say whether the second one is meant for Matt. xxv 21, as Hartel thinks, or for Lk. xix 17. Not to tabulate minor points, *quia in modico fuisti fidelis* comes from St Luke, but *in plurimis te constituam* comes from St Matthew. Surely the explanation is simple enough: Lucifer does not open his book till he comes to '*Intuere in Euangelio*', and both the previous quotations are from memory. When, therefore, we find that *serue nequam et piger* is actually the reading of *a ff h*, &c., in Matt. xxv 26, it does not seem a very bold conjecture that these words in Lucifer have nothing to do with his text of Lk. xix 22, but are simply a reminiscence of the parallel words in Matthew.

In conclusion I must add that neither I nor any one else ever supposed that the 'Western' element in the Gothic is confined to what is to be found in *f*: the well-known interpolation in Lk. i 3 is an instance of a Western reading in the Gothic not shared by *f*. The point I have been concerned to maintain is that the peculiar element in *f* which is neither Old-Latin nor Vulgate is akin to the Gothic, and appears to be derived from it. In other words, the type of Latin text called by Westcott and Hort 'Italian', as distinguished from 'European' or 'Vulgate', is not a direct ancestor of the Vulgate text, but a peculiar by-product, a result of various Gothic invasions of North Italy.

F. C. BURKITT.

[1] e. g. in *ver.* 18 both *b* and Lucifer have *mna tua fecit quinque talenta*: a good deal!

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ON *IMMEDIATELY* IN MATT. XXIV 29.

IT has frequently been maintained that Matt. xxiv 29 is more original in expression than the parallel passage Mk. xiii 24; and now Dr Sanday in the new Oxford *Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, p. 10, has lent the weight of his authority to what I cannot but consider to be the erroneous view. This seems, therefore, a not inappropriate time for entering a respectful protest. Dr Sanday says: 'In Matt. xxiv 29, "*Immediately* after the tribulation of those days", the word "immediately" is not found in the parallel text Mk. xiii 24; and yet we may be pretty sure that it is original, because it would seem to be contradicted by the event.'

But does the passage in St Matthew really say more definitely than that in St Mark that the Parusia will come 'immediately'? I do not think so. Had we found in some Gospel such a statement as 'When ye see Jerusalem encompassed by armies, know that its desolation is nigh. But immediately after the city is taken, the sun shall be darkened and the sign of the Son of Man will appear'—then, indeed, we might say that this is a definite *vaticinium* which would seem to be contradicted by the event, and we might consequently regard it as more 'original' than the vaguer language of Mk. xiii 24. But this imaginary saying is not what we find in Matt. xxiv. 29. The θλίψισ of this verse and of Mk. xiii 24 is a much vaguer state and period. Matthew does not say the Parusia is coming immediately: he only says that the Parusia is coming *immediately after* a certain period of tribulation, a period itself in the future. No doubt it is all to come to pass in 'this generation' (Matt. xxiv 34, Mk. xiii 30, Lk. xxi 32): that is common to all the Synoptic Gospels. What I am here trying to point out is that Matthew's εὐθέωσ introduces no new element into the anticipated chronology.

In Mk. xiii 21 ff the disciples are told not to believe when folk say the Messiah has come here or there: μὴ πιστεύετε, our Lord says to them, but (ἀλλά) when the tribulation is past then they will see the Son of Man coming in clouds (*vv.* 24–26). ἀλλά always looks back to a preceding negative expressed or understood. If in *v.* 24 it does not actually look back to 'do not believe' in *v.* 21, then we must understand it to mean 'These impostors are not the Messiah, but . . .'.

The parallel passage Matt. xxiv 23–30 follows Mark very closely, except that Matthew inserts *vv.* 26–28 from Q (= Lk. xvii 23, 24, 37[b]). By this insertion, especially by *v.* 28, 'after the tribulation' has been broken off from 'do not believe', and so Matthew introduces it by εὐθέωσ δέ. The meaning is not different from the meaning of Mark; but whereas Mark speaks of the future tribulation and the future Parusia as being all in *one* period (ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις), Matthew

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distinguishes *two* periods, the 'tribulation of those days' and the Parusia immediately (εὐθέως) afterwards. The difference between the two Gospels is here merely one of wording: so far as the time indicated for the Parusia is concerned I cannot see that either is more original than the other.

With regard to the second passage brought forward by Dr Sanday as an instance of the occasional inferiority of Mark, viz. the Saying 'I was not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel', which in Matthew introduces the conversation between our Lord and the Syrophoenician woman,[1] it may be remarked that the phrase τὰ πρόβατα τὰ ἀπολωλότα οἴκου Ἰσραήλ has already been used in Matt. x 6. One of the most marked features of Matthew's style is his frequent repetition of his own peculiar or characteristic formulas.[2] We may very well believe that he found traditional authority for telling us that our Lord had quoted 'I desire mercy and not sacrifice' from Hosea; but at the same time we may regard the insertion of this in the context of Matt. ix 13 as being simply and solely an editorial addition, whatever may be the case with regard to Matt. xii 7. Similarly it is not unreasonable to regard Matt. xv 24 as designed by the Evangelist to introduce and explain the curt refusal of Mk. vii 27. In any case it seems to me to be similar in genesis to such peculiarities of the First Gospel as Matt. ix 13 (referred to above), xiii 10, xiv 16[a], 18, xvi 11, xvii 7.

For these reasons I cannot accept Dr Sanday's illustrations as self-evident 'examples in which the text of St Mark as we have it does not appear to be prior to that of one or both of the two companion Gospels' (*Studies*, p. 9).

F. C. BURKITT.

ON ΕΑΥΤΟΝ ΕΚΕΝΩΣΕΝ, PHIL. ii 7.

THE Note by Mr John Ross in *J. T. S.* July 1909 p. 573 seems to remove the difficulty (felt by Lightfoot, Gifford, and other commentators) of giving ἁρπαγμός its proper active signification. It also seems to remove all ambiguity from the phrase ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν. This may now be interpreted as the exact antithesis of ἁρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο—'He considered His equality with God not as an opportunity of self-aggrandizement, but effaced all thought of self and poured out His fullness to enrich others'.

[1] Matthew calls her a Canaanite: what an artificial Old Testament word! It is just like calling Wady Ghurundel '*Elim*'.

[2] I need only refer to Sir John Hawkins's lists in *Horae Synopticae*, pp. 168 ff, and the phrases printed in clarendon type, pp. 82–98.

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The expression ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν—which is perhaps an equivalent for הֶעֱרָה נַפְשׁוֹ, Is. liii 12—contains two ideas

(*a*) Abnegation of selfish impulses, the opposite of ambition or self-aggrandizement, and

(*b*) Self-devotion, self-sacrifice for others' good, utter unreserved self-dedication to the service of others; the opposite of plundering others, or ignoring their interests in one's own ambition.

We thus have in this passage a view of our Lord's humiliation which is of constant recurrence throughout the New Testament. His commendation of the poor widow who withheld nothing[1] shews 'the mind which was in Christ Jesus'. The thought of Him in whom all fullness dwelt emptying Himself that He might fill all things[2]—of Him who was rich enriching us by making Himself poor[3]—of Him who by suffering not only learned obedience but also 'found out'[4] eternal salvation and became able to save to the uttermost—all this fits in with this the apparent meaning of this passage. 'Not mine own will' is our Lord's constant thought in the Fourth Gospel.

This exegesis is counter to that of Lightfoot, Gifford, and other eminent scholars, and therefore demands some apology and excuse, and I should like to ask forbearance for apparent presumption in pointing out what seems to me the one weak spot in Dr Gifford's valuable and exhaustive 'study'.[5]

Notwithstanding his able championship of St Paul's exactness and accuracy in the use of language, Dr Gifford here allows himself the assumption that St Paul uses ἁρπαγμός to mean ἅρπαγμα. The evidence for the terminations being interchangeable in some cases is not to the point. Not only does he adduce no instance of ἁρπαγμός being used for ἅρπαγμα, but he assumes that St Paul in this passage rejects this latter, the commoner word, with a clear definite meaning, the meaning he wishes to convey, and chooses another word which at least admits of another shade of meaning. Neither Dr Gifford nor any others give any reason for St Paul's departure from his wonted exact accuracy. The real reason why so many eminent scholars took this line seems to have been the difficulty of reconciling the meaning of 'robbery' with the validity of our Lord's claim to be on an equality with God. Mr Ross's suggestion relieves them of this difficulty, and would I think have been welcomed by those great scholars who are no longer with us.

Again, Dr Gifford assumes that ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν requires some genitive

[1] Mk. xii 41.

[2] Eph. i 23; iv 10. Cf. 'of whose fullness we have all received'.

[3] 2 Cor. viii 9.

[4] Heb. ix 12 εὑράμενος.

[5] *The Incarnation: a study of Philippians* ii 5–11, by E. H. Gifford, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton, 1897).

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of contents to be supplied for its proper interpretation, and maintains that 'equality with God' is the only thing of which He could have emptied Himself. But why not take the words as they stand, as expressing exactly St Paul's thought? viz. not that He emptied Himself *of anything*, but that what He poured out was Himself, emptying His fullness into us.[1]

This interpretation removes this passage from the Kenotic controversy which has influenced the conclusions of most commentators. It also makes clearer the grammatical and logical antithesis between the clauses *οὐχ ἁρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο* and *ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν*.

The developement of this view of Christ's humiliation must be left for the present. Suffice it now to observe that it gives a new connotation to the 'holiness' which characterized Him. It is no longer the 'separation' of the Old Testament (and of Greek religion), but the highest most perfect holiness consists in unselfishness, in giving, not in seeking to gain aught for oneself. Thus Jesus revealed the Father's holiness. 'He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father.' For Christians holiness and unselfishness are perfect synonyms, or as nearly perfect as any language affords.

W. WARREN.

THE MENELAUS EPISODE IN THE SYRIAC ACTS OF JOHN.

THE author of a lately published book, *The Vision of the Young Man Menelaus*, argues that an incident in the Syriac Acts of John, viz. the death and resurrection of Menelaus and the accompanying vision, is borrowed from the original Leucian Acts of John.

I should like to advance in support of this view a double argument: (*a*) I would adduce the testimony of no less an authority than Lipsius, whose argument, so far as I am aware, has never been seriously met: and (*b*) I would point out an accidental slip of the Syriac compiler which gives us a clear proof that he had before him an original document which he was seeking to modify, which document can have been no other than the Leucian Acts.

[1] This usage of the word is well attested. Thus Sophocles, *Lexicon*, s.v.: '*κενόω, to empty*, said of the thing containing. Classical.—2. *to empty*, of the thing emptied or poured out' (with references to Philo and Chrysostom among others). Suicer, too, gives examples of this sense: Chrys. *in Psal.* xli *πάντα τὰ ὄντα εἰς τοὺς πένητας κενοῦν*; *id. Serm.* lvii *τὴν σπουδὴν ταύτην . . . κενοῦσιν ἅπασαν*; Greg. Naz. *ἐν τοῖς παρέργοις κενῶσαι τὴν ἰσχύν*.

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(*a*) The argument of Lipsius is to be found on pp. 435 f of vol. i of his *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*. First, he shews from the Syriac writer's allusion to a miracle, which he forgets to describe, that he had before him a written original. Then he points out that the general run of the Syriac narrative is very like that of the 'Prochorus' Acts of John (Zahn *Acta Ioannis* p. 3 f). In both documents John is employed at Ephesus as attendant at a bath. In both documents a young man dies in the bath and is raised by John. In both documents not only is the same event central in the story, but the same order of succession is observed in describing the surrounding incidents. Hence, argues Lipsius, behind both narratives lies a common written source which is in all probability the Leucian Acts of John.

And then Lipsius goes a stage further. He has to decide whether the Syriac document or 'Prochorus' gives us the more faithful version of this common Leucian original. He decides in favour of the Syriac, because while the Syriac tells us the young man was put to death by an angel as the result of John's prayer, 'Prochorus' attributes the death to a demon. 'Prochorus', says Lipsius, is obviously trying to remove the offence caused by angels and Apostles behaving in so unmerciful a way.

(*b*) And now I come to my second point. I think it can be shewn that the Syriac Acts exhibit clear traces of being a modification of just such a narrative as we should expect to find in the Leucian Acts.

There is a contrast between the words of Menelaus describing his death at the prayer of John, and the Syriac author's own description of the same event. On p. 25 of vol. ii of Wright's *Apocryphal Acts*, Menelaus sees a vision of the assembled Apostles, including John. The exact words he uses at the end of the description of this vision are as follows: 'Whilst trembling I noticed him that it was this man against whom I rose to kill him IN THE BATH, because he hindered me from fornication.'

Contrast with this the author's own description of the death of Menelaus on p. 20. 'But when the holy man heard that he [Menelaus] was within, he was grieved, and sighed, and was troubled. AND HE WAITED TILL BOTH OF THEM HAD COME OUT; and he did not look at them till they had put on their clothes. And when they were dressed after the bath, he turned and looked at them, and said to the youth: "To thee I say, may Jesus rebuke thee . . . but thou shalt drop down and die upon the spot." And straightway the angel of the Lord smote him, and he died on the spot. And he was lying there and St John was sitting beside him; and straightway the harlot went forth with a great outcry, with her hands placed on her head.'

It is clear that the scenes contemplated are different.

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On p. 25 Menelaus is in the bath-house and rushes on John to kill him.

On p. 20 Menelaus has put on his clothes and come *outside* the bath-house.

There can be no doubt, especially when we take into account the emphatic way in which on p. 20 the modesty of the Apostle is described, that the author of the Syriac Acts had a narrative before him in which the whole scene took place inside the bath-house. This narrative, however, outraged his sense of propriety. And the account on p. 20 represents his own attempt to render the incident less offensive. But, by an inadvertence, exactly like the other inadvertence detected by Lipsius, he has on p. 25 copied out the words of Menelaus just as they occurred in his original.

If, however, we go on to ask what that original was the answer will be the Leucian Acts.

For we know as a matter of fact that the Leucian Acts did contain other such objectionable episodes. In the Acts of John we have the Callimachus-Drusiana scene. And a quotation from Evodius of Uzala (Schmidt *Petrus-Akten* p. 53) attributes two repulsive scenes in quick succession to the Acts of Andrew.

V. C. MACMUNN.

ANOTHER BOOK WRITTEN BY THE SCRIBE OF THE LEICESTER CODEX.

THE Harley manuscript 3100 of Suidas, written on vellum and paper, and mutilated at each end, was given to the Earl of Oxford, as I learned from Humphrey Wanley's diary, by the Dean and Chapter of Durham. This note of its provenance led me to look at the manuscript; for it is known that a Plato and an Aristotle, still preserved at Durham, were both the work of the scribe of the Leicester Codex (see Rendel Harris, *The Ferrar group*). The Suidas proved also to be in that same hand throughout.

We now know of the following manuscripts by this scribe:—

1. The Leicester Codex of the New Testament.
2, 3, 4. Psalter at Corpus Chr. Coll., Oxford, Gonv. and Caius, and Trinity, Cambridge.
5, 6. Plato and Aristotle at Durham.

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7. Suidas at Corp. Chr. Coll., Oxford (part).
8. Suidas Harley 3100.
9. Demosthenes, &c., at Leyden.
10. Homer, &c., at Corp. Chr. Coll., Cambridge (probably).

It is natural to suppose that the archetype of the Harley Suidas was also that of the Corpus Christi (Oxford) Suidas; and I think I have shown reason for believing that that was Grosseteste's copy.

M. R. JAMES.

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REVIEWS

BOOKS ON THE OLD TESTAMENT.

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis. By JOHN SKINNER, D.D. (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1910.)

DR SKINNER'S commentary is an admirable piece of consistent laborious work which will increase both the deservedly high reputation which he has already earned and the value of the *International Critical Commentary*, to which series it belongs. While Dr Driver's volume in the *Westminster Commentaries* remains the best introductory book of its kind, this larger and more exhaustive work—indebted in many respects, as the author acknowledges, to Dr Driver himself—is by far the most useful of modern commentaries for more mature students. Dr Skinner has been no mere collector of material: he shews throughout an independent judgement, and not infrequently criticizes with some raciness his authorities. He feels that biblical criticism is at a stage of transition. 'What with Winckler and Jeremias, and Cheyne, and now Eerdmans, Old Testament scholars have a good many new eras dawning on them just now. Whether any of them will shine unto the perfect day, time will show' (p. xliii). Perhaps much the same feeling prevailed in 1864–1878 before the publication of Wellhausen's *Prolegomena*. Yet Dr Skinner is not the one to remain stationary. He is not disinclined to flirt with the 'seductive Muṣri-theory which is pursued to such an extravagant length' (p. 472). He considers Cheyne's proposal to read Muṣri for Moriah 'not devoid of plausibility' (p. 329). He evidently allows that the name was applied outside Egypt proper (p. 285), and although he considers 'the idea of a wholesale confusion between Egypt and Arabia' to be a 'nightmare' (p. 201), it is clear that he does not treat the theory in its moderate form as an illusion. While justly condemning the 'bewildering hypothesis' of Eerdmans (p. xliii), it is interesting to see that he more than approves of that scholar's recent effort to rehabilitate the old view connecting the Hebrews with the Apuriu of Egypt (pp. xvi, 218 seq.). He does not, however, seem to consider the bearing of this upon current views of the pre-monarchical history. It is also extremely significant that Dr Skinner appears to be favourably impressed by the view of B. Luther and Eduard Meyer that certain traditions in Genesis seem to have traced the conquest of Palestine to Jacob (Israel) and his sons (see pp. xxiii, 418, 422, 450, 507, 512). This persistence of traditions of a successful settlement—the Exodus being ignored—affects our ideas of the perspective of history

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possessed by the people of Palestine, and is obviously important for some fundamental biblical problems.

In the course of a valuable introduction, which one would gladly have seen longer, Dr Skinner discusses the character of the patriarchal traditions, their date, and the date of the literary sources of Genesis. He tends towards a somewhat conservative position which, though it has recently come into vogue through Gunkel, seems to me extremely unsafe. Genesis, it is admitted, is a well-knit whole, consisting of a post-exilic priestly source (P) and earlier sources (JE). As a book, it was called forth by the religious feeling of post-exilic Judaism (p. lxvi). The stories belong to a stock of tradition which continued to flourish (cf. p. 132), and later developements may be found in the Book of Jubilees, Josephus, and the Midrashic literature. Here, as in P, new features are combined with older elements, but there is a general colouring everywhere in harmony with the contemporary thought, whether of P, Jubilees, &c. Hence, as regards Genesis, the initial problems concern the particular form which the stories have reached in JE or in P. Between the spirit of JE and that of P there is, of course, a wide gap, but the argument that JE is earlier than the age of written prophecy is fallacious, because non-prophetical does not necessarily mean pre-prophetical. What is really fundamental is the fact that the post-exilic redaction combines the discordant and diverse JE and P. A work prepared for popular needs obviously must not be too far removed from popular thought. We can easily understand the inclusion of the older 'the most precious and edifying parts of the Book of Genesis' (p. lxvi), but the stronger the evidence severing JE from the written prophets, the more significant is its retention by a post-exilic compiler. If we eliminate P from Genesis we have, on the literary-critical hypothesis, sources which were still current and suitable in P's time, and consequently JE, as now preserved to us, is evidence for the non-priestly thought in the post-exilic age. This is not unexpected when we recall the more popular and less spiritual features of the later Palestinian literature; and by thus taking a post-exilic starting-point for the investigation of JE in its *present* form we are on a surer foundation than when we discuss the antiquity of its material, a question which involves a great many problems of Israelite history and religion. It is natural to seek to trace some evolution of thought and religion, but experience so frequently shews us the survival of lower and higher forms of thought at the same period, that the differences which we often try to place in a historical framework may be ethical or sociological. The relative antiquity of ideas, customs, or beliefs, does not necessarily prove the relative antiquity of sources, but this assumption is not rarely treated as an axiomatic principle. For example, even Dr Skinner, on p. 70,

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objects that the primitive form of marriage which some have found in Gen. ii 24 'would imply an almost incredible antiquity for the present form of the narrative'. It is surely difficult to maintain the principle underlying such an objection when we consider the history of the Bible-lands from the most ancient times to the present day.

In conclusion, there are many interesting points in this excellent commentary to which one would like to draw attention. Those already referred to illustrate in one way or another current tendencies, and when Dr Skinner speaks of the 'new eras dawning' his commentary shews that he is taking his share in bringing *some* new era into the light of day. Between the extreme and isolated forms of criticism which often appear perverse or radical and the significant advances of other scholars who perhaps do not always see where these may lead to, there is no impassable gulf.

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Chronicles. By Prof. E. L. CURTIS, Ph.D., D.D., and the Rev. A. A. MADSEN, Ph.D. (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1910.)

A LARGE modern commentary on Chronicles for English readers has long been needed, and in welcoming this volume every one will regret the serious illness which compelled Prof. Curtis to secure an assistant. Dr Madsen himself has had a good share in the preparation of the notes and the introductory matter, and the joint work is quite up to the standard of the other volumes of this series. Since De Wette (1806) it has been ever more widely recognized that the books of Chronicles are not trustworthy for the history of the monarchy. In consequence of this they do not hold any prominent place in modern biblical research, although in several respects they are among the most perplexing and the most stimulating books in the Old Testament. They are of value because when carefully compared with the parallel portions of Samuel and Kings, they illustrate the reshaping, revision, and growth of tradition; the methods of compilation and history-writing; the manifestation of diverse standpoints and interests—the whole furnishing objective evidence useful for any critical study of other Palestinian literature. The imposing and apparently plausible lists of names offer a tempting field for careful research; the linguistic and stylistic features are a problem in themselves. Finally, these rather neglected books are part of a great historical work which extends into the keenly-disputed records of the post-exilic age in Ezra and Nehemiah, and upon this obscure age they throw some light. But the books of Chronicles are in general unhistorical, and in common with most scholars the authors of this commentary devote some attention to the question whether this or that narrative is 'historical'. And when it is found to conflict with

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other evidence which appears to be trustworthy, the attitude seems to be that criticism has performed its task. But, as Dr Percy Gardner reminds us, it is by infinite gradations that truth passes into untruth (*Camb. Bibl. Essays* p. 391), and frequently narratives cannot be summarily classed as historical or unhistorical. What actually happened is often beyond research and unessential; what was thought is evidence of the most objective character, and of real and lasting value. Criticism is apt sometimes to attempt the impossible and to ignore the immediate and simpler inferences. Elijah's letter (2 Chron. xxi 11–15), we are told, is 'a pure product of the imagination' (p. 415), it belongs to a context of 'embellished traditions', or 'history simply imagined' (p. 413). How do we know? The narratives conflict with the relatively scanty and difficult narratives in Kings; can we seriously suppose that the writer 'invented' a new and contradictory tradition with which to point a lesson? In 2 Chron. xxv 5–13 and xxvi 16–23 we have 'wholly a product of Midrashic fancy' (p. 442) and 'doubtless a mere legend' (p. 452); but, whatever be the value of these stories as *history*, we may safely assume that the overthrow of Edom and the leprosy of Uzziah were once told more fully than in the brief verses of 2 Kings xiv 7, xv 5. We may surely allow links between the impression left upon tradition by these events and the stories that have been preserved in Chronicles. It is more methodical to allow the *a priori* possibility—as in xxxv 20–26 (p. 516, cf. p. 521)—that we have variant traditions or late developements of traditions as worthy of attention as those in an earlier source. In 2 Chron. xx 35–37 and xxiv 23 seq. it is supposed that the older narratives have been 'entirely' or 'quite' rewritten; but they appear, in point of fact, to be entirely distinct, and it is quite unnecessary to endeavour to find the earlier form of a late tradition in one that happens to survive in an earlier source. As in 1 Chron. vii 14 (p. 151), we must be prepared to admit that a novel tradition may represent a variant or local form of one more familiar elsewhere. When we learn that Simeon is reckoned with the northern tribes, although 'historically the tribe was probably' absorbed in Judah or the south before the Monarchy (pp. 385, 504), it is clear that biblical criticism cannot rest content with this. One has to consider the *ten* tribes in 1 Kings xi 31—to which the commentary refers—and also 2 Sam. xix 43, and especially Gen. xxxiv, which actually suggests how the tribe could have become associated with Central Palestine.

Of course half a millennium or more intervenes, but there is the same immense gap between the early tribal history and the prominence of the tribes in Chronicles and in later literature. Again, if, as many agree, the southern clans of 1 Chron. ii were merged into Judah by David, Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah, and not the books of Samuel and

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Kings, furnish the sequel, and if 'Calebites must have been conspicuous in post-exilic Judah' (p. 89), we have to realize that more than five centuries of not undisturbed history appear to sever them from the fortunes of the eponym Caleb, the servant of Yahweh. It is recognized that 1 Chron. xii manifests a particular interest in Benjamin (p. 195), as does chap. ii in the descendants of South Judaean clans (p. 90); thus there are in this post-exilic book certain sympathies which are very significant for its structure and for the possibility that similar sympathies may have left their mark elsewhere than in the lists of names. Chronicles, it is agreed, represents religious and Levitical conditions later than the complete Mosaic legislation, and dates after the return of exiles from Babylon to the natives of Judah and Benjamin—some of whom were of South Judaean descent—after the reorganization associated with the names of Nehemiah and Ezra, and after the separation from the Samaritans (pp. 5 sqq.). One must contrast the cessation of the older recension of the history (in Kings) with the continuation of the later recension of the same period of history in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, and, also, the very scanty historical material between 586 and *c.* 445 with the curious traditions in Chronicles of royal and priestly rivalries, of attacks from south Palestine, of political, religious, and temple reorganization. Indeed, the 'unhistorical' traditions in Chronicles, like the patriarchal stories in Jubilees, may well reflect some traces of a nearer historical and religious background. In any case, the Chronicles give us some insight into that long and obscure age where the direct historical sources are lamentably poor. It is interesting, therefore, to find among the new material that archaic 'patriarchal' method of representation (1 Chron. vii 21 sqq. p. 153), which was not, as is sometimes assumed, peculiar to a nation's childhood. Instructive, also, is the presence in xii 19 of a 'beautiful bit of Hebrew poetry' (p. 199); it is not unexpected when one observes that such specimens of Hebrew writing as 2 Sam. ix–xx and Judges i are insertions by a post-Deuteronomic hand (sixth century or later), evidently from independent and accessible sources. In general, the books of Chronicles have suffered unmerited neglect because of the anxiety to determine whether they contain history or not. History is something more than the record of occurrences, and the most unhistorical, untrustworthy, and incredible narrative has some little value which will ultimately add to our knowledge of the Old Testament and Palestine. In the endeavour to formulate the course of Israelite history and religion there has been a tendency to ignore material that did not fall within the scheme—but sooner or later this material must be carefully reconsidered more objectively, and in the criticism of the conflicting and differing details new clues may be found to the better understanding of the Old Testament.

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Consequently, it is a very great gain to have so full a commentary as this upon two books of the Old Testament which offer so many openings for further study.

Ezra Studies. By Prof. C. C. TORREY. University of Chicago Press, 1910.

THIS is a collection of studies which, with one exception, appeared in America during 1906–1909, and are here presented in a revised form with a supplementary and summarizing essay. They deal mainly with the so-called 'apocryphal' First Esdras and the corresponding passages in the 'canonical' books, the criticism of Ezra i–vi, the account of Ezra's work, and the historical criticism of the sources for the post-exilic period in general. As is usually the case with a series of reprints there is a certain lack of unity, but the concluding essay enables the reader to gather together the threads and to realize the meaning of the conclusions to which these studies lead. They are, in fact, in no small degree 'destructive', although there is much that is highly constructive; and even those readers who differ most from Prof. Torrey's radical views can hardly fail to be stimulated to re-examine their own standpoint. Owing to the great range of textual, literary, and historical matters in this volume it is not an easy one to review. It arrests attention as much by its rather uncompromising outspokenness as by the very comprehensive manner in which the author has handled post-exilic problems.

As regards 1 Esdras, Torrey quite justly complains of the neglect of this important recension. His own work upon it here is the best that has been done. He upholds the view that it is part of the old Greek translation of Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah, in the form these books then had, and he has very appropriately dedicated his volume to Sir Henry Howorth, with whom of course this view is associated. Torrey's treatment of 1 Esdras as a textual authority is more critical than Jahn's (1909), and everywhere he is extremely suggestive. He has a very careful discussion of the Story of the Three Youths (pp. 37–61), and successfully shews that, as had already been guessed, it had a Semitic original—Torrey argues for Aramaic. Torrey's most important contribution touches the sequel of the story (chap. iv) which, as he demonstrates, cannot be severed from the passage v 1–6, whose connexion with the list of exiles in v 7 sqq. (=Ezr. ii) has been recognized by others. This means that the sequel to the novel story of the Three Youths is the prelude to the list which in Ezra belongs to the reign of Cyrus, but in Esdras is ostensibly connected with the history of Zerubbabel and Darius. Torrey's solution, with which C. F. Kent agrees, is to treat the story as an interpolation in the history of the return; but

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since it evidently owes its presence to the successful effort of Zerubbabel to induce Darius to fulfil his vow, and since the position of the Samaritan hostility in the time of Artaxerxes between Cyrus and Darius is only one of several attempts to combine conflicting details of the favour of these two kings, it seems more likely that a *bona fide* and independent tradition associating Zerubbabel's return with Darius has been woven by a compiler into an account of an earlier return. On any theory we have in the 'apocryphal' and 'canonical' sources and in Josephus different attempts to narrate the history, to simplify or modify the material, and so harmonize or reconcile certain difficulties. In a chapter on the Aramaic portions of Ezra Torrey discusses the 'official documents' there and elsewhere (e.g. in Maccabees), vigorously combating Eduard Meyer's curious position in his *Entstehung des Judentums*, the marked inconsistency of which has not been unobserved even by some 'conservative' scholars. Another valuable essay is that on 'the Chronicler as Editor and as Independent Narrator'. It undertakes a critical comparison of Chronicles with Ezra-Nehemiah, and emphasizes the necessity for treating the whole as a reasoned and deliberate compilation. It is unnecessary to follow Torrey's views regarding the 'inventions' of the Chronicler; much more instructive is the fact that our knowledge of post-exilic biblical history is based upon two books (Ezra-Nehemiah) which are part, not of the earlier series Joshua-Kings, but of the uneven and generally untrustworthy books of Chronicles. Efforts influenced by the 'unhistorical' character of Chronicles to magnify or to minimize the extent of the 'Chronicler's' work in Ezra-Nehemiah seem to me to be unmethodical, partly because Ezra-Nehemiah urge with new force the question of the literary compositeness of the 'Chronicler', and partly because a comparison of Chronicles with Samuel-Kings shews that historical criticism must not be based on too rigid principles. When Torrey claims to have 'demonstrated conclusively' (p. ix) that the Chronicler is the sole author of the story of Ezra, the possibility of an historical nucleus still remains, and although it is difficult, if not impossible, to use the material either before the appearance of Nehemiah or in the account of his work, it is not to be ignored as an unfounded tradition. The most striking essay of all is undoubtedly the last (pp. 285–335). It covers, though with inevitable incompleteness, the leading problems of the Exile and the Restoration, and should on no account be missed. It strikes at some of the most familiar conceptions with which biblical students usually approach the period, and suggests an entire reconsideration of the exilic 'gap', of the significance of the Return, and of the Samaritan and Jewish rivalries in their bearing upon the Old Testament. Whatever may be thought of Torrey's conclusions it is but just to observe

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that the ordinary attitude of 'moderate criticism' to the problems of this period resembles the 'conservative' attitude towards the Pentateuch —the sources are taken to be essentially trustworthy, but admissions are made respecting vital points which undermine the trustworthiness of the sources and afford no starting-point for reconstruction. Torrey's general position is one towards which criticism is slowly tending, and in fact it becomes inevitable as one realizes that our conception of the period has been based upon sources representing particular standpoints. It is becoming more commonly recognized that the Exile did not mean the denudation of Palestine, that the account of the Return has been 'idealized', and that while Trito-Isaiah and Malachi represent religious conditions of no high order even after the return of exiles from Babylonia, there were, e.g. in South Egypt, pious Jews unconnected with the 'Babylonian leaven'. The accumulation of new preconceptions in approaching the period, coupled with a more consistent criticism of the biblical sources, tends to emphasize the remarkable scantiness and intricacy of the historical material after the fall of Jerusalem during an age when all the indications point to the most profound vicissitudes. Different lines of research converge upon the formative age which developed into Judaism and Samaritanism, an age when a great part of the Old Testament was assuming its present form. This age follows upon that of the downfall, first of Samaria, and later of Judah, and must contain the antecedents of the subsequent developements. Yet, the compilers confine themselves to the supreme importance of the Return, the resumption of the old Israelite life, and the continued hostility of the heathen. As Torrey points out, the history has been written to champion Judah against the mixed Samaritans, and to uphold the supremacy of a community which traced itself back, not to the mixed stocks in Judah but to the old Judah of the Monarchy. Torrey's conclusions practically place Ezra-Nehemiah on the same footing with Chronicles: the books are not *prima facie* trustworthy, although careful criticism may recover a certain amount of valuable historical material. In some important respects these conclusions are supported by the investigations of various individual scholars, but Torrey's general position seems to me to be more consistent. This new attitude to the exilic and post-exilic age (cf. p. 288) will doubtless come as a shock to those who had believed that Meyer's *Entstehung* was the last word in criticism, or who hold narrow views of what is meant by 'history'. We cannot too emphatically remind ourselves that history-writing and the attitude to past history are matters of evolution, that we cannot look for genetic history where scientific historical research was unknown, and that the search for ultimate historical facts is not the only duty of modern historical study. The actual events of the age covered by the books of

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Ezra and Nehemiah are wrapped in obscurity, and whatever they may have been, they are not so important as the results. Herein lies the lasting value of these books in that they illustrate the thought which prevailed at a time which is of the profoundest significance for the steps leading to Christianity and Rabbinical Judaism. Insistence upon historical verity may easily be pushed too far. Every narrative has a very immediate and rich value as a human document, independent of its trustworthiness or authenticity, and the opening chapters of Genesis are typical of the whole of biblical history in so far as they teach us that the objective history of the progress of thought may have a deeper meaning for modern life than the events which these chapters relate.

STANLEY A. COOK.

Lex in Corde: Studies in the Psalter. By W. EMERY BARNES, D.D. (Longmans, Green, & Co., 1910.)

IN this volume of about 260 pages Dr Barnes has given us the result of thoughtful study in the form of short essays upon eighteen selected Psalms. The title *Lex in Corde* was probably derived from Ps. xl 8, for this psalm forms the central study (pp. 104-113) while the thought of *Law* or *Torah* is kept before us by the headings of other studies in the *Table of Contents*, e. g. Ps. i, *The Legal Gulf*; Ps. xix, *God in the Universe and in the Law*; Ps. xl, *The Law fulfilled*; Ps. li, *The Bridge over the Legal Gulf*; Ps. lxix, *The inner History of a Champion of the Law*; Ps. cxix, *The Panegyric of the Law.* Dr Barnes's conception of the 'Law' is a very worthy one and shall be given in his own words. Thus, p. 252 (on Ps. cxix):—'"The Law." The word falls rather coldly on Christian ears, for we have become accustomed to contrast it with "the Gospel". But it is truer to think of it as the forerunner of the Gospel. The Hebrew word *Torah* has little in it to suggest a legal code; the main thought enshrined in it is of revelation or guidance or teaching.'

So, of the author of Ps. cxix he says (p. 256):—'The psalmist is a spiritual man. He is conscious of past sin and the need of present grace. His prayer, frequently uttered, for the divine gift of understanding is in no sense formal; it is based on a vivid sense of the greatness of the Divine *Torah*, which is "wonderful", "exceeding broad" and able to make the simple wise. . . . He loves the *Torah* as the mirror of the perfections of JEHOVAH (cf. *v.* 96).'

And again, in the interesting chapter on Ps. xix (p. 73 f):—'This Psalm, broadly described, is like Ps. cxix, a song in praise of the law of JEHOVAH. And here it must be said that it is well for us to notice and to use the Psalmist's own term. In St Paul's day "the law" had become dissociated from its Divine Author; it had

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almost stepped into His place. A Book had taken the place of the living word of God; its Hebrew name, *Torah*, "teaching", "guidance", had given way to the narrower Greek name, the Law (νόμος). It is not so with this Psalmist. He feels that the Divine word is a living power, and truly one, whether it comes through the rays of the Sun or through the precepts of the Law.' See also pp. 19–21. I must not continue quotations on this subject though tempted to do so; suffice it to say that the studies on Pss. xix and cxix are excellent.

I am not sure that I altogether follow Dr Barnes in the distinction that he makes between Psalmists and Prophets. Thus, p. 175:—'The Psalms are human utterances. Broadly speaking, we may say that while the Prophecies are from God manward, the Psalms are from man Godward.' Dr Barnes would not wish to press this distinction, for he says, p. 27:—'Now it is true that no line of absolute division can be drawn between the Psalmists and the Prophets. Prophets sometimes [see e. g. Isa. xii, Jer. xvii 5–8] speak like Psalmists, and, on the other hand, the Psalter contains a prophetic element. And yet a broad distinction must be drawn between the Prophets and the Psalmists.' I will not pause to consider whether this distinction between Prophets and Psalmists can be justified or not; suffice it to note the line of argument. Dr Barnes would maintain that whereas the 'historical method' is necessary for the interpretation of the Prophets it is not so, or not equally so, in the case of the Psalmists. I will give his own words (p. 118):—'When, however, we pass from the Prophets to the Psalms we are usually conscious of a great change of religious atmosphere. We pass into a region where thought is more intimate, where the individual is more, and the nation—at least the nation on its political side—is less. Some commentators have found this change so startling that they have endeavoured to minimize it. A tendency has prevailed in Germany (and, in part, in England) for the last twenty-five years to interpret the "I" of a Psalmist as a personification, and to maintain that he speaks in the name of his people rather than in his own. This theory is founded on fact, and in the case of a few Psalms it helps us in the interpretation. But the theory is used with great exaggeration of the element of truth which it contains. The broad distinction still holds good that while the Prophets speak for and to the nation, the Psalmists speak in their own person and in individual communion with their God.'

The view here expressed by Dr Barnes is, no doubt, the popular one, but, in the opinion of the present writer, the Psalms were composed for Temple worship and were intended to express the voice of Israel. The 'I' theory is not modern; it is but a development of the old Jewish interpretation which constantly regarded the speaker as 'the Congregation of Israel'. What is really modern is the intense individualism in reli-

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gion which, more than anything else, hinders us from entering into the spirit of the Psalter. I fully agree with Dr Barnes in regarding Ps. xlv as an allegory and Zion as the Bride-City, but I should scarcely consider this as an instance of the failure of the 'historical method'. For example, a commentary on Jonah or on the Book of Daniel would follow the historical method if it brought home to us the circumstances and tone of thought under which those books were written, though Jonah might be regarded as a parable and Daniel as an Apocalypse.

But though Dr Barnes deprecates, to some extent, the 'historical method' as applied to the Psalms yet he uses it freely in assigning Ps. xviii to David (pp. 58–66), Ps. xl probably to Ezra (pp. 106–112), and Ps. lxix very possibly to Nehemiah (pp. 178–184). If these points could be made good we should all feel that the historical setting had helped us better to understand the true meaning of these Psalms. But is it so? Take for example Ps. xviii. Dr Barnes, accepting the traditional view, sees in the opening words reference to the 'hair-breadth escapes' of David. 'The atmosphere of the Psalm is the atmosphere of the book of Samuel.'. . . 'Yet in spite of his innocence he has to make his way about the country like a marauding troop, moving quickly and avoiding the danger of walled towns.' A note here bids us 'compare *v.* 29 with 1 Sam. xxiii 7–13'. Dr Barnes translates *v.* 29:

> 'For in thee I run *with* the troop,
> And in my God I leap the wall.'

I have placed *with* in italics since there is no corresponding word in the Hebrew. The E.V. reads, 'I have run' (margin *broken*) through a troop'. R.V. 'I run upon a troop'. Clearly this is guess-work. The word 'run' is suspicious. The reading of the E.V. margin, *I have broken*, is better and only involves a change in the vowel points. Perhaps we might go further and suggest that the parallelism requires גדר *a fence*, instead of גדד *a troop*. Be this as it may, the words can scarcely be made to cover David's escape from Keilah (1 Sam. xxiii 7–13).

Dr Barnes goes on to say:—'Finally, after all his escapes, he has long and severe wars before him with the Gentiles (*vv.* 43–45). All this suits David's case so well, that the scholars who deny the Psalm Davidic authorship assert nevertheless that it was written with a view to David's career.' But is this so? Some of us feel the Davidic authorship to be impossible because the Psalm is full of the language and thought of Deuteronomy. We see allusions to Israel delivered at the Red Sea by a Theophany, but none whatever to the events of David's life. This interpretation may be wrong but it should not be ignored.

As to the treatment of Ps. lxix I have nothing but praise. In suggesting Nehemiah as the author Dr Barnes confesses that the Psalm would

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suit the case of 'some other Jewish leader of other days who had other foes to face' (p. 183), but he rightly feels that the times of Nehemiah help us to understand the imprecations of *vv.* 22–28. And here I must once more quote from Dr Barnes words which I would gladly make my own.

'The foes whom the Psalmist curses are not primarily his own, but those of his people and of his God. They are not cursed merely because they do not conform to the Psalmist's standard of Jewish orthodoxy, but because their malignant opposition threatens the very life of the Jewish Church. The imprecations are, in short, intended as prayers of defence; the Psalmist prays against the wickedness of his people's foes. The language of this Psalm is therefore defensible in its historical connexion. Imprecations are a true part of the expression of the Hebrew religion, as it existed before Christ; they have, indeed, their natural place in the mouth of the Israelite by the side of Prayer and Praise. . . . But the old historical connexion of the Psalm is broken to-day. We stand in the presence of one greater than Nehemiah and under a nobler law. It was once said, "Thou shalt hate thine enemy", and Nehemiah obeyed the command by hating the enemies of his people even at the sacrifice of all that he had of wealth and ease. But the command given us now by the supreme Judge is, "Love your enemies". For us to repeat the prayers of Nehemiah and the imprecations of Ps. lxix is not loyalty, but treason. *Vv.* 22–28 cannot be fitly used for Christian Psalmody, though in the mouth of the teacher they have power to convey by contrast vivid instruction in the new Christian law of Love.'

I trust that this fine passage will induce many readers to search for themselves in these thoughtful studies, and I can assure them that their search will be duly rewarded.

EDW. G. KING.

BOOKS ON CHURCH HISTORY.

A History of the English Church in the Nineteenth Century, by F. W. CORNISH. Two parts. (Macmillan & Co., London, 1910.)

THE important history of the English Church, begun under the editorship of the late Dean Stephens of Winchester, and of Dr William Hunt, is at last complete, and a reviewer who has noticed all its volumes in this JOURNAL can now express his hearty admiration for the work as a whole and his gratitude for the instruction he has derived from it. For many years to come this series will certainly be the standard authority to which readers who are not specialists will best turn, and there is no volume of the nine that will disappoint them.

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But in these two which Mr Cornish has written they will detect a certain change of tone. When the first volume of the series was published, in 1901, English history was dominated by Bishop Stubbs, and the writers were members, and among the best members, of his school; not only their method but their spirit, that of the 'good Churchmanship' which he so powerfully recommended, was his. The ideals of Mr Cornish are different. He is no adherent of the Oxford Movement, nor is he definitely attached, so far as can be observed, to any other school of thought. His work has been education, and a certain detachment from party has been characteristic of schoolmasters. His own hero is Archbishop Tait 'who for wisdom, statesmanship, and force of character stands at the head of all'; and therefore it is not surprising that though Bishop Samuel Wilberforce is praised in set terms he is also subjected from time to time to very frank criticism. But Mr Cornish is no unqualified admirer of the Broad party. He is an enthusiast for Maurice, whom no school can claim, and sufficiently kind to Hampden, but Thirlwall incurs occasional reproach.

The author's chief interest, however, is not in persons, whom we could often wish that he more definitely described since personal leadership is of decisive influence in religious history. His concern is rather with tendencies and transactions. His view of tendencies is that of a cool, though kindly, observer. Unfortunately he starts with a stock of conventional prejudices against the eighteenth century. No statistics are more misleading than those of non-residence, on which he relies. At the present day, after all the amalgamations that have been effected, there are hundreds of toy parishes which always have been, and must be, held in plurality. These used to be recorded at length, and are in a considerable degree the cause of the assumption that the clergy were largely absentees. Even to-day they are sometimes used to reduce the average value of benefices, and so to heighten the pageant of clerical poverty. It would have been as much to the point had stress been laid upon the stately rectories of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries which so often overshadowed neglected churches, and prove that residence, if not attention to duty, was common enough. But no one should write of these things who has not examined the evidence as to residence of a hundred or two parish registers, and there is no sign that Mr Cornish has done this. He gives clear and sympathetic accounts of the Clapham and Hackney schools; the latter, dealing with unduly forgotten worthies and based on full and special knowledge, being particularly valuable. There is one point, however, in regard to the anti-Roman feeling of the period which he has not made. That feeling, which was to have such serious effects in regard to the Oxford Movement, was due to the controversy on Roman Catholic Emancipa-

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tion. The taunt has often been brought against the clergy that they superfluously denounced the errors of Rome to congregations which had never seen a Roman Catholic. In fact it was not as dull theologians but as keen politicians that they developed a topic, the practical bearings of which upon the Church's fortunes no one could have foreseen. With the Oxford movement and its 'retrograde notions' Mr Cornish is out of sympathy, and he shrewdly criticizes the weak points of Newman's position. But of the course of events he gives a patient and conscientious record, continuing it with equal care through the later ritualistic controversies. The same fullness marks his treatment of the doctrinal strifes of the middle of the century, in which there seems to be only one notable omission, that of Maurice's famous protest against Pusey's attempt to collect clerical signatures for the 'Declaration of Faith' in 1864. It is needless to say that the progress of education is amply described, and that such topics as the struggle over Church rates are sufficiently treated. Yet in this last case the chief argument on the Church side, one which sounds strange to-day, is omitted. We are not told how public maintenance for our Churches was demanded chiefly on the ground that the buildings were public property.

Mr Cornish's work has two characteristics which mark it off from its predecessors in the series, the space he allots to the materials of history and his amplitude of comment. He has devoted many pages to *précis* of debates and to summaries of the results of litigation. Since the public will not turn over old newspapers or read Brodrick and Fremantle, this is a useful service, as is the account given of the more important Acts of Parliament affecting the Church. Yet it does not improve the work on its literary side, though the liberty which the author allows himself of commenting not only on the past and present but also on the prospects of the future adds interest to his pages.

This personal element also shews itself in Mr Cornish's choice of subjects. I cannot think that a writer so well informed and widely read is unconscious of the existence of Cowley and Mirfield. Since they do not appear in his pages, I am tempted to regard the omission as an evidence of want of sympathy. Sometimes, on the other hand, what seems to be a personal interest has introduced a topic of minor importance, as when the work of undenominational Bible Women in London is mentioned with praise, while the similar but much larger work of the London City Mission is ignored. But there are subjects on which the writer, compelled to say something, has not troubled to acquire accurate information. Among these, strangely enough, are the Universities. Neither Oxford, Cambridge, nor London is adequately and exactly treated. There are grave errors in the account of the results of the last Commission; under the name 'Ridley Hall Clergy Training

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School' two distinct institutions are confused; and we are told that Oriel was one of the two Colleges in Oxford that could elect a lay Head, while in fact, till the death of Dr Hawkins in 1882, the endowment of the provostship consisted of a canonry at Rochester and a rectory in Essex. Nor is Mr Cornish always accurate in regard to colonial affairs. He says that the troubles in Natal were settled in 1893. They lingered on into the present century, and perhaps are not yet quite appeased. But no one can be universal in his interests, and there are drawbacks as well as advantages in a detached position. Mr Cornish has earned our gratitude by a scholarly and comprehensive and statesmanlike survey of almost every portion of an excessively wide field, and those who differ from his judgements will find the evidence in favour of their own view set out with scrupulous impartiality. I wish that the indices had been worthy of the work.

E. W. WATSON.

Early Church History to A.D. 313, by H. M. GWATKIN. (2 vols. Macmillan, London, 1909.)

WITHIN the last five years three works, of capital importance, on the history of the ante-Nicene Church have made their appearance. The first volume of Mgr Duchesne's *Histoire ancienne de l'Église* bears date 1906. In the spring of 1909 came Dr Bigg's *Origins of Christianity*, the MS of which left his hand only a few hours before his short but fatal illness. In the summer of that year Professor Gwatkin published the fruits of long years of teaching in his *Early Church History to A.D. 313*.

A comparison between the three is inevitable. The first two make for what the Dean of Christ Church, in his preface to the second, calls the 'central traditional view of things' as that which has survived from the re-examination of Christian origins. Dr Bigg would, no doubt, have accepted this description of his conclusions; and he would have given a humorous welcome to Mgr Duchesne's confession that if the choice were offered him between the *systèmes* of the one side and the *légendes* of the other, 'je crois même que, s'il fallait choisir, les légendes, où il y a au moins un peu de poésie et d'âme populaire, auraient encore ma préférence'. But no legends at any price for Mr Gwatkin: and, above all, none from 'the Catholic (Roman and Anglo-) writers' (i 9). They 'are not the only sinners against history, though they are much the worst' (i 10). 'Church history was as respectable as any other till it was covered with reproach by the partizanship and the credulity of the Tractarians' (i 6). It is some mitigation of condemnation so unqualified for the author frankly to avow that he has 'made no attempt to conceal personal opinions'. We at least know where we are, and what to expect next. But it is odd that Mr Gwatkin's *History*

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should be disfigured throughout in this fashion, when, in the preface, he warns us all that 'our power is strictly measured by our sympathy'. Quite true. That was the remonstrance that St Isidore of Pelusium addressed to St Cyril, when Cyril was as much bent on destroying Nestorius as Mr Gwatkin is bent on condemning 'Catholics'. Προσπάθεια μὲν (such as Theodoret's) οὐκ ὀξυδορκεῖ, ἀντιπάθεια δὲ (such as Cyril's) ὅλως οὐχ ὁρᾷ (*Ep.* i 310). Substitute for 'Theodoret's' 'a Tractarian's' and for 'Cyril's' 'this author's', and we have the one caution we want before reading his book. We shall read it. But we shall make generous allowances before we commit ourselves to its guidance.

It is an important book; well deserving of a place by Dr Bigg and Mgr Duchesne. It has learning, insight, charm of style, wonderful facility of exposition; and, when you keep to its positive assertions, there is little with which to disagree.

As to points of agreement. Mr Gwatkin spends much energy in denying that 'the Apostles "instituted episcopacy" in the sense of making it a binding ordinance for all churches' (i 294 n.). But why this waste of energy? Would not most of us now accept the institution as sufficiently accounted for by the ordinary pressure of circumstances, i.e. by developement? and then go on to say that to turn your back on developement—unless it be an illegitimate developement, in the sense of a deflexion from type—is a wanton thing? 'The last survivors of the Apostles encouraged the drift in that direction' [*sc.* of episcopacy]; and as for 'the nature of the process' (i 295) by which it took shape either 'one of the bishops became *the* bishop' (i 296) or 'the bishop in some cases may have developed downward from the vicars-apostolic' (*ib.*). But is not this, too, sufficient? All that anybody wants is the shelter of Christ's commission for ministerial acts. 'Institution' or 'drift'; a collegiate episcopate or a monarchical; even devolution or evolution—these and other antitheses are of minor importance, so long as the religious interests of the soul are protected in its reception of truth and of grace, through Word and through Sacrament, by the confidence that those who minister the one and the other do so with the original authority that our Lord gave to His Apostles. Historically, it can scarcely be denied that episcopacy (however it grew up, or whatever form—Collegiate, Monarchical, Federal or Cyprianic, Columban, Papal, Anglican—it may, for mere purposes of government, have taken) is the guarantee for that confidence. To have passed, as we have, from insistence on episcopacy as a positive institution to the conception of episcopacy as an orderly developement, is surely not to have weakened but to have enhanced its claims. For it is to have re-interpreted the old facts under the new category—a category, by the bye, which

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a 'Catholic (first 'Anglo-' and then 'Roman') writer', Newman, was applying to theology in the *Essay on Developement* (1845) fifteen years before *The Origin of Species* (1859) gave it world-wide sovereignty in science.

In his second volume, Mr Gwatkin has a good word to say for traditionalism. Speaking of 'men like Polycarp', he says, 'To do them justice, they did learn from the contest with heresy a good deal that was practical . . . It was a great thing to organize and fix the traditional teaching and bring home the facts of the Gospel to all its converts' (ii 97 sq.). But he cannot away with Cyprian who 'claims for the bishop a sacrificing . . . priesthood, and a *ius divinum* essentially different from the divine sanction given to the "powers that be" of every orderly government' (ii 275). Enough of the second claim. As to the 'sacrificing priesthood': is it really so certain that 'the New Testament gives no hint of any such priesthood to be held by Christian men' (ii 275)? Then what becomes of the application of λειτουργεῖν to Christian ministers (Acts xiii 2), as to the angels (Heb. i 14)? for this word always means ministering *in an office* (Trench *N. T. Synonyms* § 35) whether manward (Rom. xv 16) or Godward (Heb. viii 2)? What becomes of the appointment of Christian ministers to be 'stewards' (Lk. xii 42; 1 Cor. iv 1)? for a steward represents not only the Master to the household but the fellow-servants to the Master, and priesthood is but a function of stewardship—a point which even Cyprian did not overlook when he spoke of bishops as 'sacerdotes, id est, dispensatores Dei' (*Ep.* lix § 5). And what again becomes of St Paul's argument in 1 Cor. x 16–22? It breaks down, unless 'the table of the Lord' is the Christian presentment of the same set of ideas as the pagan associated with 'the table of demons'. Only, of course, the sacrifice of the Eucharist finds them in the spiritual order, and the heathen sacrificial system in the material. It would, indeed, be surprising if ideas of priesthood and sacrifice—though not necessarily the peculiar theories of them to be detected in Cyprian or in Tractarians—found no place in the New Testament; and Mr Gwatkin admits too much when he allows that 'there was no other worship in the world without' (ii 275) them. There is a type of historian who appears to have learned his craft in blinkers: and consequently he is apt to shy. But let him look straight at things; let him look for what is positive, in the main conceptions of religion: and things take a less alarming aspect. 'The Eucharist,' wrote Dr Shirley, in words which might well reassure him, was to the first Christians 'as it is to us, the one great act of Christian sacrificial worship . . . But to the first disciples, accustomed to a ritual in which the sacrifice of animals was the very central act of worship, the institution of a new and spiritual sacrifice must have had a sig-

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nificance which it is hard for us to realize . . . Gathered out of every religion under heaven and imbibing from without the germs of a hundred heresies, the Church has never yet been troubled by an attempt to erect within its pale a system of sacrifices such as most of its converts had been taught from childhood to regard as an essential of worship. The Eucharist has had power absolutely to efface the craving' (*Church of the Apostolic Age* pp. 9, 10, ed. 1884). It is then a sacrifice; and its ministers priests: and we may let the makers and the critics of theories of sacrifice go their way.

We have, then, only to be on our guard against 'the antipathy which cannot see at all': and this *History* may take an honourable place among its contemporaries. For the greater part of it, we owe to the author an obligation not less than that under which he laid us with *Studies in Arianism* nearly thirty years ago. That book gave some of us the first conception of the scientific study of Church History. We felt it was a masterpiece in its combination of accuracy, thoroughness, equity, and loyalty to central Christian truth. There are still ample traces of these things in his latest, but not, perhaps, his most enduring work.

B. J. KIDD.

A NUMBER of books on Church History await notice. The *Outlines of Church History* by von Schubert[1] is a masterly summary from the writer's point of view. Specially may be noted chapter i (the Pre-conditions): chapter ii—in which 'the one great reality of the Person of Christ' is presented in a very modern way, and chapter iii—Rise of Catholic Church: the later Middle Ages are but shortly dealt with, and little space is given to the post-Reformation history. But the views of a great scholar and clear thinker on movements and tendencies have a value of their own, and a value independent, if one may say so, of their claim to acceptance. The summary is throughout not only interesting but suggestive, which it is hard for a summary to be. The excellent supplementary chapter on religious thought and life in England during the nineteenth century is necessarily fuller, and so out of proportion. In reading it one is reminded of what Dr Sanday has said (*Christologies A. & M.* p. 74) on the use of religious controversies in England: these controversies, all fairly dealt with, have had some value: their full value and place in history would need a larger introduction than they could get in von Schubert's work. Miss Alice Gardner—the writer of the chapter—has kept an impartial mind and given a clear account. In von Schubert's chapters one would have liked a fuller treatment of the Mediaeval

[1] *Outlines of Church History*, by H. von Schubert, trans. by M. A. Canney, with a supplementary chapter by Miss Alice Gardner. Williams & Norgate, 1907.

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Church: justice is barely done to Anselm or to the eleventh century. Luther—as seems inevitable in a German work—bulks too largely, and justice is hardly done to the religious enthusiasm of the present day. But it is well to have 'modern tendencies' described (chap. xvi) by a master.

DR W. F. ADENEY'S *Greek and Eastern Churches*[1] owes its production to a happy inspiration, for such a history has been wanted long. But the treatment of the early ages, covered by other works, might have been shortened, and merely significant results given us. Then more space might have been gained for the later history which it is so hard to get at easily: thus, for instance, a fuller account of Assyrian Christianity would have been welcome. In covering such a large field it is impossible to give everything, but in succeeding editions—which ought to be called for—the bibliographies might be enlarged. We owe the writer thanks for his account of the Greek Church, and the full sketch of Russia (pp. 355–458). These are peculiarly difficult subjects to deal with, but the very difficulties increase the usefulness of the work to the general reader.

PROFESSOR J. A. FAULKNER'S *Cyprian*[2] is written with adequate knowledge, and gives much information, but it is a pity to ask whether Cyprian was a Catholic or a Protestant. We never think of claiming Simon de Montfort as a Tariff Reformer or as a Free Trader. The question has, of course, a meaning, but the way of raising it is bad. So, too, is the inclination, against which the writer's scholarship struggles, to regard the progress of the Church as a process of corruption. The note on the interpolations in *De Unitate* shews the writer at his best.

P. BATIFFOL'S *L'Église naissante et le Catholicisme*[3] is a very closely argued work, maintaining the existence in the early Church of germinant Catholicism, in opposition to the views of some modern writers. It need not be said that the scholarship is ample, and in the treatment there is much that even writers who value assumptions will not be able to pass over. The objections, for instance, against assuming a violent crisis in developement at the end of the second century are ably stated. There are two problems the writer attacks—one that of early Catholic organization, and the other that of early Papal supremacy. To many critics the difficulties of the two problems will seem very different, and consequently the writer's success in solving the two will seem also different. It is well to have given us on this side of a controversy a work so

[1] *The Greek and Eastern Churches*, by W. F. Adeney. T. & T. Clark, 1908.

[2] *Cyprian: the Churchman*, by J. A. Faulkner (Men of the Kingdom). Jennings & Graham: Cincinnati and New York.

[3] *L'Église naissante et le Catholicisme*: P. Batiffol. Lecoffre, Paris, 1909.

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closely reasoned and so amply supported by references and quotations. It is a book critics on the other side will have to reckon with.

MR BRIDGES' *Oxford Reformers*[1]—partly rewritten by his nephew—was originally written under the strain of illness. The Reformation period is always interesting, but the interest may take many shapes, and that taken here is too controversial. To aim at edification in history is apt to make us lose all chance of it.

THE *Utopia*,[2] edited by Mr G. Sampson, with an excellent introduction and most complete bibliography by Mr A. Guthkelch, deserves commendation. It contains both the Latin text and the English translation.

A history of the Church since the Reformation,[3] by the late Archdeacon Cheetham, summarizes an immense amount of information, while the notes embody much bibliography and give much guidance. It is accurate as one would expect, but the detail is extreme. Few writers could have covered the whole field of Church history so completely.

J. P. WHITNEY.

THE APOLOGY OF NESTORIUS.

Nestorius: Le Livre d'Héraclide de Damas, édité par PAUL BEDJAN, P.D.L.M. (Lazariste), avec plusieurs Appendices. (Paris, and Leipzig (O. Harrassowitz), 1910.)

OF recent discoveries in the domain of ecclesiastical literature not the least interesting and important is that of a Syriac translation of Nestorius's *Apologia pro vita sua*, or, more strictly, his appeal to the world against the sentence passed upon him at Ephesus in 431. It is the Syriac text of this work that Father Paul Bedjan gives to the public for the first time. Its character and contents were first made generally known by Mr Bethune-Baker in his book *Nestorius and his Teaching* (Cambridge 1908), and the lengthy extracts which he has given contain most of Nestorius's characteristic ideas and sayings. An account will be found in the Preface (p. xiv) of the unique MS in which the work is preserved, and in ch. ii a discussion of its title, authorship, and date. About one-sixth of the whole is lost, the MS having been mutilated during a Kurdish raid in 1843. The book bears the Syriac title *Tĕgûrtâ dĕ-Heraqlîdôs*.

[1] *The Oxford Reformers*, by the late G. F. Bridges, partly rewritten by W. O. Bridges. Elliot Stock, London, 1908.

[2] *Sir Thos. More: Utopia, Roper's Life, Letters, &c.*, edited by G. Sampson, with introduction and bibliography by A. Guthkelch. G. Bell & Sons, London, 1910.

[3] *Church History: Modern Period*: a history of the Christian Church since the Reformation, by S. Cheetham. Macmillan & Co., London, 1907.

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For this Mr Bethune-Baker adopts the English rendering *Bazaar of Heraclides*: but it now appears that the word *têgûrtâ* ('mercatura') is sometimes used in the titles of books in the sense of *tractatus*, handling of a subject, and so is best translated simply 'treatise'.

The work represents a supreme effort on the part of Nestorius to explain his earlier writings and sayings in an orthodox sense; and to some readers perhaps the most interesting portion of it will be that in which he describes the events which took place at Ephesus and quotes at length from the Acts of the Council, reproducing and discussing many passages from his own writings which are there cited against him. It must be confessed that the effect of the whole is to leave the reader in some perplexity as to what is really at the back of Nestorius's thoughts. At times he states his belief in terms that appear entirely orthodox; but when he attempts to analyse the grounds of such statements he uses terms and introduces ideas which seem to imply a fundamentally different conception of the union of Godhead and manhood in Christ from that which might be inferred from his more general and comprehensive formulae. Thus he constantly proclaims one πρόσωπον (Syr. *parṣôpâ*) and two natures; but in places he seems to argue that 'personality' is necessary for the maintenance of a complete nature, and that the personal union consisted in a sort of mutuality of πρόσωπα: to put it in his own words, that 'the πρόσωπον of the one nature employs the πρόσωπον of the other'. In one place (Bedjan, p. 81) he makes the quite orthodox statement that 'the distinct natures have one hypostasis (*qĕnômâ*) and one πρόσωπον: this is known from that, and that from this'; and he several times says, 'This is that, and that is this in the union'. But usually he rejects altogether the expression 'one hypostasis' (cf. Bethune-Baker, p. 175). He goes still farther on the doubtful side when he writes (Bedj. p. 304): 'I speak of two natures; for that which puts on is other than that which is put on; and two are the persons (πρόσωπα, and so elsewhere)—of that which puts on and of that which is put on. But thou (Cyril) also dost confess that He is of two natures. Not without person and without hypostasis (*qĕnômâ*) is each of them known with (its) natural differences. Not two persons of Sons are thought of, nor yet two persons of men, but of one man. . . . For unto a person, and not unto an *ousia* or a nature, was the union of the persons: not as though one *ousia* should be thought of as being without hypostasis (*qĕnômâ*)—as if the union were unto one *ousia*, and the one person were that of the one *ousia*—but the natures are maintained in their persons and in their natures, and in the person of the union. For the natural person of the one, the very same does the other also employ by reason of the union. And so there is one person of the two natures. The person of the one *ousia* the person of the other *ousia* employs, the

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very same. For which *ousia* dost thou seek to make without person? that of the Godhead, or that of the manhood? Wherefore thou shalt not call God the Word flesh, nor the flesh Son.' Compare also passages quoted in Mr Bethune-Baker's book, pp. 94–95, 163, 167.

There are two passages in the book which might seem at first sight to compromise the authenticity of the whole. The last section (Bedj., p. 497) has this heading: 'An enumeration of some part of the evils which befell the world on account of the transgression of the true faith in the impassible God: *with a prophecy*.' At the end of this section (pp. 519–520) there is a passage which begins thus: 'But since thou blamest me that I have not spoken with sufficient clearness of these things which have happened [the evils which befell the world], O chief of holy men, Sophronius[1]: hear then, thou also, those things which thou knowest.' The writer goes on to speak of the capture of the chief cities of Africa, Spain, Mauritania (? Syr. *Mûzîqânôs*), also of Sicily, Rhodes and other large islands, and of 'Rome itself', by the Vandals; and he proceeds to prophesy that in a very short time there will be another attack on Rome by the barbarian, 'in which Leo also . . . with his own hands shall deliver up the sacred vessels of the sanctuary into the hands of the barbarians, and shall see the daughters of the emperor who reigned at that time [i.e. of the Council of Ephesus] led into captivity'. The capture of Africa, Spain, Sicily and other islands points to the conquests of Genseric, A.D. 429–445 (see Gibbon *Decl. and Fall* chaps. 33, 36). The taking of Rome, said to have been already accomplished, was probably that threatened by Attila the Hun, but averted by St Leo in 452 (cf. the words of the prophecy, 'Leo also'); but possibly it was the actual sack of the city by the Gothic king, Alaric, in 410. In any case it was not, as implied, the work of the Vandals, for the capture of Rome by Genseric in 455 is clearly the subject of the prophecy which follows: the allusion to the 'daughters' of Theodosius makes this practically certain, as there can be little doubt that Eudoxia and her two daughters are meant (see Gibbon *ib.* chap. 36).

Now the whole of this 'prophetic' passage, and also the words 'with a prophecy' in the heading of the section, appear to be a later interpolation, as Bedjan observes (Preface p. vii). Nestorius was certainly dead before 455; otherwise where was the need for prophesying? Moreover, while the last section as a whole has the same personal ring as the rest of the book, this particular passage is not in keeping with its context. Nestorius has just been explaining why he would not write to Pope Leo (see Bethune-Baker, p. 191), and he goes on to say: 'For this reason also I have not written, that I may not be supposed in any way to be

[1] A large part of the book is written in the form of a dialogue between Nestorius and a real or imaginary person called Sophronius.

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fleeing from the contest: whereas *for many years* I have had not one respite nor any human consolation'. And, he adds, the evils which have overtaken the world are far more effective witnesses than he could be to the wrongs which have been committed. Here follows the supposed prophecy, introduced as indicated above; after which the subject of his long years of suffering is resumed: 'But as for me, I have borne the afflictions of my life, and all that has befallen me in this world, as the affliction of a single day; nor have I changed, lo, *all these years*' (cf. the words italicized just above). This, if the 'prophecy' is left out, reads so naturally in connexion with the passage just before quoted that it is difficult to resist the suggestion that it originally followed straight on. The prophecy is too circumstantial to allow us to adopt Mr Bethune-Baker's suggestion (p. 34 note 4) that 'no great prophetic insight was needed to foresee in the year 451 . . . the situation which actually occurred' in 452, or to suppose that it referred to the threatened attack of Attila (*ib.*).

The absence of any allusion to Nestorius's work on the part of later Nestorian writers before Ebedjesu has been remarked upon. But I have met with a couple of cases in which it appears to have been used. The last section (Bedj. p. 499) describes certain portents witnessed at Constantinople. One was of this kind:—Stones, fastened with lead and iron, were plucked out of the 'lighthouse of Theodosius' by an unseen hand and carried aloft into the air; there they remained a while suspended, and then fell and crushed a number of people. This was because the inhabitants used a heretical version of the Trisagion, and refused to say ἅγιος ἀθάνατος. Then 'God Himself gave them a formula of supplication . . . that they should say "Holy God, Holy Almighty, Holy Immortal, have mercy upon us"'; and the portents ceased. This story is reproduced, with embellishments, by Abraham Bar Lîph (or, Lîpheh) in a commentary on the Liturgy[1] (c. saec. viii), and by George of Mosul and Arbêl (saec. x), in his *Exposition of the Ecclesiastical Offices* (yet unpublished), bk. ii chap. 15. The legend reproduced by these writers appears to be distinct from that cited by St John Damascene (*De Fide Orthodoxa* iii 10).

Bedjan adds two appendices to the work of Nestorius. The first (pp. 223–615) is taken from the Brit. Mus. MS *add.* 14557, of the seventh century, and contains (1) the twelve anathemas of St Cyril, (2) his letter to Valerian of Iconium, (3) 'libellus' of Paul of Emesa to Cyril, (4) letter of John of Antioch to Cyril, (5) letter of Cyril to John, (6) letter of St Athanasius to Epictetus of Corinth, (7) 'libellus' of the bishops and presbyters of Armenia to Proclus of Constantinople, (8)

[1] See *Compte rendu du Congrès Scientifique International des Catholiques* (Paris 1891), p. 206, where a description of this work is given by M. Graffin.

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Proclus to the bishops of Armenia, (9) a fragment of Felix of Rome. The second appendix consists of a Syriac version (apparently by Bedjan himself) of the Canons of the second Council of Constantinople on the 'Three Chapters'.

R. H. CONNOLLY.

LIVES OF THE IRISH SAINTS.

Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae. Recognovit CAROLUS PLUMMER, A.M. Oxoniae e Typographeo Clarendoniano, 1910.

OF the first-class importance of this publication there can be no question. Anything that throws light on early Irish Christianity, where so much is still obscure, cannot but be welcome to many circles of students, theological and other. These two volumes, recently issued from the Clarendon Press, contain thirty-five Latin lives of early Irish saints, whereof twelve are here printed for the first time.[1] Three great general collections of Latin lives of Irish saints exist, and one of them was edited by two prominent Bollandists in 1888. Mr. Plummer does not reproduce these lives, though declaring (and herein his Bollandist reviewer agrees) that the edition is not satisfactory. The present work contains the residue of lives found in the other two collections, leaving several separate lives still in need of an editor. The lives here edited are not very old, at least in their present form; they are, in some cases certainly, and in the others presumably, translations made in the later Middle Ages from early, often primitive, Celtic lives. There seem to be grounds for hoping that Mr Plummer has in contemplation the editing of these earlier Celtic lives, with English translations. Such a publication will be of extraordinary interest and value, because the relatively late Latin versions are in great measure de-celticized, many of the characteristics of the Irish lives having been smoothed down or altogether eliminated, in order to bring the lives more or less into line with the normal hagiological ideas prevalent in Latin Christianity during the later Middle Ages. But in spite of all efforts at conventionalizing the materials, these Latin lives retain enough of the old Celtic genius and spirit to give them a character all their own, that makes them not quite like anything else in the realm of hagiology. They are different in character from even the most fantastic products of the hagiographical imagination as found elsewhere—different from the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, from the Roman Gesta, and from the Egyptian and Syrian

[1] The Bollandist reviewer notes that the Vita S. Boecii and the satirical poem on S. Brendan had been previously edited.

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romances. Indeed, they are almost frankly fairy tales. I do not pretend to have read all these lives through; but I have read some among them, and have to confess that they contain little either of religious or of human interest. The entire life is made up of a disconnected series of paragraphs, each being the narration of a 'miracle', often of a kind that could best be paralleled from the Grimm of our childhood.

Nor is the interest of these lives mainly historical, though a certain amount of history may be distilled from them. It is rather as a contribution to anthropology, and to the study of comparative religion and the history of religious ideas and modes of thought, that they are of value. Of special interest is the illustration they afford of the gradual nature of the process of the Christianization of a country, and of the persistence with which old ideas and customs lived on. This phenomenon is met with everywhere and at all times, but probably nowhere more strikingly than in the Ireland of the early Middle Ages.

It is needless to say that numerous interesting illustrations of primitive Irish customs, ecclesiastical, civil, and social alike, and much welcome information as to the nature of primitive Irish monachism, may be gleaned from these pages. This process Mr. Plummer has in large measure accomplished in Part IV of his Introduction. And this brings us to speak of his work as editor. Only one knowing Irish could be in a position to pass a definitive judgement; but any one accustomed to deal with good editing will be able to perceive the immense pains and care that have been bestowed upon the work, and the excellence of the result. The texts are printed with minute care and a practical working apparatus. The Introduction describes the MSS employed, and provides a separate account of each life, explaining its relations to other forms of the life, and discussing questions of historical truth &c.:— this is an admirable piece of work. A section on the Contents of the lives extracts the information they have to yield on ecclesiastical and social manners and customs; another, on Heathen Folklore and Mythology, examines the question how far elements of this kind, derived from the ancient paganism, have survived in this literature. This is delicate ground: the mythologizing method, so fashionable a generation ago, but now discredited in other subjects, is just now running riot in hagiology (see the last chapter of Père Delehaye's *Légendes hagiographiques*). But Mr Plummer's mythological method is of a sober kind,—he does not mythologize the saints themselves into Sun, Moon, or other Nature gods, but holds them to be historical personages; what he believes is that many of the episodes incorporated in the Irish lives are relics of Aryan Sun and Fire and other Nature worships. But whether, e.g., all the tales connected with fire really owe their origin

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to this source, may be gravely doubted;—many of them could be paralleled from documents where there is no reason for suspecting this influence.

The technical scholarship of the work appears most of all in the Notes and the Index. The former bespeak an extraordinary familiarity with the sources of Irish hagiographical literature, both Latin and Celtic, and are packed full of valuable information. Of the Indexes, the first is of Places, and attempts to identify all the place-names occurring in the volumes; the second is of Persons; the third is a Subject-Index to both Introduction and Lives (of great utility). The book ends with Glossaries of unusual Latin and of Irish words.

It will be in place to conclude with a reference to the highly appreciative notice of the Bollandist reviewer in *Analecta Bollandiana*, 1910, p. 326.

E. C. BUTLER.

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RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, January 1911 (Vol. lxxi, No. 142: Spottiswoode & Co.). Mr Gladstone's letters on Church and religion —A. C. HEADLAM The Odes of Solomon—Democracy in English Fiction—C. C. J. WEBB The 'Policraticus' of John of Salisbury—K. LAKE The Judaistic controversy and the Apostolic Council—Lombardic architecture—T. HANNAN The Scottish consecrations in London in 1610—L. RIDDING On certain aspects of divorce—Short notices.

The Hibbert Journal, January 1911 (Vol. ix, No. 2: Williams & Norgate). BISHOP OF OSSORY Theology and the subconscious—H. C. GODDARD Language and the new philosophy—G. L. DICKINSON Ideals and facts—G. W. MULLINS Woman Suffrage: a new synthesis—BISHOP OF TASMANIA The theology of laughter—G. LUZZI The Roman Catholic Church in Italy at the present hour—A. O. LOVEJOY Christian ethics and economic competition—K. C. ANDERSON Whitherward?: a question for the higher criticism—W. DANKS The clergy, conscience, and free enquiry—J. M. LLOYD-THOMAS What is schism?—C. STEWART Prayer—D. MACMILLAN The ecclesiastical situation in Scotland—F. BICKLEY The Agenda Club—Discussions—Reviews—Recent books and articles.

The Expositor, January 1911 (Eighth Series, No. 1: Hodder & Stoughton). J. DENNEY Factors of faith in immortality—H. GUNKEL The Jâhû temple in Elephantine—D. S. MARGOLIOUTH The opening sentences of Wellhausen's 'Prolegomena'—R. WINTERBOTHAM The angel-princes of Daniel—E. H. ASKWITH The eschatological section of 1 Thessalonians—C. W. EMMET The teaching of Hermas and the First Gospel on Divorce—J. H. A. HART Possible references to the foundation of Tiberias in the teaching of our Lord—J. MOFFATT Literary illustrations of the Book of Ecclesiásticus.

February 1911 (Eighth Series, No. 2). W. F. LOFTHOUSE Kernel and husk in Old Testament stories—J. DENNEY Factors of faith in immortality—W. F. SLATER The Pauline 'mystery' in the Apocalypse—E. H. ASKWITH 'I' and 'we' in the Thessalonian Epistles

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—H. RAMSAY Dr Johann Lepsius on the symbolic language of the Apocalypse—A. E. GARVIE Did Paul evolve his Gospel?

March 1911 (Eighth Series: No. 3). B. W. BACON The Odes of the Lord's Rest—H. RAMSAY Dr Johann Lepsius on the symbolic language of the Apocalypse—C. T. DIMONT The synoptic evangelists and the Pharisees—N. J. D. WHITE Assumptions underlying Gospel criticism — R. WINTERBOTHAM The story of the Lost and the Found—W. M. RAMSAY Historical commentary on the Epistles to Timothy—E. C. SELWYN Philip and the Eunuch—J. H. MOULTON and G. MILLIGAN Lexical notes on the papyri.

(2) AMERICAN.

The American Journal of Theology, January 1911 (Vol. xv, No. 1: Chicago University Press). A. C. MCGIFFERT Theological education —S. J. CASE The historicity of Jesus: an estimate of the negative argument—E. GATES Pragmatic elements in Modernism—S. MATHEWS The evolution of religion—B. W. BACON Matthew and the Virgin Birth — F. H. FOSTER Theological obscurantism — Recent theological literature.

The Princeton Theological Review, January 1911 (Vol. ix, No. 1: Princeton University Press). B. W. WARFIELD On the antiquity and the unity of the human race—G. Vos The Pauline eschatology and Chiliasm—K. D. MACMILLAN The Shepherd of Hermas, apocalypse or allegory?—W. H. H. MARSH The new optimism versus the optimism of the Gospel—Reviews of recent literature.

(3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

Revue Bénédictine, January 1911 (Vol. xxviii, No. 1: Abbaye de Maredsous). G. MORIN Un traité inédit attribué à Saint Augustin— A. WILMART L'ancienne version latine du Cantique i–iii 4—U. BERLIÈRE Lettres inédites de Bénédictins de St-Maur—P. CAPELLE Fragments du psautier d'Aquila?—A. WILMART Egeria—D. DE BRUYNE I Notes sur le manuscrit 6224 de Munich (MS *q* des Évangiles): II Les signataires du pacte de Sabaricus—L. GOUGAUD et GAIDOZ Inventaire des règles monastiques irlandaises: Note additionnelle—A. MANSER Le témoignage d'Aldhelm de Sherbone sur une particularité du canon grégorien de la messe romaine—G. MORIN La finale inédite de la lettre de Guitmond d'Aversa à Erfast, sur la Trinité—U. BERLIÈRE Bernard Gasc, Évêque de Ganos et les lettres d'indulgences—Comptes rendus—Notes bibliographiques.

Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, January 1911 (Vol. xii, No. 1: Louvain, 40 Rue de Namur). C. CALLEWAERT La méthode dans la recherche

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de la base juridique des premières persécutions (*à suivre*)—L. BRIL Les premiers temps du christianisme en Suède: Étude critique des sources littéraires hambourgeoises (*à suivre*)—G. CONSTANT La transformation du culte anglican sous Édouard VI. I Tendances luthériennes. L'' Instruction pour la communion ' de 1548: le premier ' Livre de la prière publique ' (1549) (*à suivre*)—Comptes rendus—Chronique—Bibliographie.

Revue de l'Orient Chrétien, October 1910 (Second Series, Vol. v, No. 4: Paris, 20 Rue du Regard). K. J. BASMADJIAN Histoire du Père Élie de Kharpout—E. BLOCHET Babylone dans les historiens chinois (*fin*)—F. NAU Saint Cyrille et Nestorius: Contribution à l'histoire de l'origine des schismes monophysite et nestorien—L. DELAPORTE Catalogue sommaire des manuscrits coptes de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris (*suite*)—P. DIB Un apocryphe carchouni sur la captivité de Babylone (*suite*)—M. BRIÈRE Histoire du couvent de Rabban Hormizd, de 1808 à 1832—S. GRÉBAUT Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-clémentine: fin du traité sur la seconde venue du Christ et la résurrection des morts —S. GRÉBAUT Traduction de la version éthiopienne d'une homélie de Juvénal, évêque de Jérusalem—F. NAU Note sur un nouveau texte de l'Apocalypse de Pierre—F. NAU Note sur un dialogue de Cyrille avec Nestorius—Nécrologie: M. l'abbé Leroy—Bibliographie: P. Viaud *Nazareth et les deux églises* (M. BRIÈRE): A. Baumstark *Festbrevier und Kirchenjahr der syrischen Jacobiten* (F. NAU): Franchi de' Cavalieri et J. Lietzmann *Specimina codicum graecorum vaticanorum* (F. NAU): H. Lietzmann *Die Klementinische Liturgie aus den Constitutiones Apostolorum VII* (M. BRIÈRE): A. Ungnad et W. Staerk *Die Oden Salomos* (F. NAU)—Livres nouveaux: Nestorius *Le livre d'Héraclide de Damas.*

Analecta Bollandiana, January 1911 (Vol. xxx, No. 1: Brussels, 22 Boulevard Saint-Michel). P. PEETERS Pour l'histoire du synaxaire arménien—F. VAN ORTROY Pierre Ferrand O. P. et les premiers biographes de S. Dominique, fondateur de l'ordre des Frères Prêcheurs— A. PONCELET A propos de S. Brice—Bulletin des publications hagiographiques.

Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature religieuses, January–February 1911 (New Series, Vol. ii, No. 1: Paris, 62 Rue des Écoles). A. LOISY Le totémisme et l'exogamie—E. CH. BABUT Saint Martin de Tours: Le témoignage de Sulpice Sévère—Chronique bibliographique: I Philosophie de la religion: II Histoire des religions: Ouvrages généraux— Faits et documents religieux contemporains.

March–April 1911 (New Series, Vol. ii, No. 2). P. MONCEAUX Les Actes des conciles donatistes ou antidonatistes—E. CH. BABUT et

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A. LOISY Le proconsul Gallien et saint Paul—L. COULANGE La résurrection de Jésus—E. CH. BABUT Saint Martin de Tours: Le témoignage de Sulpice Sévère—A. LOISY Le totémisme et l'exogamie—Chronique bibliographique: II Histoire des religions: Ouvrages généraux—Faits et documents religieux contemporains.

(4) GERMAN.

Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums, February 1911 (Vol. xii, No. 1: Giessen, A. Töpelmann). P. CORSSEN Ein theologischer Traktat aus der Werdezeit der kirchlichen Literatur des Abendlandes—H. KOCH Taufe und Askese in der alten ostsyrischen Kirche—F. C. CONYBEARE The Odes of Solomon Montanist—J. DE ZWAAN Minuskelgruppen in 2 Petri und Judas—Miszellen.

Theologische Quartalschrift (Vol. xciii, No. 1: Tübingen, H. Laupp). EBERHARTER Die Ekklesiastikuszitate bei Klemens von Alexandrien—BELSER Zur Geschichte des Textes der Akta—DANIELS Anselmzitate bei Roger von Marston—GSPANN Zu Matth. 12, 40—GEYER Radulfus Ardens und das *Speculum universale*—SÄGMÜLLER Das *impedimentum impotentiae* bei der Frau vor Alexander III—Rezensionen—Analekten.

Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, March 1911 (Vol. xxxii, No. 1: Gotha, F. A. Perthes). KALKOFF Zu Luthers römischem Prozess—PAHNCKE Joachim von Berge—Analekten—Nachrichten.

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The Journal
of
Theological Studies

JULY, 1911

DOCUMENTS

AN OLD-LATIN TEXT OF THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES.

In 1895 the late Samuel Berger published *Un Ancien Texte Latin des Actes des Apôtres* from the Perpignan MS (*p*), now numbered Lat. 321 in the National Library in Paris. In his preface Berger called attention to the fact that in *p*, which contains the whole New Testament, the Acts (in part) and the Catholic Epistles exhibit an Old-Latin text, while the rest of the MS is largely Vulgate. Berger gave it as his belief that the compiler of *p* had before him an ancient MS containing no more than the Acts (in a mutilated condition) and the Catholic Epistles. He used what ancient material he had and supplemented it with a later text for the rest of the New Testament. Berger drew up a list of strange spellings found in *p* in the Acts, and remarked that the orthography of *p* was the same in the Catholic Epistles as in the Acts and that both were Spanish:—'Pour ces livres, notre manuscrit se place aux côtés du *Codex Toletanus* et des autres manuscrits écrits en Espagne' (*op. cit.* p. 23).

Berger has given a full account of the *provenance* of *p*, and has identified all the saints found in a Calendar at the end of the MS as belonging to Spain and the parts of France bordering on Spain. He assigns the MS with every probability to the thirteenth century.

The orthography of the MS is remarkable for its regular non-division of the preposition *a* from the word it governs, and its regular mal-division of *in* when not a preposition from the word with which it is compounded, viz. adeo, auento, in lusores, in maculatam, de in cebs. We find also con firmabit, co in quinationem, sub stanciam, quietiet, ingrediet, and many more such-like. These forms prove that *p* was copied from a MS not later than the sixth century before words began to be divided.

The punctuation is only by full stop and by colon. These stops both seem to have the same value and are used indifferently before a capital letter or in the middle of a sentence. The colon has sometimes a wing to its upper dot to mark, so I believe, a more accentuated distinction. Often the punctuation is inserted where uncalled for; and both p^1 and p^2

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have erased several unnecessary marks of p^* while inserting other markings of their own which I have ignored.

Three correctors at least revised the text of the Catholic Epistles. The first (p^1) uses an ink as dark as that of p^* and was perhaps a contemporary of the scribe. He makes but few corrections. The second corrector (p^2) is at least a century later and used a text which was chiefly—though not altogether—Vulgate. He is an adept at erasures, and some of his erasures render the recovery of the original a task not of a day but of days. The letters *b h l s*, which in p^* rise above the others, and *f g p q*, which have tails, are generally discernible in the erasures and are clues to the defaced reading. Another clue is the long upward line (√) used in p^* for *m* or *n*, and also employed to mark the contractions d̄s, dn̄s, xp̄s, ihs, sp̄s, and a few others. The letter *s* is also found (though rarely) in its uncial form, and the letter *r* has also a second form approximating in shape to *i*.

The ink of p^2 is paler and yellower than that of p^*, and besides correcting the text he inserts annotations here and there in the margin of the MS. His Vulgate corrections I have for the most part ignored, but I have carefully inserted all his non-Vulgate readings at the foot of the text. The third corrector (p^3) inserted a chapter numeration such as we have in use to-day, and altered a few of the non-Vulgate readings of p^2 into Vulgate readings. The contractions of p^* have been expanded in general, but qm̄ for quoniam and a few others have been retained.

The orthography of p^* in the Catholic Epistles approximates to that of the Codices Toletanus and Cavensis. Besides its Spanish strain p has some ancient spellings found in good MSS of the fourth and fifth centuries. The following are noteworthy:—

b for *p*: babtisma, deincebs, princebs, obtimum, ibsi.

ch (medial) for *h*: michi, nichil.

d for *t*: dad, esitad, expectad, semedipso.

t for *d*: aliquit, numquit, aliut, illut, aput $\frac{6}{8}$.

c for *qu*: relicum, locuntur.

qu for *c*: quooperatores, quoequalem.

s for *x*: iusta.

ss for *s*: ressistit, ressistite, ressurrectionem, passcite, assimularis (*sic*).

s for *ss*: oppresum.

ss for *sc*: marcesset, inmarcessibilem.

nn for *n*: inennarrabili.

n for *nn*: anulum.

uu for *u*: euuangelizatum, euuangelio.

p for *pp*: aparens, apetitor, aparuerit, aparuit, capadocie.

m for *mm*: consumata, cominabatur, comunicantes.

f for *ff*: ofendit, inflamat, inflamatur, eficeremur, afluentes.

cc for *c*: occuli, obceccauerunt, meccaberis.

c for *cc*: pecatis, acepimus.

a for *ad*: auentum, auentus.

rr for *r*: charrissimi, ferri.

h for *t*: deprecahio.

y for *i*: ysaac, yob, ydolorum.

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A feature of the MS is the interchange of *c* and *t* in such words as sapiencia, iusticia, perdicio, leticia, inicio, fidutiam, mendatium, sotietatem. We also find satisfaccionem, benediccio, amiticia, paciencie, and tradictionis, humilictatem, An equally marked characteristic of $\mathfrak{p}$ is the insertion of the aspirate, viz. ha, hab $\frac{3}{4}$, his, hii, habundanciam, habeuntes, haccipitis, hostende, ho, hore, horent, hornabunt, hamantes, hobitum, homnibus, hodit, hoccidit, hauaritie, choabitantes, choeredibus, inchoationis, choacte, cohoperit, superhedificantes, archa, marchus, and even preciosihor and eho. On the contrary *h* is dropped in abet, esitans, traunt, detrait, ostias, ospitales, peribet, abitu. The spellings charitas and caritas, charissimi and carissimi are about equally distributed: karissimi by the first hand is found once in St James and twice in 1 St Peter, but not at all in St John or St Jude.

The stronger forms adnuntio, inmaculatus, inmundicia, inlicio, inlucesco, inpropero, inprudens are constant: $\mathfrak{p}^2$ on the contrary always gives annuntio, illicio, immaculatus, &c.[1] Uoluntas is always uolumptas except once uolumtas. Ancient phonetic spellings are preserved in succinti, querelosi, lepis, cocurrentibus, gelatis (*e* has gelus in St Joh. ii 17), and perhaps in seml, eplis, and uolatabro. Proper names are thus found: abraham, abraam, ysaac, rahab, yob, sabaot, loth, balaham, balaam, chayn, chain, ihoanhis, ihoannis, diotrepes, egipti, moysi, chore, michael.

That $\mathfrak{p}$ was copied from an ancient copy with corrections above its lines appears the only explanation of such conflations as filii ex bosor, exinhonorastis, sub introducent, post mortem post hobitum, and in quibus nunc obstupescunt in quo peregrinamur.

In the division of the letters of a word at the end of a line the scribe pays no regard to the rules of ancient writing and we find bl/asphemantes, h/uius, ch/arrissimi, administr/at, er/ugo. So also the headings AD PETRVI, AD IACOBI, AD IOHANNIS shew an ignorance of Latin syntax, and prove that the MS he copied had no headings. His chapter markings, which shew a like uncertainty of hand, are regularly denoted by a red bracket; but more often than not no number is inserted within the bracket. I have supplied the missing numbers, and have corrected a few misnumberings.

Yet the scribe was an extremely accurate workman, and only two errors of homoeoteleuton are found in his work, and perhaps they both occurred in his exemplar.

The text of $\mathfrak{p}$ is not as ancient throughout as that of *h*: yet in some readings where *h* has a Vulgate text $\mathfrak{p}$ exhibits a text of its own. Shrewdly has Berger said: 'Qu'on ne croie pas que le texte de Fleury et celui de Perpignan, par le fait qu'ils appartiennent à deux groupes

[1] There is remarkable agreement in several peculiar stylistic readings between $\mathfrak{p}$ and the Codex Fuldensis.

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différents, ne peuvent pas servir à la critique l'un de l'autre. Le dernier mot n'est pas dit sur les rapports des textes "africains" avec ceux qu'on appelle "européens" et "italiens"' (*op. cit.* p. 17).

The following selection from the readings of *p* will illustrate Berger's statement:—

St James iii 7 etiam piscium: *vg* et ceterorum: *corb* et natantium; iii 12 Sic neque salsa aqua dulcedinem potest habere: *vg* Sic neque salsa dulcem potest facere aquam. 1 *St Peter* i 3 regenerauit nos in spem uite eterne; i 7 ut probatio fidei uestre multo preciosihor sit auro quod perit sed per ignem probatur: *fuld* auro quod perit per ignem probato; i 19 I can find no other authority for the 29 words added here by *p*; i 21 dedit ei gloria sedere—here again *p* seems to exhibit an unknown text; i 22 fortiter (*vg* attentius); ii 9 in illut admirabile lumen suum; ii 23 Tradebat autem se iudici iudicanti se iniuste; iii 9 beneuolentes: *vg* benedicentes; iii 13 Et quis uos nocebit si bonitatis factores fueritis; iv 15 maleficus: *vg* maledicus; v 7 quoniam ibsi cura est de suos ('for He careth for His own'). 2 *St Peter* ii 7 Et iustum loth oppresum a nefandorum iniuria ac inpudica conuersatione eruit; ii 8 iniquis facinoribus; iii 10 in qua celi magno impetu transcurrent. 1 *St John* i 7 societatem habemus cum deo; iv 3 Omnis anima que confitetur ihm xpm in carne uenisse ex deo est; iv 11 sicut ds dilexit nos sic nos debemus alterutrum diligere; v 12 Qui habet filium dei in se habet uitam eternam; v 13 Carissimi hec scripsi uobis ut sciatis a do qm uitam habetis eternam. 2 *St John* 12 Nolo per atramentum et in epistola. 3 *St John* 14 Saluta tu amicos nominatos. *Jude* 12 Hii sunt in epulis suis maculati conuiuiantes: sine timore semetipsos pascentes; 13 caligo tenebrarum; 24 constituere ante conspectum glorie sue inmaculate uos in exultatione.[1]

It was a disappointment to find that *p* had no affinities whatever with the Corbey St James. The texts it has most affinity with in 1 and 2 St Peter are the fragments (*q*) published by Ziegler and the Fleury Palimpsest; but it has a non-Vulgate strain of its own which is independent of both these MSS. More material for the study of the Old-Latin text needs to be collected before the history of the texts of *h*, *p*, and *q* can be written with any certainty. Meanwhile the readers of the *Journal of Theological Studies* have now a line-for-line copy of the Catholic Epistles as found in the precious little Perpignan MS, which like *c* of the Gospels has preserved for our learning an ancient and in some readings (as far as we know at present) a unique text.

It will be noticed that our MS supports *q* and the Spanish *Codex Cavensis* in the matter of the three Heavenly Witnesses; and also has in 1 *St John* v 20 the fuller text of Hilary of Poictiers.

[1] In Acts iv 21 where the Vulgate has *punirent* *p** reads (I have recently discovered) *supplicio adficerent*—a further mark of its true Latinity.

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IACOBI

Fol. 203

Salu]tate omnes prepositos uestros: et omnes scos. Salutant uos de italia fratres. Gratia cum omnibus ụ nobis. amen.
Explicit ad hebreos.

1 [1]Incipit epistola iacobi apostoli.
Iacobus dei et dñi nostri ihu xpi seruus: duodecim tribubus que sunt in dispersione salutem. [2] Omne gaudium existimate fratres mei cum in temptationes uarias incideritis: [3] scientes quod probatio fidei uestre pacientiam operatur. [4] Pacientia autem opus perfectum abet: ut sitis perfecti et integri in nullo deficientes. [5] Si quis autem uestrum indiget sapiencia: postulet a đo qui dad omnibus affluenter et non inproperat et dabitur ei. [6] Postulet autem in fide: nichil esitans. Qui enim esitad: similis est fluctui maris: qui a uento moue tur et circumfertur. [7] Ne ergo estimet homo ille quod accipiat aliquit a dño. [8] Uir duplex animo: inconstans est in omnibus uiis suis. [9] Glorietur autem frater humilis in exultacione sua: [10] diues autem in humilitate sua: qm̃ sicut flos feni transibit. [11] Exortus est enim sol cum ardore et arefecit fenum: et flos eius decidit et decor uultus eius deperiit. Ita et diues in itineribus suis marcesset. (II) [12] Beatus uir qui sufffert temptacionem qm̃ cum probatus fuerit accipiet coronam uite: quam repromisit đs diligentibus se. [13] Nemo cum temptatur dicat: qm̃ a deo temptatur. Deus enim intemptator malorum est: ipse autem neminem temptat. [14] Unus quisque uero temptatur: a concupiscentia sua: abstractus: et inlectus.

1 1–14

1 [5] dat p^2 improperat p^2 [6] esitat p^2 [7] non p^2 existimet p^2 [9] exaltacione p^2 [11] marcescet p^2 [14] illectus p^2

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AD Fol. 203*

[15] Deinde concupiscencia
cum conceperit: parit pec
catum. Peccatum uero cum
consumatum fuerit generat
[16] Nolite itaque (III) | mortem.
errare fratres mei di
lectissimi. [17] Omne datum
obtimum et omne donum
perfectum desursum est:
descendens a patre lu
minum. Aput quem non
est transmutatio: nec
uicissitudinis obum
bracio. [18] Uolumptarie ge
nuit enim nos uerbo ueri
tatis: ut simus initium
aliquid creature eius. [19] Sci
tis fratres mei dilectissimi.
Sit autem omnis homo ue
lox ad audiendum tardus
autem ad loquendum: et tar
dus ad iram. [20] Ira enim
uiri: iusticiam dei non
operatur. [21] Propter quod abi
cientes omnem inmun
diciam et habundanciam
malicie: in mansuetu
dine suscipite insitum
uerbum quod potest saluare
animas uestras. (IIII)
[22] Estote factores uerbi et
non auditores tantum
fallentes uosmetipsos.
[23] Quia si quis auditor est uerbi
et non factor: hic conpara
bitur uiro consideranti
uultum natiuitatis sue
in speculo. [24] Considerauit
enim se et abiit et statim
oblitus est qualis fuerit. [25] Qui
autem perspexerit in legem
perfectam libertatis: et perman
serit. Non auditor obli
uiosus factus sed factor
operis: hic beatus in fac
to suo erit. [26] Si quis autem pu
tat se religiosum esse: non
refrenans linguam suam
sed seducens cor suum: h
uius uana est religio.
[27] Religio munda et inma
culata: apud đm et patrem
hec est: uisitare pupillos
et uiduas in tribulatione
eorum et inmaculatum se
custodire ab hoc seculo.
2 [1] Fratres mei: nolite (V)
in personarum accep

1 15–2 1

[18] aliquod p^2 [25] lege perfecte libertatis p^2 permanserit in ea non p^*
[27] immaculata *et* immaculatum p^2

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IACOBI

tione habere fidem dñi
nostri ihu xpi glorie. [2] Etenim
si introierit in conuentu
uestro uir aureum anulum
habens in ueste candida:
introierit autem et pauper in
ueste sordida: [3] et intenda
tis in eum qui indutus est
ueste preclara: et dixeritis ei
tu sede hic bene: pauperi
autem dicatis. Tu sta illic
aut sede sub scabello pe
dum meorum: [4] nonne iudi
catis apud uosmetipsos.
Et facti estis iudices cogita
tionum iniquarum: [5] audite fratres
mei dilectissimi. (VI)
Nonne ds pauperes elegit
in hoc mundo. Diuites
in fide: et heredes regni
quod repromisit diligentibus
se. [6] Uos autem exinhono
rastis pauperes. Nonne di
uites per potentiam oppri
munt uos: et ipsi traunt
uos ad iudicia: [7] nonne ip
si blaphemant bonum nomen
quod inuocatum est super uos:
[8] si tamen legem perficiatis re
galem secundum scripturam.
Diliges proximum tuum
sicut te ipsum: bene fa
citis. [9] Si autem personas
haccipitis: peccatum opera
mini. Redarguti a le
ge quasi transgressores.
[10] Quicumque (VII)
autem totam legem ser
uauerit: offendat autem
in uno: factus est omnium
reus. [11] Qui enim dixit non
meccaberis: dixit et non
occides. Quodsi non mecca
beris: occidas autem: factus
es transgressor legis.
[12] Propter quod sic loquimi
ni et sic facite: sicut per le
gem libertatis: incipien
tes iudicari. [13] Iudicium
enim sine misericordia: illi
qui non facit misericordiam.
Superexultet autem: misericordia
iudicium. [14] Quid proderit fratres
mei si fidem quis dicat
se habere: opera autem non ha
beat. Num potest fi
des saluare eum. [15] Si autem
frater aut soror nudi sint

2 1–15

2 [6] inhonorastis p^2 *et forsan* p^* [5] repromisit ds p^* *vel* p^1 [7] blasphemunt p^1 [8] perficitis p^2 scripturas p^2 [9] accipitis p^2 [13] fecit p^2 Superexultat p^2 [14] Numquid poterit p^2

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AD Fol. 204*

et aegeant uictu coti
diano : [16] dicat autem aliquis
uestrum illis : ite in pace
calefacimini : et satura
mini : non dederitis autem eis
que necessaria sunt corporis
quid proderit uobis. [17] Sic et fi
des si non habeat opera : mor
tua est in semetipsa.
[18] Sed dicit quis : (VIII)
tu fidem habes : ego
opera habeo. Hostende mihi
fidem tuam sine operibus : et
ego hostendam tibi ex operibus
fidem meam. [19] Tu credis qm̄
unus est ds : bene facis.
Et demones credunt : et
contremescunt. [20] Uis autem
scire ho homo inanis :
qm̄ fides sine operibus mor
tua est. [21] Abraham pater
noster nonne ex operibus iustifi
catus est offerens ysaac fi
lium suum super altare. [22] Ui
des qm̄ fides cooperabatur
operibus illius. Et ex operibus
illius fides consumata est :
[23] Et suppleta est scriptura dicens.
Credidit abraam đo et re
putatum est illi ad iustici
am. Et amicus dei ap
pellatus est. (VIIII)
[24] Uidetis qm̄ ex operibus
iustificatur homo :
et non ex fide tantum. [25] Si
militer autem et rahab mere
trix nonne ex operibus iusti
ficata est. Suscipiens nuncios
et alia uia eos eiciens.
[26] Sicut enim corpus sine sp̄u
emortuum est : ita et fides
sine operibus mortua est. (X)
3 [1] Nolite plures magistri
fieri fratres mei : scientes
qm̄ magis iudicium sumi
tis. [2] In multis enim : offen
dimus omnes. Si quis in uerbo
non ofendit hic perfectus est
uir. Potens est etiam freno
circumducere totum corpus.
[3] Si autem equorum (XI)
frenos in hora mitti
mus : ad consenciendum
nobis : et omne corpus illorum
circumferimus. [4] Ecce et na
ues cum magne sint : et
a uentis ualidis minentur.
Circumferuntur autem a mo

2 15–3 4

[16] de uobis p^2 corpori p^2 uobis : *expunxit* p^2 [18] dicet p^2
[20] o homo p^2 [26] mortuum p^2 3 [1] maius p^1 *et* p^2 [2] offendit p^2
potens est : potest enim p^2 [3] equos *et* frena p^2 [4] a modico : modico p^2

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dico gubernaculo ubi im
petus dirigentis uoluerit:
ita et lingua. Modicum
quidem membrum est: et mag
na exaltat. Ecce quantus
ignis: quam magnam siluam
incendit. [6] Et lingua: ig
nis est. Uniuersitas iniquita
tis. Lingua constituitur
in membris nostris: que macu
lat totum corpus et infla
mat rotam natiuitatis nostre:
inflamaturque a gehenna.
[7] Omnis enim natura (XII)
bestiarum et uolucrum
et repencium etiam piscium
domantur et domita sunt
a natura humana. [8] Linguam
autem nullus hominum
domare potest. Inquietum
malum: plena ueneno mor
tifero. [9] In ipsa benedicimus
dm patrem: et in ipsa ma
ledicimus homines qui ad
similitudinem dei facti sunt:
[10] ex ipso hore procedit bene
diccio et maledictio. Non
oportet hec ita fieri fratres mei.
[11] Numquid fons de eodem
foramine emanat dul
cem et amaram aquam.
[12] Numquit potest fratres mei
ficus uuas facere: aut ui
tas ficus. (XIII)
Sic neque salsa aqua
dulcedinem potest ha
bere: [13] quis sapiens et disci
plinatus inter uos: osten
dat ex bona conuersacio
ne operationem suam in man
suetudine sapiencie.
[14] Quod si zelum amarum ha
betis et contenciones sunt
in cordibus uestris. Nolite
gloriari et mendaces esse aduer
sus ueritatem. [15] Non est enim
ista sapiencia desursum
descendens: sed terrena ani
malis diabolica. [16] Ubi
enim zelus et contencio:
ibi inconstancia et omne
opus prauum. (XIIII)
[17] Que autem desursum est
sapiencia: primum quidem
pudica est: deinde pacifi
ca. Modesta suadibilis.
Bonis consentiens. Ple
na misericordia: et fructibus

3 4–17

[6] inflammat *et* inflammata p^2 [12] uitis p^1 [13] operam *uoluit* p^1, *sed* operationem *restituit* p^2 [14] ammarum p^2 [17] de in de p^*, deinde p^2

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AD Fol. 205*

bonis. Iudicans sine
simulatione. [18] Fruc
tus autem iusticie : in
pace seminatur facien
tibus pacem. (XV)
4 [1] Unde bella sunt et lites in
uobis : nonne ex concu
piscenciis uestris : que mi
litant in membris uestris : [2] con
cupiscitis et non habetis.
Occiditis et gelatis et non
potestis adipisci. Litiga
tis et belligeratis et non ha
betis propter quod non postulas
tis. [3] Petitis et non accipitis
eo quod male petatis : ut in
concupiscenciis uestris : in
sumatis. [4] Adulteri : nes
citis quia amiticia huius
mundi : inimica est dei. Qui
cumque ergo uoluerit amicus
esse seculi huius : inimicus
dei constituitur. [5] Aut pu
tatis quod inaniter scriptura
dicat. Ad inuidiam con
cupiscit sp̄s qui habi
tat in uobis. [6] Maiorem autem
dat gratiam : propter quod dicit :
Deus superbis ressistit :
humilibus autem dat gratiam.
[7] Subditi ergo : (XVI)
estote deo. Ressistite
autem diabolo et fugiet a
uobis. [8] Adpropinquate đo :
et adpropinquauit uobis.
Emundate manus pecca
tores : et sc̄ificate corda
duplices animo. [9] Miseri
estote : et lugete : et plora
te. Risus uester in luctum
conuertatur : et gaudium in
merore. [10] Humiliamini
in conspectu dn̄i : et ex
altauit uos. [11] Nolite de
traere alterutrum fratres mei.
Qui detrait fratri : aut qui
iudicat fratrem suum : detra
it legi et iudicat legem.
Si autem iudicas legem :
iam non es factor legis :
[12] Unus est (XVII) | sed iudex.
enim legislator et iu
dex : qui potest perdere
et liberare. Tu autem quis
es : qui iudicas proximum
tuum : [13] ecce nunc qui di
citis. Hodie aut crasti
no ibimus in illam

3 17–4 13

4 [2] zelatis p^1 postulatis p^2 [3] male petitis p^2 [4] dei 1° : deo p^2 [5] quod : quia p^2 [8] adpropinquabit p^2 purificate p^2 corda uestra p^1 [9] merorem p^2 [10] Humiliami ni p^*, Humiliamini p^2 exaltabit p^2 [12] tuum : *improbauit* p^2

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IACOBI Fol. 206

ciuitatem. Et faciemus qui
dem ibi annum. Et mere
bitur et lucrum faciemus.
[14] Qui ignoratis quid erit uobis
in crastino. [15] Que enim est
uita uestra: uapor est ad mo
dicum aparens et dein
cebs exterminabitur. (XVIII)
Pro eo ut iudicatis si
dñs uoluerit. Et si ui
xerimus faciemus hoc aut
illud. [16] Nunc autem exulta
tis in superbiis uestris. Omnis
exultatio talis: maligna
est. [17] Scienti igitur bonum
facere et non facienti: pecca
tum est illi. 5 [1] Agite nunc diui
tes: plorate. Ululantes
in miseriis uestris que ad
uenient uobis. [2] Diuicie ergo
putrefacte sunt: et ues
timenta uestra a tineis comes
ta sunt. [3] Aurum et argen
tum uestrum eruginauit: et er
ugo eorum in testimonium
uobis erit: et manducabit
carnes uestras sicut ignis.
Tesaurizatis uobis (XVIIII)
iram dei in nouis
simis diebus. [4] Ecce merces opera
riorum qui messuerunt regio
nes uestras. Que frauda
ta est a uobis clamat: et
clamor eorum in aures
dñi sabaot introiit.
[5] Epulati estis super terram:
et in solacis enutristis
corda uestra. [6] In die occisio
nis addixistis occisistis
iustum et non ressistit ille
uobis. [7] Pacientes igitur es
tote fratres usque ad auen
tum dñi. Ecce agricola
expectad preciosum fructum
terre: pacienter ferens do
nec accipiat temporaneum
et serotinum. (XX)
[8] Pacientes estote et uos
et confirmate corda
uestra qm̄ aduentus dñi
adpropinquabit. [9] Noli
te ingemescere fratres in
alterutrum: ut non iudi
cemini. Ecce iudex
ante ianuam adstat. [10] Ex
emplum accipite fratres
laboris et paciencie et
longanimitatis et exitus

4 13–5 10

[13] merebitur: mercabimur p^2 [14] crastino p^2 5 [2] ergo: uestre p^2 [4] introiuit p^2 [5] solaciis p^1, luxuriis p^2 [6] adduxistis et occidistis p^2 ressistit ille: restitit p^2 [7] aduentum p^2 expectat p^2 [9] ingemiscere p^1 adstat: assistit p^2

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AD Fol. 206*

mali. Prophetas qui locuti
sunt in nomine dñi. (XXI)
[11] Sufferenciam ẏob audis
tis : et finem dñi uidistis :
quia misericors est dñs et mi
serator. [12] Ante omnia autem
fratres mei nolite iurare :
neque per celum : neque per terram
neque per aliut quodcumque
iuramentum. Sit autem uerbum
uestrum est est : non non. Ut
non sub iudicio decidatis.
[13] Tristatur autem aliquis uestrum :
oret equo animo et psallat.
[14] Infirmatur aliquis ex uobis :
inducat presbiteros ecclesie
et horent super eum. Un
guentes eum oleo : in nomine
dñi. [15] Et oratio fidei : sal
uabit infirmum. Et al
leuabit eum dñs : et si in
peccatis sit dimittentur ei.
[16] Karissimi : confitemi (XXII)
ni ergo alterutrum peccata
uestra : et orate pro inuicem
ut saluemini. Multum
enim ualet deprecahio ius
ti assidua. [17] Helias homo
erat similis nobis pas
sibilis : et oratione hora
uit ut non plueret super terram
et non pluit annos tres et
menses sex. [18] Et rursum ora
uit : et celum dedit pluuiam
et terra dedit fructum suum.
[19] Fratres mei : si quis (XXIII)
ex uobis errauerit a uerita
te : et conuerterit quis eum : [20] sci
re debet. Qm̄ qui conuer
ti fecerit peccatorem ab er
rore uie sue saluabit
animam eius a morte. Et
operit multitudinem pec
catorum amen. *Petri*
1 [1] PETRVS | *epistola*
apostolus xp̄i ihu
electis adue
nis gentibus
dispersionis pon
ti. galatie. ca
padocie. asie. et
bitinie. [2] Secundum pre
scienciam dei pa
tris : in sc̄ificatio
ne sp̄s. In obe
dienciam : et as
persione sangui
nis xp̄i ihu. Gratia uobis

5 10–20 and 1 St Pet. 1 1–2

[10] dñi : +ecce beatificamus illos qui sustinuerunt p^1 [12] sermo uester p^2 [14] in uobis p^2 [15] alleuiabit p^2 [16] deprecatio p^2 [19] ex uobis : *improbauit* p^2 1 [2] obediencia p^2

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PETRI Fol. 207

et pax multiplicetur. [3] Be
nedictus ds et pater dñi
nostri ihu xpi: qui secundum
magnam misericordiam suam
regenerauit nos in spem
uite eterne. Per ressurrec
tionem ihu xpi ex mortu
is. [4] In hereditatem incor
ruptibilem et incontami
natam et inmarcessibilem.
Conseruatam in celis. In
uobis [5] qui in uirtute dei
custodimini per fidem in sa
lutem paratam. Reuelari
in tempore nouissimo [6] in quo
exaltabitis. (II)

Modicum nunc si oportet
contristati in uari
is temptationibus: [7] ut proba
tio fidei uestre multo preciosi
hor sit auro quod perit sed per
ignem probatur inuenia
tur: In laudem et gloriam
et honorem: in reuelatio
ne ihu xpi. [8] Quem cum non
uideritis: diligitis. In quem
nunc quoque non uidentes
creditis: credentes autem ex
ultatis. Leticia inen
narrabili et glorificata. [9] Re
portantes finem fidei uestre
salutem animarum. [10] De qua sa
lute exquisierunt atque scru
tati sunt prophete: qui de
futura in uobis gratia dei propheta
uerunt. [11] Scrutantes in
quod uel quale tempus signifi
caret qui in eis erat sps
xpi: prenuncians eas que in xpo
sunt passiones: et posteri
ores glorias. [12] Quibus reuelatum
est quia non sibi ipsis: uobis
autem ministrabant ea que
nunc nunciata sunt uobis. Per
eos qui euuangelizauerunt uobis
spu sco misso de celo: in
quem desiderant angeli pros
picere. [13] Propter quod succinti
lumbos mentis uestre: sobrii
perfecte sperate in eam que
offertur nobis gratiam. In re
uelacione ihu xpi: [14] qua
si filii obediencie. (III)

Con configurati priori
bus ignorancie uestre de
sideriis: [15] sed secundum eum qui uo
cauit uos scm: ut et ip
si sci in omni conuersatione

1 2–15

[3] spem uiuam uite p^2 [4] immarcessibilem p^2 [6] exultabitis p^1 contristari p^2 [7] preciosior p^2 [8] exultabitis p^2 inenarrabili (*erasa* n) p^1 *ut udtr, sed restituit* n p^2 [9] animarum: +uestrarum p^2 [13] perfecte: perfecti p^2 nobis: uobis p^2 [14] Con: non p^1

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AD Fol. 207*

sitis. [16] Qm̄ scriptum est. Sc̄i
estote qm̄ et ego sc̄s
sum dn̄s đs uester. (IIII)
[17] Et si patrem inuocatis
eum qui sine acceptio
ne personarum iudicauit.
Secundum uniuscuiusque opus:
in timore incolatus
uestri tempore conuersamini.
[18] Scientes quod non corrup
tibilibus auro uel argen
to redempti estis de ua
na uestra conuersatione
paterne tradictionis:
[19] sed precioso sanguine: qua
si agni incontamina
ti et inmaculati xp̄i
ih̄u. Ipse ergo qui et precog
nitus est ante constitu
tione mundi: et nouis
simo tempore natus et pas
sus est. Ipse accepit gloriam
quam đs uerbum semper pos
sedit sine initio ma
nens in patre: [20] precogniti
quidem ante constitucio
nem mundi. (V)
Manifestati autem nouis
simis temporibus propter
uos [21] qui per ipsum fideles
estis in đm qui suscitauit
eum a mortuis et dedit ei
gloria sedere ut fides uestra
et spes esset in đm. [22] Ani
mas uestras castificantes
in obediencia caritatis:
in fraternitatis amore sim
pliciter ex corde puro in
uicem diligite fortiter.
[23] Renati non ex semine
corruptibili: sed incor
ruptibili. Per uerbum dei
uiui et permanentis. [24] Quia
omnis caro ut fenum et omnis
gloria eius tamquam flos fe
ni. Exaruit fenum: et flos
eius decidit: [25] uerbum autem
dn̄i manet in eternum.
Hoc autem uerbum: (VI)
quod euuangelizatum est
in uobis. 2 [1] Deponentes igitur
omnem maliciam et om
nem dolum: et simulaciones
et inuidiam: et omnes detrac
tiones: [2] sicut modo geniti
infantes rationabiles
sine dolo lac concupis
cite ut in eo crescatis

1 15–2 2

[17] iudicat p^1 [18] traditionis p^2 [19] immaculati p^2 constitutionem p^2 cum patre p^2 [21] in deo *bis* p^2 [22] fratres: attentius p^2 [24] ut: *erasit* p^2 tamquam: quasi p^2 [25] Hoc: + est p^* *vel* p^1 2 [1] inuidias p^2

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PETRI Fol. 208

in salutem. [3] Si tamen gus
tastis qm̄ dulcis est dn̄s.
[4] Ad quem accedentes lapi
dem uiuum ab hominibus quidem
reprobatum a deo autem elec
tum et honorificatum. [5] Et
ipsi tamquam lapides uiui
superedificamini domos
spiritales: sacerdotium sc̄m:
offerentes spiritales ostias
acceptabiles đo per iħm xp̄m.
[6] Propter quod con (VII)
tinet scriptura. Ecce po
no in sion lapidem summum
uiuum angularem electum pre
ciosum: et qui crediderit in
eo non confundetur. [7] Uobis
autem honor credentibus.
Non credentibus autem: la
pidem quem reprobauerunt he
dificantes hic factus est in
caput anguli: [8] et lepis offen
sionis et petra scandali:
his qui offendunt uerbo nec
credunt in quo et positi
sunt. [9] Uos autem genus elec
tum: regale sacerdotium: gens
sc̄a populus adquisitionis:
ut uirtutes eius adnun
tietis: qui de tenebris
uos uocauit in illut ad
mirabile lumen suum.
[10] Qui aliquando non populus:
nunc autem populus dei.
Qui non consecuti misericordiam:
nunc autem misericordiam con
[11] Carissi (VIII) | secuti.
mi: obsecro uos tam
quam aduenas et peregri
nos: abstinere uos a car
nalibus desideriis: que mi
litant aduersus animam.
[12] Conuersationem uestram in
ter gentes habentes
bonam: ut in eo quod det
unt de uobis tamquam de
malefactoribus: ex bo
nis operibus uos consideran
tes: glorificent đm in
die uisitacionis. (VIIII)
[13] Subiecti estote omni
humane creature
propter đm. Siue regi
quasi precellenti. [14] Siue
ducibus tamquam hab eo
missis: ad uindictam
malefactorum: laudem
uero bonorum. [15] Quia sic est

2 2–15

[6] eo: eum p^2 [7] autem: igitur p^2 lapis p^2 lepis: *corr.* p^2 [9] annuntietis p^2 [12] detunt: detractant p^2 [14] tanquam ab p^2

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AD Fol. 208*

uolumptas dei: ut bene fa
cientes obmutescere facia
tis inprudentum homin
um ignorantiam. [16] Quasi li
beri: et non quasi uelamen
habentes malicie liberta
tem: sed sicut serui dei. (X)
[17] Omnes honorate: frater
nitatem diligite. Dm̄
timete: regem honorifica
te. [18] Serui subditi estote
in omni timore dn̄is uestris.
Non tantum bonis et mo
destis: sed etiam discolis. [19] Hec
est enim gratia: si propter con
scienciam dei sustinet
quis tristicias paciens in
iuste. [20] Que enim gloria est si
peccantes et colafizati suf
fertis: sed si bene facien
tes pacienter sic patimini
hec est gratia aput d̄m. [21] In hoc
enim uocati estis. Quia et
xp̄s pro nobis passus est: uobis
relinquens exemplum ut
sequamini uestigia eius.
[22] Qui peccatum non fecit: (XI)
nec inuentus est do
lus in hore eius. [23] Qui cum
malediceretur: non remale
dicebat. Cum pateretur:
non cominabatur. Trade
bat autem se iudici iudi
canti se iniuste: [24] qui pecca
ta nostra ipse pertulit in
corpore suo super lignum: ut
peccatis mortui iusticie
uiuamus: cuius liuore sa
nati estis. [25] Eratis enim
aliquando sicut oues errantes:
sed conuersi estis nunc ad
pastorem et episcopum anima
rum uestrarum. (XII)
3 [1] Similiter et mulieres
subdite sint uiris
suis: ut et si quis non cre
dunt uerbo: per uxorum sua
rum conuersationem sine uer
bo lucrifiant. [2] Consideran
tes uestram in timore cas
tam conuersationem. [3] Quarum
sit non extrinsecus capil
lorum inplicatio: aut au
ri circumdatio aut in abi
tu uestimentorum cultus:
[4] sed ille qui absconditus cordis
est homo in incorrupti
biletate quieti et modesti

2 15–3 4

[16] imprudentum p^2 [20] gloria: gratia p^2 sic patimini: suffertis p^2 [21] passus est pro nobis p^2 3 [1] quis: s *erasa* [2] castam: sanctam p^2 [4] incorruptibilitate p^2

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sps qui est in conspectu di
locuples. [5] Sic enim aliquan
do sce mulieres sperantes
in deo: hornabant se sub
iecte propriis uiris. (XIII)
[6] Sicut sarra obediebat abra
he dnm eum uocans: cu
ius estote filie bene facien
tes et non timentes ullam per
turbacionem. [7] Uiri simili
ter choabitantes secundum sci
enciam quasi infirmiori
uasculo muliebri inpercien
tes honorem: tamquam choe
redibus gratie uite: ut ne in
pediantur horationes uobis.
[8] In fide autem karissimi: omnes
unanimes conpacientes.
Fraternitatem hamantes. Mi
sericordes: modesti humi
les. [9] Non reddentes malum
pro malo uel maledictum pro
maledicto: sed e contrario
beneuolentes. Quia in hoc
uocati estis: ut benedic
tionem hereditate posside
[10] Qui enim uult (XIIII) | atis.
uitam diligere et cupi
et uidere dies bonos: coer
ceat linguam suam ha ma
lo et labia eius ne loquan
tur dolum. [11] Declinet autem
a malo: et faciet bonum: in
quirat pacem et sequatur
eam. [12] Quia occuli dni super
iustos: et aures eius ad
preces eorum. Uultus autem
dni super facientes ma
la. [13] Et quis uos nocebit
si bonitatis factores
fueritis: [14] sed si quit pati
mini: propter iusticiam
beati estis. Metum autem
eorum ne timueritis: ut non
turbemini. [15] Dnm autem xpm
scificate in cordibus uestris:
parati semper ad satisfac
cionem cui poscenti uos ra
tionem de ea que in uobis est spe.
Sed cum modestia uestra et ti
more: [16] conscienciam haben
tes bonam: ut in eo quod de
traunt de uobis: tamquam de
malefactoribus: confundan
tur qui calumniantur uestram
bonam in xpo conuersatio
[17] Melius est enim (XV) | nem,
bene facientes si ue

3 4–17

[6] sara p^2 estote: estis p^2 timentes: t *in rasura* c p^* [7] impercientes p^2 ut ne (*num pro* et ne?): ut non p^2 uobis: uestre p^2 [8] Fraternitatis amatores p^2 [9] benedicentes p^2 [11] faciat p^2 [13] boni dilectores p^2 [16] calumpniantur p^2

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AD Fol. 209*

lit uolumptas dei pati
quam male facientes.
[18] Quia et xps semel pro pe
catis nostris mortuus est
iustus pro iniustis ut nos
offerret deo. Mortifica
tos quidem carne uiuifica
tos autem spu. [19] In quo et iis
qui in carcere erant uincti
spiritibus adueniens predi
cauit: [20] qui increduli fu
erant aliquando cum ex
pectarent dei pacientiam.
In diebus noe cum fabri
caretur archa: in qua
pauci id est octo anime sal
ue facte sunt per aquam.
[21] Quod et nos nunc simi (XVI)
lis forme saluos fa
cit babtisma. Non carnis
depositio sordium: sed consci
encie bone interrogatio
in dm per ressurrectionem
ihu xpi: [22] qui est in dex
tera dei. Degluciens mor
tem: ut uite eterne here
des eficeremur. Profectus
in celum: subiectis sibi
angelis et potestatibus et
uirtutibus. 4 [1] Xpo igitur in
carne passo: et uos eadem
cogitatione armamini.
Quia qui passus (XVII)
est in carne desiit
a peccatis: [2] ut iam non homi
num desideriis sed uolumpta
ti dei quod relicum est in
carne: uiuat temporis. [3] Suf
ficite enim preteritum tempus ad
uolumptatem hominum con
sumatum: qui ambulauerunt
in luxuriis. desideriis. ui
nolentiis. comessationi
bus. potationibus. et inlici
tis ydolorum cultibus: [4] in
quibus nunc obstupescunt:
in quo peregrinamur non co
currentibus uobis in eandem
luxurie confusionem blas
femantes: [5] qui reddent ratio
nem ei qui paratus est iudi
care uiuos e mortuos. (XVIII)
[6] Propter hoc enim et mor
tuis euuangelizatum est
ut iudicentur quidem secundum
hominem in carne: ui
uant autem secundum dm in spu.
[7] Omnium autem finis adpro

3 17–4 7

[18] peccatis p^2 [19] iis: hiis p^2 carcere: carne p^2 *in marg.* uincti: con-
clusi p^2 spiritu ueniens p^2 [21] nos: uos p^1 [22] efficeremini p^2 *in marg.*
4 [3] illicitis p^2 [4] concurr. p^2 [5] e: et p^2 [7] appro. p^2

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PETRI Fol. 210

pinquabit. Estote itaque
prudentes: et uigilate
in orationibus. [8] Ante omnia
mutuam in uosmetipsos
caritatem continuam haben
tes: quia charitas cohoper
it multitudinem peccatorum.
[9] Ospitales inuicem (XVIIII)
sine murmuratione.
[10] Unusquisque sicut accepit
gratiam in alterutrum illam
administrantes: sicut bo
ni dispensatores multifor
mis gratie dei. [11] Si quis loquitur:
quasi sermones đi. Si quis
administrat: tamquam ex
uirtute quam administr
at ei đs: ut in omnibus ho
norificetur đs: per iħm xp̄m
: cui est honor et imperium in
secula amen. [12] Karissimi noli
te expauescere in feruore
qui ad temptationem uobis fit.
Nolite pauere quasi noui
aliquit uobis contingat:
[13] Sed comunicantes xp̄i pas
sionibus gaudete. Ut in re
uelatione glorie eius gau
deatis exultantes. [14] Si ex
probramini in nomine xp̄i
beati estis qm̄ dn̄i uir
tus in uobis requiescit.
Quod ab illis quidem (XX)
blasphematur a uobis autem
honorificatur. [15] Nemo
autem uestrum paciatur qua
si homicida aut fur
aut maleficus aut alie
norum apetitor. [16] Si uero ut
xp̄ianus: non erubescat.
Glorificet autem đm in isto
nomine: [17] qm̄ tempus est incᵇoatio
nis iudicii de domo dei.
Si autem initium a nobis quis
finis eorum qui non credunt
đi euuangelio. [18] Et si iustus
uix saluabitur: peccator et
impḷius ubi parebunt.
[19] Ideoque et hii qui paciuntur
secundum uolumptatem dei:
fideli creatori conmendent
animas suas in benefac
5 [1] Seniores (XXI) | tis.
ergo qui [in] nobis sunt ob
secro consenior et testis
xp̄i passionum. Et eius que
in futuro reuelanda est
glorie socius: [2] passcite qui

4 7–5 2

[8] uobismetipsis p^2 caritas operit p^2 [11] amen: seculorum p^2 [13] reuelationem p^2 [18] iustus: +quidem p^2 5 [1] uobis p^2

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AD Fol. 210*

est in uobis gregem dei:
prouidentes non choacte sed
spontanee: secundum đm. Ne
que turpis lucri gratia:
sed uolumptarie. [3] Neque
ut dñantes in cleris: sed
forme facti gregis ex ani
mo. [4] Et cum aparuerit
princebs pastorum: percipiatis
illam floridam et inmarces
sibilem glorie choronam. [5] Simi
liter et adolescentes: sub
diti estote senioribus. Omnes
autem inuicem quietem et humi
lictatem insinuate. Quia
đs superbis ressistit: humi
libus autem dat gratiam. (XXII)
[6] Humiliamini igitur sub
illa potentissima ma
nu dei: ut uos exaltet in
tempore uisitationis sue. [7] Om
nem sollicitudinem uestram
proicientes in eum: qm̄ ib
si cura est de suos. [8] Sob
rii estote et uigilate quia
aduersarius uester diabolus
tamquam leo rugiens: circu
it querens quem deuoret. [9] Cui
ressistite: fortes fide: nichil
uerentes: scientes eandem
passionem ei que in mun
do est uestre fraternitati fie
ri. [10] Ds autem omnis gratie qui
uocauit nos in eternam suam
gloriam in xp̄o iħu modi
cum passos: ipse perficiet
confirmabit solidabitque.
[11] Ipsi gloria et imperium in secula
secularum. amen. (XXIII)
[12] Per siluanum autem uobis fi
delem fratrem ut arbitror
breuiter scripsi: obsecrans
et contestans hanc esse ueram
gratiam dei in qua statis.
[13] Salutat uos que est in
babilone ecclesia coelecta.
Et marc[b]us filius meus.
[14] Salutate inuicem in os
culo sc̄o. Gratia uobis omnibus
qui estis in xp̄o iħu. amen.
Explicit epistola petri prima.
1 [1] Simon petrus
seruus et a
postolus iħu xp̄i.
His qui quoe
qualem nobis
adempti sunt
fidem in ius

5 2—2 St Pet. 1 1

[2] coacte p^2 [4] ut p^1 coronam p^2 [5] autem: enim p^2 humilitatem p^1 vel p^2 đs: dn̄s p^2 [7] suos: uobis p^1 [9] in fide p^2 [11] seculorum p^1 [13] babilonia p^2 collecta p^2, *sed ipse ut udtr* coelecta *postea restituit* 1 [1] equalem p^2

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PETRI Fol. 211

ticia dei nostri et salua
toris ihu xpi : [2] gratia uobis et
pax adimpleatur in cog
nitione dei et xpi ihu
dni nostri. [3] Sicut omnia nobis
diuine uirtutis sue que
ad uitam et pietatem dona
ta sunt per cognitionem eius
qui uocauit nos propria gloria
et uirtute. [4] Per que ma
xima et preciosa nobis promis
sa donauit ut per hec effi
ciamur diuine consortes
nature. Fugientes eius
que in mundo est concu
piscencie corruptionem.
[5] Nos autem curam (II)
omnem subinferen
tes : ministrate in fide
uestra uirtutem. In uirtu
te uero : scienciam. [6] In sci
encia autem continenciam.
In continencia uero pa
cienciam. In paciencia autem
pietatem. [7] In pietate autem
amorem fraternitatis. In a
more uero fraternitatis :
caritatem. [8] Hec enim si uobis
cum presto sint et superent
non uacuos nec sine
fructu uos constituent.
In dni nostri ihu xpi cog
nitionem. [9] Cui enim non
presto sunt hec : cecus est et
manu temptans. Obliuio
nem accipiens : purgatio
nis ueterum suorum de
[10] Quapropter (III) | lictorum.
fratres magis satagite :
ut per bona opera certam uestram
uocationem et electionem
faciatis. Hec enim facien
tes : non peccabitis aliquan
do. [11] Sic enim habundanter
ministrabitur uobis introi
tus in eternum regnum dni
nostri et saluatoris ihu xpi.
[12] Propter quod differam semper
commonere uos de his. Et qui
dem scientes et confirma
tos in presenti ueritate. [13] Ius
tum uero arbitror quamdiu
sum in hoc tabernaculo susci
tare uos in commonitione :
[14] certus quod uelox erit deposi
tio tabernaculi mei. Secundum
quod et dns noster ihs xps : sig
nificauit michi per reuela
| tionem.

1 1–14

[1] dei : dni p^2 [2] dei et xpi ihu : *expunxit* p^2 [3] sunt : est p^2
[5] Nos : Vos p^2 [8] presto sint : assint p^2 nec : et p^2 [12] differam : incipiam uos p^2

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AD Fol. 211*

[15] Dabo autem operam uos fre
quenter habere post mor
tem post hobitum meum ut
illorum memoriam facia
tis. [16] Non enim commenti
cias fabulas secuti no
tam facimus uobis: dñi
nostri ihu xpi uirtutem
et presenciam. Sed specu
latores facti ipsius ma
gnitudinis. [17] Accepit enim
a deo honorem et gloriam: uo
ce delapsa ad eum huius
cemodi a magnifica gloria.
Hic est filius meus dilectus
in quo mihi conplacui
ipsum audite. [18] Et hanc
uocem nos audiuimus de
celo adlatam: cum essemus
cum ipso in monte sco. (IIII)
[19] Et habemus firmiorem
profeticum sermonem
cui bene facitis adten
dentes quasi lucerne lu
centi in caliginoso loco.
Donec dies inlucescat
et lucifer oriatur in cor
dibus uestris. [20] Hoc primum
intelligentes: quod omnis
prophetie scriptura proprie in
terpretatione non fit. [21] Non
enim uolumptate huma
na adlata est aliquando
prophetia: sed spu sco inspi
rati locuti sunt sci dei
homines. 2 [1] Fuerunt uero
et pseudoprofete in populo
sicut et in uobis erunt ma
gistri mendaces: qui sub
introducent sectas perdi
cionis. Et eum qui emit
eos dñm negabunt: super
ducentes sibi celerem per
dicionem. [2] Et multi sequen
tur eorum luxurias: per quos
uia ueritatis blasphemabi
tur. [3] Et in auaritia factis
uerbis de uobis negotiabun
tur. Quibus iudicium iam
olim non cessat: et perditio
eorum non dormitat. (V)
[4] Si enim ds angelis pec
cantibus non pepercit. Sed
calinis inferni detrac
tos in tartarum tradidit.
In iudicium reseruari
cruciandos: [5] et originali
mundo non pepercit. Sed oc

1 15–2 5

[16] doctas p^1 fecimus p^2 prescienciam p^2 [17] accepit enim: accipiens p^1 *et* p^2 deo: + patre p^2 complacui p^1 [18] allatam p^1 [19] attend. p^2 illucescat p^2 [20] prophetia scripture p^2, *sed postea ipse ut udtr* prophetie scriptura *restituit* [21] allata p^2 2 [3] fictis p^2 [4] calinis: rudentibus p^2

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PETRUI Fol. 212

tauum noe iusticie preco
nem custodiuit. Diluuium
mundo super impios indu
cens. [6] Et ciuitates sodomo
rum et gomorreorum in ci
nerem redigens euersione
damnauit. Exemplum eorum
qui impie acturi sunt po
nens. [7] Et iustum loth oppresum
a nefandorum iniuria ac in
pudica conuersatione er
[8] Aspectu enim (VI) |uit.
et auditu iustus erat
habitans aput eos qui de
die in diem animam iustam
iniquis facinoribus crucia
bant. [9] Nouit dñs pios de
temptationibus eripere: ini
quos uero in diem iudicii
cruciandos reseruare. [10] Ma
gis autem eos qui post carnem
in concupiscentia inmun
dicie ambulant: dñatio
nemque contempnunt. Auda
ces: sibi placentes: sectas non
metuunt introducere. Bl
asphemantes. [11] Ubi angeli
fortitudine et uirtute cum
sint maiores: non portant
aduersum se a dño exe
crabile iuditium. (VII)
[12] Hii uero uelut inratio
nabilia pecora natura
liter in captionem et in per
niciem in his que igno
rant blasphemantes. In
corruptione autem sua peri
bunt. [13] Percipientes merce
dem iniusticie. Uolump
tatem existimantes diur
nas delicias. Coinqui
nationis et macule deli
ciis afluentes. In con
uiuiis suis luxuriantes
uobiscum. [14] Oculos abentes ple
nos adulterii et inces
sabilis delicti. Inlici
entes animas instabiles
cor exercitatum hauaritie
habentes. Maledictionis
filii. [15] Derelinquentes uiam
rectam errauerunt: secu
ti uiam balaham filii
ex bosor: qui mercedem ini
quitatis amauit. (VIII)
[16] Correptionem uero habu
it sue uesanie. Sub
iugale mutum in homi
|nis

2 5–16

[7] inpudica: luxuriosa p^2 eruit: eripuit p^2 [9] temptatione p^2 [10] concupiscentiam p^2 immundicie p^1 [12] irratio. p^2 [14] habentes p^1 pellitientes p^2 auaritia p^2 [16] in: animal p^2

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AD Fol. 212*

uoce loquens: proibuit prophe
te insipientiam. [17] Hii sunt
fontes sine aqua. Et
nebule a turbinibus ex
agitate: quibus caligo te
nebrarum reseruatur. [18] Super
ba enim uanitatis loquen
tes: inliciunt in desi
deriis carnis luxurie:
Eos qui paululum effugi
unt. Qui in errore con
uersantur [19] libertatem illis pro
mittent: cum ipsi sint ser
ui corruptionis. (VIIII)
A quo enim quis superatus
est: huius et seruus
est. [20] Si enim refugientes
coinquinationem mundi
in agnitionem dñi nostri
et saluatoris ihu xpi his
rursus impliciti superan
tur: facta sunt eorum pos
teriora deteriora prioribus. [21] Me
lius enim erat illis non
cognoscere uiam iusticie:
quam post agnitionem re
trorsum conuerti ab eo quod
illis traditum est cō man
dato. [22] Contigit enim eis
illut ueri proŭerbii. Canis
reuersus ad suum uomitum
et sus lota in uolatabro
3 [1] Hanc ecce (X) | ceni.
uobis carissimi secundam
scribo epistolam: in quibus
excito uestram in commo
nitione sinceram mentem.
[2] Ut memores sitis eorum
que predixi uerborum. Scōrum
prophetarum et apostolorum uestro
rum. Et preceptorum dñi et
saluatoris nostri. [3] Hoc primum
scientes: quod uenient in
nouissimis diebus in decep
tione illusores. Iusta pro
prias concupiscentias
ambulantes: [4] et dicentes:
Ubi est promissio aut auen
tus eius: ex quo enim patres
nostri dormierunt: omnia sic
perseuerant ab initio creature.
[5] Latet enim eos (XI)
hoc uolentes: quod ce
li erant prius et terra de a
qua. Et per aquam consis
tens dei uerbo: [6] per quem ille
tunc mundus aqua inun
datus deperiit. [7] Celi autem

2 16–3 7

[18] superbia p^2 pelliciunt p^2 conuersati p^1 [19] cum ipsis p^1, cum ipsi (+ item *in marg.*) *restituit* p^2 [20] inplicati p^2 [21] sco p^1 [22] contingit p^2, *sed* contigit *postea restituit* uolutabro p^1 3 [1] commonitionem p^1 [3] iuxta p^2 [4] aduentus p^2 [6] que p^2

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PETRI Fol. 213

qui nunc sunt et terra: eo
dem uerbo repositi sunt ig
ni reseruati in die iudi
cii et perdicionis hominum
impiorum. [8] Hoc ęunum uero non
lateat uos charissimi: quia
unus dies aput dn̄m: sicut
mille anni. Et mille an
ni: sicut dies unus. (XII)
[9] Non tardat dn̄s promis
sum suum: sicut quidam tar
ditatem existimant: sed pa
cienter agit propter uos.
Nolens aliquos peri
re: sed omnes ad peniten
tiam reuerti. [10] Adueniet autem
dies dn̄i ut fur: in qua
celi magno impetu trans
current. Elementa uero ca
lore soluentur. Et terra et
que in ipsa sunt opera: ex
urentur. [11] His uero homnibus
pereuntibus: quales oportet
esse uos. In sc̄is conuersati
onibus et pietatibus: [12] expec
tantes: et properantes in ad
uentum dei. Per quem
celi ardentes soluentur:
et elementa ignis ardore
tabescent. [13] Nouos uero ce
los et nouam terram secundum
promissa ipsius expecta
mus: in quibus iusticia
habitat. [14] Quapropter: ch
arissimi: hec expectan
tes: satagite inmacula
ti aput eum et inuiola
ti inueniri in pace.
[15] Et dn̄i nostri ih̄u xp̄i lon
ganimitatem salutem ar
bitramini. (XIII)
Sicut et charissimus frater
noster paulus: secundum da
tam sibi sapienciam scrip
sit uobis. [16] Sicut et in omnibus
epistolis: loquens in eis de
his in quibus sunt quędam
difficilia intellectu.
Que indocti et instabi
les deprauant. Sicut et ce
teras scripturas ad suam ip
sorum perdicionem. [17] Uos igi
tur fratres prescientes caue
te: ne insipientium er
rore seducti excidatis a pro
pria firmitate. [18] Cresci
te uero in gratia: et in cogni
tione dn̄i nostri et saluato
|ris

3 7–18

[7] diem p^2 perdicioni p^1, *sed ipse ut udtr* perdicionis *restituit* [8] unum uero hoc p^1 [10] qua: quo p^2 [11] oporteat p^2 [12] dei: diei p^2 [14] immacu. p^2

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AD Fol. 213*

nostri ihu xp̄i. Ipsi gloria
nunc et in die eternita
tis. amen. Expli
cit epistola petri. II.

Iohannis

1[1] Quod fu
it ab ini
tio: quod
audiui
mus: quod
uidimus
oculis
nostris
quod per
peximus et manus
nostre contrectauerunt
de uerbo uite: [2] et uita
manifestata est. Et ui
dimus. et testificamur. et
adnuntiamus uobis uitam
eternam: que erat aput pa
trem: et apparuit nobis. [3] Quod
ergo uidimus. et audiui
mus. adnuntiamus uobis:
ut et uos sotietatem ha
beatis nobiscum: et societas
nostra est cum patre et cum
filio eius ihu xp̄o: [4] et hec
scribimus ut gaudea
tis uobis: et gaudium
nostrum sit plenum. [5] Et hec
est adnuntiatio quam au
diuimus ab eo. Et ad
nunciamus uobis: qm̄ ds
lux est: et tenebre in eo
non sunt ulle. [6] Si dixeri
mus nos societatem ha
bere cum eo: et in tene
bris ambulamus: menti
mur et non facimus ueri
tatem. [7] Si autem in luce
ambulamus: sicut et ipse in
luce est: societatem ha
bemus cum deo: et san
guis ihu xp̄i filii eius
mundat nos ab omni pec
cato. [8] Si dixerimus quia pec
catum non habemus: ipsi nos
seducimus: et ueritas in
nobis non est. (II)
[9] Si autem confiteamur pec
cata nostra: fidelis est et
iustus: ut remittat nobis
peccata nostra: et emundet
nos ab omni iniquitate. [10] Quod
si dixerimus: qm̄ non peccaui
mus: mendacem facimus eum:
et uerbum eius non est in nobis.

2 St Pet. 3 18—1 St Joh. 1 10

[18] diem p^1 1 [1] perspeximus p^1 [4] uestrum p^2 [7] emundat p^2

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IOHANNIS Fol. 214

2 [1] Filioli mei : hec scri
bo uobis ut non peccetis. Sed
et si quis peccauerit : aduo
catum habemus aput pa
trem ihm xpm iustum : [2] et
ipse est propiciatio pro peccatis
nostris. Non pro nostris autem
tantum : sed etiam pro tocius
[3] Et in hoc (III) | mundi.
scimus qm cognoui
mus eum : si mandata eius
obseruemus. [4] Qui dicit se
nosse dm et mandata eius
non custodit mendax est et
in hoc [5] charitas dei perfec
ta est. In hoc scimus : qm
in ipso sumus : si in ip
so perfecti fuerimus. [6] Qui
dicit se in ipso manere :
debet sicut ille ambulauit
et ipse ambulare. [7] Cha
rissimi : non nouum man
datum scribo uobis : sed man
datum uetus quod habuis
tis ab initio. Mandatum
uetus est : uerbum quod au
distis. [8] Iterum mandatum
nouum scribo uobis : quod est
uerum et in ipso et in uobis.
Qm tenebre transierunt :
et lumen uerum iam lu
cet. [9] Qui dicit se in lu
ce esse et fratrem suum hodit :
in tenebris est usque adhuc.
[10] Qui diligit fratrem suum:
in lumine manet et
scandalum in eo non est.
[11] Qui autem odit fratrem suum :
in tenebris est : et in tene
bris ambulat. Et nes
cit quo eat qm teneb
re obceccauerunt occulos eius.
Scribo uobis filioli : (IIII)
qm remituntur uobis
peccata propter nomen eius.
[13] Scribo uobis iuuenes :
qm uicistis malignum.
[14] Scribo uobis infantes : qm
cognouistis patrem. Scri
bo uobis patres : quia cog
nouistis eum qui ab inicio
est. Scribo uobis adulescen
tes : quia fortes estis et
uerbum dei in uobis permanet
et uicistis malignum.
[15] Nolite diligere mundum :
neque ea que in mundo sunt.
Si quis autem diligit mun

2 1–15

2 [3] obseruamus p^2 [4] et : +ueritas in eo non est. Qui autem seruat uerbum eius uere p^2 [8] in nobis p^2 [14] adolescentes p^2 malignum : +Karissimi p^2

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AD Fol. 214*

dum: non est caritas pa
tris in eo. [16] Quoniam omne
quod est in mundo: concupis
centia carnis et concupis
centia oculorum est: et superbia
uite que non est ex patre:
sed ex mundo est. [17] Et mundus
transit: et concupiscen
tia eius. Qui autem facit
uolumtatem dei: manet in
eternum quomodo et ds ma
net in eternum. (V)

Filioli: nouissima hora
est. Et sicut audistis quia
anticristus uenit: nunc
autem antixpi multi facti
sunt. Unde scimus: qm
nouissima hora est. [19] Ex nobis
prodierunt: sed non erant ex
nobis. Nam si fuissent ex nobis
permansissent utique nobis
cum. Sed ut manifesti sint
qm non sunt omnes ex nobis. [20] Sed
uos unctionem habetis a sco
et nostis omnia. [21] Non scrib
si uobis quasi ignorantibus
ueritatem: sed quasi scienti
bus eam. Et qm omne men
datium ex ueritate non est.
[22] Quis enim est mendax: ni
si his qui negat qm ihs non
est xps. Hic est antixps:
qui negat patrem et filium.
[23] Omnis qui negat filium nec
patrem habet. Qui autem con
fitetur filium: et patrem ha
[24] Uos autem quod (VI) | bet.
audistis ab initio: per
maneat in uobis. Si in
uobis permanserit quod ab ini
tio audistis: et uos in fi
lio et in patre manebi
tis. [25] Et hec est repromissio quam
ille pollicitus est nobis uitam
eternam. [26] Hec scripsi uobis
de eis: qui seducunt uos.
[27] Et uos unctionem quam ac
cepistis ab eo permaneat in
uobis. Et non necesse ha
betis ut aliquis doceat uos:
sed sicut unctio eius docet
uos de homnibus: et uerum est
et non est mendatium. (VII)

Et sicut docuit uos: mane
te in eo. [28] Et nunc filioli
mate in eo: ut cum appa
ruerit habeamus fidutiam.
Et non confundamur ab eo

2 15–28

[21] scripsi p^2 ueritate: uerita te p^* [25] ille: *expunxit* p^2 *sed non addidit* ipse [27] maneat p^2 [28] manete p^2

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IOHANNIS

in aduentu eius. [29] Si sci
tis qm̄ iustus est : scitote
qm̄ et omnis qui facit ius
ticiam ex ipso natus est. 3 [1] Ui
dete qualem charitatem de
dit nobis pater ut filii
dei nominemur et simus. Pro
pter hoc mundus non no
uit nos quia et ipsum igno
rabat. Carissimi : (VIII) | nunc filii dei sumus.
Et nondum aparuit quid
erimus. Scimus qm̄ cum
aparuerit similes ei
erimus. Qm̄ uidebimus
eum sicute est. [3] Et omnis
qui habet spem hanc in eo
sc̄ificet se : sicut ille sc̄s est.
[4] Omnis qui facit peccatum : et
iniquitatem facit. Et peccatum
est iniquitas. [5] Et scitis qm̄
ille apparuit ut peccata
tolleret : et peccatum in eo
non est. [6] Omnis qui in eo ma
net : non peccat. Omnis qui
peccat : non uidet eum : nec
cognouit eum. [7] Filio
li : nemo uos seducat.
Qui facit iusticiam : iustus
est : sicut et ille iustus est.
[8] Qui autem facit peccatum ex
diabolo est. Qm̄ ab initio
diabolus peccat. In hoc
apparuit filius dei : ut
dissoluat opera diaboli. [9] Omnis
qui natus est ex deo : pec
catum non facit. Qm̄ semen
ipsius in eo manet et non
potest peccare qm̄ ex đo
natus est. [10] In hoc mani
festi sunt filii dei : et filii
diaboli. Omnis qui non
facit iusticiam non est de
deo : et qui non diligit fratrem
suum. [11] Qm̄ hec est adnun
ciatio quam audistis ab ini
tio : ut diligamus alteru
trum. [12] Non sicut chaỳn qui
ex maligno erat : et hoc
cidit fratrem suum. Et propter
quid hoccidit eum. Qm̄ opera
eius maligna erant :
fratris autem eius maligna
erant fratris iusta. (VIIII)
[13] Nolite mirari : si odit
nos hic mundus. [14] Nos
simus qm̄ transibimus
de morte in uitam : qm̄

2 28–3 14

3 [1] Karissimi p^2 sicuti p^2 [3] sc̄ificat p^2 [12] chaỳm p^2 [13] mirari : *non addidit* fratres p^1 *uel* p^2 nos hic : uos p^2 [14] scimus p^2

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AD Fol. 215*

diligimus fratres. Qui non
diligit: manet in mor
te. [15] Omnis qui odit fratrem su
um homicida est. Et sci
tis: qm̄ omnis homici
da non abet uitam eternam
in semedipso manen
[16] In hoc cognoui (X) | tem.
mus charitatem dei:
qm̄ ille pro nobis animam
suam posuit: et nos de
bemus pro fratribus nostris
animas ponere. [17] Qui abuerit
substanciam huius mundi
et uiderit fratrem suum egere
et clauserit uiscera sua
hab eo: quomodo charitas
dei manet in eo. [18] Fi
lioli mei: non diligamus
uerbo tantum et lingua:
sed opere et ueritate. [19] In hoc
cognoscimus qm̄ ex ueri
tate sumus: et in conspec
tu eius suademus corda
nostra. [20] Qm̄ si non reprehen
derit nos cor nostrum: ma
ior est ds̄ corde nostro et no
[21] Charissimi: (XI) | uit omnia.
si cor nostrum nos non re
prehenderit nos fiduciam a
bemus ad dm̄. [22] Et quod
cumque petierimus acci
piemus ab eho. Qm̄
mandata eius custodiimus.
Et ea que sunt placita co
ram eo facimus. [23] Et hoc
est mandatum eius: ut cre
damus in nomine filii eius
ihu xp̄i. Et diligamus
alterutrum sicut dedit nobis
mandatum. [24] Et qui seruat
mandata eius: in illo
manet: et ipse in eo.
Et in hoc scimus qm̄
manet in nobis de sp̄u
suo quem dedit nobis.
4 [1] Charissimi: nolite (XII)
omni sp̄ui credere. Sed
probate sp̄s si ex deo sint.
Qm̄ multi pseudopro
phete prodierunt in hunc
mundum. [2] In hoc cognos
citur sp̄s dei. Omnis
anima que confitetur ihm̄
xp̄m in carne uenis
se: ex deo est. [3] Et omnis
sp̄s qui soluit ihm̄:
ex deo non est. Et hic est

3 14–4 3

[15] semedipso: se p^2 [16] animam suam pro nobis p^2 [20] non: *improbauit* p^1 *et* p^2 [21] Karissimi p^2 [22] quicquid p^2 ab eo p^2 custodimus p^2
4 [1] Karissimi p^2

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IOHANNIS Fol. 216

illius antixpi quem au
distis qm̃ uenit. Et nunc
iam in mundo est. [4] Uos
ex deo estis filioli: et ui
cistis eum. Qm̃ maior est
qui in uobis est quam qui
in mundo. [5] Ipsi de mundo
sunt: ideo de mundo locun
tur. Et mundus audit
eos. [6] Nos ex deo sumus.
Qui nouit đm: audit
nos. Qui non est ex deo:
non audit nos. In hoc
cognoscimus sp̃m uerita
tis et sp̃m erroris. (XIII)
[7] Carissimi: diligamus
inuicem qm̃ caritas
ex deo est. Et omnis qui dili
git fratrem ex deo natus
est et cognoscit đm. [8] Qui
non diligit non nouit đm.
Qm̃ đs caritas est. [9] In
hoc aparuit caritas dei
in nobis: qm̃ filium su
um unigenitum misit
đs in hunc mundum ut
uiuamus per eum. [10] In hoc
est charitas: non quasi nos
dilexerimus đm sed qm̃
ipse prior dilexit nos:
et misit filium suum pro
pitiationem pro peccatis
[11] Carissimi: (XIIII) | nostris.
sicut đs dilexit nos: sic
nos debemus alterutrum
diligere. [12] Dm̃: nemo ui
dit umquam. Quod si di
ligimus inuicem: đs in
nobis manet: et chari
tas eius in nobis perfecta
est. [13] In hoc intellegimus
qm̃ in eo manemus
et ipse in nobis: qm̃ de
sp̃u đi dedit nobis. [14] Et
nos uidimus et testifi
camur: qm̃ pater mi
sit filium suum salua
torem mundi. [15] Quisquis con
fessus fuerit quia ihs est
filius dei: đs in eo ma
net et ipse in deo. [16] Et
nos cognouimus et cre
dimus caritati: quam ha
bet đs in nobis. (XV)
Deus: caritas est. Et
qui manet in cari
tate: in đo manet: et
deus in eo. [17] In hoc perfec
| ta

4 3–17

[3] illius antixpi quem: antixps quem p^2 [7] Karissimi p^2 [11] Karissimi p^2 sicut: si p^2 inuicem p^2 [12] unquam p^2 [13] intellegimus: cognoscimus p^2

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AD Fol. 216*

est charitas dei in nobis
ut fiduciam habeamus
in die iudicii. Quia sicut
ille est et nos sumus in
hoc mundo. [18] Timor non est
in caritate: sed perfecta
charitas. foras mittit
timorem. Qm̄ timor pe
nam habet. Qui autem ti
met: non est perfectus in
caritate. [19] Nos ergo diliga
mus đm qm̄ deus prior
dilexit nos. [20] Si quis di
xerit qm̄ diligo đm et
fratrem suum quem uidet
đm quem non uidet. Quomodo
potest diligere. [21] Et hoc ergo
mandatum habemus ab eo
ut qui diligit đm dili
gat et fratrem suum. (XVI)
5 [1] Omnis qui credit quia
iħs est xp̄s ex deo na
tus est. Et omnis qui dili
git genitorem diligit:
et eum qui ex eo natus est.
[2] In hoc cognoscimus qm̄
diligimus filios dei
cum đm diligimus et man
data eius seruauimus.
[3] Hec est enim charitas đi:
ut mandata eius custo
diamus. Et mandata eius
grauia non sunt. (XVII)
[4] Qm̄ omne quod natum est
ex deo uincit mun
dum. Et hec est uictoria
que uincit mundum fides
nostra. [5] Qui est autem qui uincit
mundum nisi qui credidit
qm̄ iħs est filius dei: [6] hic
est qui uenit per aquam et
sanguinem iħs xp̄s. Non
in aqua solum sed in aqua
et sanguine. Et sp̄s est qui tes
tificatur: qm̄ xp̄s est
ueritas. [8] Quia tres sunt: qui
testimonium dant in ter
ra. Sp̄s. aqua. et sanguis.
Et hii tres: unum sunt in
xp̄o iħu. [7] Et tres sunt qui
testimonium dant in ce
lo. Pater. uerbum. sp̄s sc̄s.
Et hii tres: unum sunt. (XVIII)
[9] Si testimonium hominum
haccepimus: testimo
nium dei maius est: quia
testificatus est de filio
suo. [10] Qui credit in filio

4 17–5 10

[19] deus: ipse p^2 [20] et: +fratrem suum oderit mendax est. Qui enim non diligit p^2 [21] ab eo: a deo p^2 5 [8] Quia tres: et tres p^2 [7] Et tres: Quia tres p^2 et sp̄s sc̄s p^2 [9] accipimus p^2 [10] in filium p^2

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IOHANNIS

Fol. 217

dei: habet testimonium
dei in se. (XVIIII)
Qui non credit filio men
dacem facit eum. Qm̄
non credidit in testimonio
quod testificatus est đs de fi
lio suo. 11 Et hoc est testimo
nium: qm̄ uitam eternam de
dit nobis đs. Et hec uita
in filio eius est. 12 Qui habet
filium dei in se: habet
uitam eternam. Qui non
habet filium dei: uitam
13 Carissimi: XX | non habet.
hec scripsi uobis ut
sciatis a đo qm̄ uitam habetis
eternam qui creditis in nomine
filii dei. 14 Et hec est fiducia
quam habemus aput đm:
quia quodcumque petieri
mus secundum uolumptatem
eius audit nos. 15 Et sci
mus qm̄ audit nos: quid
quid ṣpetierimus. Sci
mus qm̄ habemus peti
ciones: quas postulamus
hab eo. 10 Omnis qui scit fratrem su
um peccare peccatum non
ad mortem: petat pro eo et
dabit ei uitam đs. Sed
peccanti non ad mortem.
Est enim peccatum ad mor
tem: non pro illo dico ut
roget quis. 17 Omnis iniquitas
peccatum est: et est peccatum
ad mortem. (XXI)
18 Scimus: qm̄ omnis qui
natus est ex đo non
peccat: sed generatio dei con
seruat eum. Et mali
gnus non tangit eum. 19 Sci
mus: qm̄ ex deo ṇọṇ
pẹçç̣ạṭ sumus: et mundus
totus in maligno posi
tus est. 20 Et scimus qm̄ fi
lius dei uenit: et car
nem induit nostri causa:
et passus est et ressurre
xit a mortuis. Adsum
sit nos: et dedit nobis sen
sum ut cognoscamus ue
rum đm: et simus in uero
filio eius ih̄u xp̄o. Hic
est uerus đs et uita
eterna. 21 Filioli: custodite
uos assimularis.
Explicit I. Iohannis. In
cipiunt II. et III. Iohannis

5 10–21

10 credit filium p^2 15 audiet p^1 quicquid p^2 19 ex deo: + renati p^2
21 assimularis: a simulacris p^2

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AD Fol. 217*

1 Iohannes senior
electe dñe et na
tis eius quos ego
diligo in ueritate.
Et non ego solus:
sed et omnes qui cog
nouerunt ueritatem.
2 Propter ueritatem
que permanet in nobis
et nobiscum erit us
que in eternum. 3 Sit uobis
cum gratia: misericordia et
pax: a đo patre
et a xp̄o iħu filio
patris in ueritate et ca
ritate. 4 Karissimi: ga
uisus sum ualde: qm̄
inueni de filiis tuis
ambulantes in ueritate
sicut mandatum acepimus
a patre. 5 Et nunc rogo te
dña non tamquam manda
tum nouum scribens tibi
sed quod habuimus ab i
nitio ut diligamus
6 Et hec est (II) | alterutrum.
caritas: ut ambule
mus secundum mandata eius.
Hoc est enim mandatum:
ut quemadmodum audis
tis ab initio in eo am
buletis 7 qm̄ multi seduc
tores prodierunt in mun
dum. Qui non confitetur
iħm xp̄m uenisse in
carnem: hic est seductor
et antixp̄s. 8 Uidete uos
metipsos custodite ne
perdatis que operati estis
in dño: sed ut mercedem
plenam accipiatis. 9 Qm̄
omnis qui recedit et non per
manet in doctrina
xp̄i: đm non habet. (III)
Nam qui permanet in
doctrina eius: hic et
patrem et filium habet. 10 Si
quis uenit ad uos et
hanc doctrinam non af
fert: nolite recipere eum
in domum nec aue ei
dixeritis. 11 Qui enim dicit
illi aue: comunicat
operibus illius malignis.
12 Plura habens uobis scribere
nolo per atramentum et in
epistola. Spero enim me uen
turum ad uos: et ad os

2 St Joh. 1–12

2 uobiscum p^2 4 Karissima p^2 5 tanquam p^2 9 Qm̄: Scientes qm̄ p^2 precedit p^2 11 malignis: + Ecce predixi uobis ut in diem dñi nostri non confundamini p^2 12 in epistola: cartam p^2 os ad os p^2

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IHOANNIS

Fol. 218

loqui ut gaudium uestrum
plenum sit. [13] Salutant
te filii sororis tue elec
te ecclesie. Explicit
secunda ihoanhis. *III.*
[1] Senior gaio | *iohannis.*
charissimo : quem
ego diligo in ueri
tate. [2] Karissime :
de omnibus oratio
nem facio : prospere te in
gredi et ualere sicut prospere
egit anima tua. [3] Gauisus
sum ualde : uenientibus
fratribus : et testimonium peri
bentibus ueritati tue :
sicut tu in ueritate ambu
las. [4] Maius autem horum
non habeo gaudium : quam
ut audiam filios meos in
ueritate ambulare. (II)
[5] Charissime : fideliter
facis quicquid operaris
in fratres. Et hoc in peregri
nos [6] qui testimonium red
diderunt caritati tue in
conspectu ecclesie : quos
bene facis deducens dig
ne deo. [7] Pro nomine enim pere
grinantur nichil accipi
entes a gentilibus. [8] Nos
ergo debemus suscipere
huiusmodi parti
cipes : ut quooperatores
simus ueritatis. [9] Scrib
sissem forsitan ecclesie :
sed his qui amat prima
tum gerere in eis diotre
pes non recipit nos. [10] Pro
pter hoc si uenero com
moneam opera eius que
facit : uerbis malig
nis garriens in nos.
Et quasi non ei ista suf
ficiant : nec ipse susci
pit fratres et eos qui susci
piunt proibet et de ec
clesie eicit. (III)
[11] Charissime : noli
imitari malum sed
pocius quod bonum est. Qui
enim bene facit : ex đo
est. Qui autem male facit :
non uidit đm. [12] Deme
trio testimonium reddi
tur aƀ omnibus et ab ip
sa ueritate. Sed et nos
testimonium peribemus.

2 St Joh. 12—3 St Joh. 12

[13] ecclesie : + gratia tecum ; amen ; p^1. [1] karissimo p^2 [2] agit p^2
[5] Karissime p^2 [6] faciens deducis p^2 [10] ecclesia p^2 [11] Karissime p^2

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AD Fol. 218*

Et nosti qm̄ testimoni
um nostrum uerum est.
[18] Multa quidem habui
tibi scribere: sed nolui per
atramentum et calamum
scribere tibi. (IIII)
[14] Spero autem me protinus te
uisurum: et ore ad os
loquemur. Pax tibi.
Salutant te amici.
Saluta tu amicos no
minatos. *Explicit. Incipit epistola iude.*
Iudas ihu xp̄i ser
uus frater autem ia
cobi: his qui in deo
patre dilectis et
ihu xp̄o conser
uatis et uocatis:
[2] misericordia uobis et
pax: et charitas. imple
atur. [3] Karissimi: omnem sol
licitudinem faciens scri
bendi uobis. de communi
uestra salute. Necesse
habui scribere uobis:
deprecans decertare seml
tradite sc̄e fidei. [4] Sub
introierunt enim quidam
homines impii: qui
olim conscripti sunt in
iudicium dei nostri. Gratiam
transferentes in lu
xuriam: et solum dn̄ato
rem. et dn̄m nostrum ihm
xp̄m negantes. (II)
[5] Commonere autem uos
uolo: scientes omnia
qm̄ ds semel populum de
terra egipti saluans: secundo
eos qui non crediderunt perdi
dit. [6] Angelos uero qui non
seruauerunt suum princi
patum: sed dereliquerunt
suum domicilium: in iu
dicium magni dei uin
culis eternis sub caligi
ne reseruauit. [7] Sicut sodo
ma. et gomorra. et finiti
me ciuitates: que simi
li harum modo fornicate
sunt: et habeuntes post carnem
alteram facte sunt exemplum:
ignis eterni penam sustinen
[8] Similiter (III) tes.
Set hii somniantes: car
nem quidem maculant: dn̄a
tionem autem spernunt maies

3 St Joh. 12–St Jude 8

[3] semel p^1 dei : diei p^1 [4] in iudicio dn̄i dei nostri gratiam p^2 iudicio reseruauit p^2 [6] reliquerunt p^2

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IUDE

tatem uero blasphemant.
[9] Cum michael archangelus
cum diabolo disputas: al
tercaretur de moysi cor
pore: non est ausus iudi
tium inferre blasphemie.
Sed dixit. Imperet tibi dñs.
[10] Hii autem quecumque quidem
ignorant blasphemant.
Quecumque autem (IIII)
naturaliter tamquam
muta animalia ignorant:
in his corrumpuntur. [11] Ue
et illis quia uia chain a
bierunt et errores balaam
mercede effusi sunt: et con
tradictione chore et perie
runt. [12] Hii sunt in eplis su
is maculati conuiuian
tes: sine timore semet
ipsos pascentes. Nubes
sine aqua: que a uentis cir
cumferuntur. Arbores autum
nales. infructuose. era
dicate. Bis mortue. (V)
[13] Fluctus ferri maris:
despumantes suas con
fusiones. Sidera erantia
quibus caligo tenebrarum
in eternum seruata est. [14] Pro
phetauit autem et de his:
septimus ab adam enoc:
dicens. Ecce uenit do
minus in scis milibus
suis [15] facere iudicium contra
omnes et arguere omnes impi
os de omnibus operibus im
pietatis eorum quibus impi eg
erunt: et de omnibus du
ris uerbis que locuti sunt
contra eum peccatores im
[16] Hii sunt mur (VI) pii.
muratores et querelosi
secundum desideria sua am
bulantes: et hos illorum
loquitur superbiam. Miran
tes personas questus causa.
[17] Uos autem charissimi me
mores estote uerborum que
predicta sunt ab apostolis dñi
nostri ihu xpi: [18] qui dice
bant uobis: Qm in nouis
simo tempore uenient inlu
sores secundum sua desideria
ambulantes in impieta
tibus suis. [19] Hii sunt qui
segregant semetipsos:
animales spm non haben
tes.

8–19

[9] disputans p^1 [11] chain: cayn p^2 [12] epulis p^1 macule conuiuantes p^2 [13] feri p^2 errantia p^2 conseruata p^2 [15] impie p^2 [16] querulosi p^2 [17] karissimi p^2 [18] nouissimis temporibus p^2 illusores p^2 in impiet. suis: non in pietate p^2

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Fol. 219*

[20] Uos autem charissimi:
superhedificantes uos
metipsos sc̄issima
uestra fide in sp̄u sc̄o
orantes [21] ipsos uos in
dilectione dei serua
te. Expectantes misericordi
am dn̄i nostri ih̄u in
uitam eternam. (VII)
[22] Et eos quidem arguite
diiudicatos: [23] illos
uero saluate de igne
rapientes. Aliis autem
miseremini in timo
re hodientes eam que
carnalis est maculatam
tunicam. [24] Ei autem qui po
tens est uos conserua
re sine peccato et cons
tituere ante conspectum
glorie sue inmaculate
uos in exultatione. (VIII)
[25] Soli deo saluatori nostro
ih̄u x̄po dn̄o nostro
gloria magnificentia im
perium et potestas ante
omnibus seculis et nunc et
in omnia secula seculorum.
amen. *Explicit.*

St Jude 20–25

[20] karissimi p^2 [23] in timore dei p^2 [24] inmaculate uos: immaculatos p^2
[25] omnibus seculis: omnia secula p^2

E. S. Buchanan.

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NOTES AND STUDIES

THE SO-CALLED MISSALE FRANCORUM.

In a recent number of the JOURNAL (pp. 214–250 of the present volume) I gave my reasons for believing that the forms of consecration in the first half of the extant 'Missale Francorum' are the result of six several editions, each ampler than its predecessor, of an ultimate Roman original of very modest dimensions. I now propose to analyse the second half of the document in quest of information concerning its internal history; and venture to hope that, with the technical help of carefully constructed tables of linear value, the reader will be able without undue fatigue to bear me company in what must of necessity be a somewhat minute examination of details.

PART II. THE SUCCESSIVE EDITIONS OF THE SECOND INSTALMENT.

If I have thus far been happy in my analysis, the values in terms of pages of the first three editions of the first instalment of our document were as follows:—

		β	θ_1	θ_2
First Instalment	Minor Orders			2 + 3
	Major Orders	2 + 9	2 + 12	18
	Virgins, Widows	3	4	6
	Consecration of Altar	1 + 1	1 + 1	2 + 1
		16	20	32

At the moment of the coadunation of the second instalment with the first the developement might, I believe, have been thus expressed:—

		β	θ_1	θ_2	θ_3
First Instalment	Minor Orders			2 + 3	2 + 3
	Major Orders	2 + 9	2 + 12	18	19
	Virgins, Widows	3	4	6	6
	Consecration of Altar	1 + 1	1 + 1	2 + 1	2
		16	20	32	32
Second Instalment	Political Mass				2
	Sanctorale (2 + 5 + 1)				5 + 1
					40

Read in conjunction with the synopsis of linear values set forth in my previous article,[1] and elucidated by the text of the so-styled

[1] See p. 247 of the present volume.

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Orationes et Preces pro Regibus (Mur. ii 680), this second summary of paginal values may be thus interpreted:—

1. That at the period of its second θ redaction the pontifical was enshrined in a small volume of eight membranes, its last constituent being the 'Dñe dš oñp sicut ab initio' &c. (Mur. ii 678), in the *Consecratio Altaris*; that this ended on the antpenultimate line of p. xxxi; that an explicit of two lines closed the series, and that, as matter of course, p. xxxii was left blank.

2. That some bishop of the Gallican Church—presumably the compiler of θ_2—who had in his possession a small Sanctorale executed on the five inner pages of a *libellus* of two membranes, resolved to subjoin this to the pontifical.

3. That, to carry down the pontifical to the end of p. xxxii (which represented the final page left blank at the second θ redaction) he amplified it by means of the *Ad Consummandum Diaconatus Officium*.[1]

4. That, in order to utilize the two pages which now represented the leaf once left blank at the beginning of the *libellus* of saints' Masses, he wrote on these a Mass which he had compiled at a time when his city was besieged by foes of the Catholic faith and of the Roman empire, its theoretical defender; these two pages being, of course, xxxiii and xxxiiii.

5. But that, whether from oversight of his own or of the scribe's, the title of this political Mass was set at the head of p. xxxiii, its normal position, nothing being provided to take the place of the necessarily cancelled explicit which at θ_2 concluded the *Consecratio Altaris*,[2] and

6. That, in correction of this error, he filled up the void with the brief, comprehensive and conclusive paragraph, 'Fiant omnia ista protectione tua tuta atque defensa potens dñe uasa'.[2]

Section V. The Political Mass.

The political Mass now carries the title *Orationes et Preces pro Regibus* (Mur. ii 680). Whatever be the lessons we are to learn from this heading, we must not forget that the representatives of the *nomen Romanum* were in the first instance the subject-matter of the constituents which now mention the *reges Francorum* or the *regnum Francorum*.[3] We must also bear in mind that, although the prayers of the Mass are numerous, those before the first 'Super oblata' being five in number, and therefore not unsuited to the so-called Gallican rite, none of the minor rubrics are characteristically non-Roman.

These two facts seem to afford at least a slight presumption in favour

[1] See p. 232 of the present volume, under 'Scheme θ_3'.
[2] See p. 247, under 'Scheme θ_2' and 'Scheme θ_3'.
[3] See pp. 214–217.

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of a nuclear scheme which, whenever and wherever devised, corresponded to the Roman rite, and of one or more amplifications which may, or which may not, be the result of Gallican influence. Can we, therefore, by means of a technical, but consistently conducted, analysis, discriminate, as theoretically possible, one or more editions prior to the last; and will the results yielded by such discrimination bear the application of one or other of our stichometrical tests?

(i) The second constituent, 'Populi tui . . . exultet et ab hostium nos defende formidine ut . . . seruiamus. per', looks like a coadunation of two distinct prayers which in the so-called Gelasian Sacramentary are contiguously placed in one and the same item (III lxi); and (ii) the first 'Super oblata', 'Sacrificium dñe' &c., which in the Gelasianum (*ib.* lvii) ends at 'securitate constituat', carries an additional clause, 'ut et a nostris . . . insidiis,' which in its turn forms part of another prayer, 'Huius . . . ut et a nostris . . . insidiis' (*ib.* lviii), in the Gelasianum. Again, the Leonianum (XVIII vi) has a Preface substantially identical with ours, except that this lacks a clause—'et ab omni . . . nos protegas'—which may have been neglected as inapplicable to existing or apprehended circumstances; but, on the other hand (iii), we have two clauses—'et francorum regni (*olim* "ut romani") nominis inimicos . . . maiestatis' and 'ut populus tuus . . . semper exultet'—neither of which is in the surviving Leonian text, but which in the Gelasianum coalesce to form the third constituent of III lviii—'O. d. romani nominis inimicos . . . maiestatis ut populus tuus semper exultet'.[1] Furthermore, (iv) the 'Hanc igitur' contains a parenthetical clause, 'pro quibus . . . mereamur habere' (in 105 letters), which reads like *ex post facto* work, for it burdens the construction with a repeated 'dñe', a blemish which cannot reasonably be laid to the charge of the original text.

THE θ REDACTION. In order, therefore, to test as rigorously as I can

[1] Here let me remind the reader that we must not allow these facts to create a prejudice as to the date, or dates, of the present constituent, by assuming any portion of this to be, as of necessity, more recent than III lvii, III lviii, or III lxi of the Gelasianum. The caution is enforced by the fact that the second part of our 'Populi tui', besides being found in the Leonianum (XVIII vi), has the Leonian reading 'formidine', as against the Gelasian 'periculis'. Remarkably enough, too, the prayer 'Protector n̄ aspice' &c., which the second part of our 'Populi tui' resembles, not only occurs in the Leonianum, but occurs there in one and the same Mass (XVIII vi) with 'Agnoscimus enim' &c., a composition substantially identical with the Preface of the present item.

Here too let me say that, although my general references are, for the convenience of the reader, made to Muratori, for he gives all three documents in one volume, I invariably prefer the verbal text of Mabillon (Migne *S. L.* lxxii 318–340) when the two editors differ. Some of Muratori's readings—such as 'Populum tuum' for 'Populi tui' in the present item and 'quae' for 'quaesumus' in the next—are simply impossible.

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the hypothesis of a nuclear edition, whether on γ, on θ, or on β pages, I assume (i) that in the supposed precursor there were, as is usual in the Gelasianum and by no means infrequent in the Leonian Sacramentary, two, but only two, introductory prayers and those the first two that now present themselves to notice, and (1) that the second of these, 'Populi tui' &c., but with 'romani', as in the Gelasianum, where now we have 'regni francorum', ended at 'exultet', thus comprising, with an added 'per', 138 letters (not 223); (ii) that there was but one 'Super oblata', and this the first of the extant two, 'Sacrificium dñe' &c., and (2) that it ended at 'constituat', thus comprising, with an added 'per', 108 letters (not 167); (iii) that the clauses 'ut romani nominis inimicos . . . maiestatis' and 'ut populus tuus . . . semper exultet' were not in the Preface, the letters of which were thus 452 in number (not 505, as with the first addition; not 577, as with both), and (iv) that the 'Hanc igitur', but (3) with 'potestatum romanarum' where we now find 'vel statu regni francorum', was devoid of the parenthetical 'pro quibus . . . mereantur habere', thus numbering 129 (not 234) letters: and, as will be seen from the subjoined summary of values, I find that a Mass thus equipped is the precise equivalent of two θ pages.[1]

		Schemes θ_3 and θ_3 bis 2 pages	Scheme γ_1 3 pages	Schemes γ_2 and γ_3 4 pages	Scheme γ_3 bis Additional lines
ORATIONES &c. . .		xxxiii 3 *	xli 3	xlvii 3 †	
Dṡ qui fideles &c. . .	185	7	7	7	+1
Populi tui &c. . . .	138^1, 223^2	5^1	8^2	8^2	+1
Om̄p . . . qui &c. . .	193			7	+1
Om̄p et &c. . . .	193			7	+1
Om̄p . . . in cuius &c.	140			5	+1
Sacrificium &c. . .	108^1, 167^2	4^1	6^2	6^2	
Suscipe &c. . . .	86		3	3	
VD. Agnoscimus &c. .	452^1, 505^2, 577^3	16^1	18^2	20^3	
Hanc igitur &c. . .	129^1, 234^2	5^1	8^2	8^2	+1
Protege dñe &c. . .	103	4	4	4	+1=7
Fidelem &c. . . .	170	6=50 Page xxxiiii * ends.	6=63 Page xliii ends.	6=84 Page l ends. †	

THE γ REDACTIONS. Whether it was a liturgical motive or a merely bibliographical necessity, or both of them, that can have counselled the insertion of a third, a fourth, and a fifth constituent before the prayer 'Sacrificium dñe' &c., is a question the right answer to which will, I think, be forthcoming in the sequel; nor need we as yet ask why

[1] For the values of β, γ, θ, see p. 217 of the present volume.

* In Redaction θ_3 bis these two pages were numbered, respectively, xxxiiii and xxxv.

† In Redaction γ_3 these were numbered, respectively, xlviiii and lii.

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a second prayer of oblation has been subjoined to the 'Sacrificium dñe'. What at present challenges remark is the fact that the very constituents in which we have just traced marks of a single textual amplification—the 'Populi tui', the 'Sacrificium dñe' and the 'Hanc igitur oblationem'—are, by the hypothesis just formulated, constituents proper to the original scheme; for thus is raised the pertinent question whether their enhancement can have been effected at some period earlier than the last general γ redaction. This question is answered in the affirmative by the second column of linear values in the foregoing list; and the answer is all the more worthy of our regard because none of the prayers which by the hypothesis are extraneous to the first redaction is of composite character. The third and fourth, but beginning with a simple 'Dṡ', will be found at Gel. III lix and lvii (Mur. i 729 and 728), and the fifth at Leon. XXVII iii (*ib.* i 411). The second Secreta is at Gel. III lix.

The evidence in proof of an intermediate redaction is completed by the fact that, as was just now intimated, the Preface has received two amplifications; and, since the second of these, 'ut populus tuus . . . exultet',[1] is not in true structural connexion with the passage that immediately precedes it, 'quia . . . expuleris', it is both obvious and reasonable to regard it as an afterthought, and as an afterthought of later date than the other. By neglecting it we have an intermediate value of [577–72 =] 505 letters, the equivalent of eighteen γ lines. By further neglecting the presumably earlier phrase 'et romani nominis . . . compremas maiestatis', we reach the first value of 452 letters.

Section VI. The Sanctorale.

When dealing with the Sanctorale we must be careful not to assume as certain, or even as likely, that on its incorporation into our document the first of its five Masses had already been, or then was, dedicated specifically to St Hilary, or indeed to any other confessor bishop; for it is by no means improbable that the appropriation was made on some later occasion, and that meanwhile the item was, like each of the other four, a *missa de communi martyrum*; and for the following reasons:—

The first prayer of the Mass is now worded 'Sc̄s dñe helarius confessor tuus' &c., but in the Petau[2] Gelasianum (Mur. i 667) it reads 'Sc̄s dñe gurgonius' &c.; and Gorgonius was not a mere confessor but a

[1] Its 'fidei integritas' may not improbably throw light on the external history of the document.

[2] The external history of MS. Vatican. Regin. 316—usually known by the name of 'Gelasian Sacramentary'—has not been traced. For the purpose of the present enquiry it seems better to distinguish it from the St Gallen and other books by the name of its first known possessor, the senator Paul Petau.

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martyr. The second prayer is as applicable to St Benedict, to the feast of whose translation from Monte Cassino to Fleury, early in the second half of the seventh century, the St Gallen book (Gerbert, p. 149) devotes it, as it is to St Hilary; and St Benedict was not a bishop. Its first 'Super oblata'—*ex hypothesi*, therefore, a component of the original scheme —is in the Petau Gelasianum (Mur. i 637) given to St Marcellus; while St Gallen (Gerbert, p. 170), *mutatis mutandis*, gives the opening sentence, 'Quoniam fiducialiter' &c., of the Preface to St Hermes; and Hermes, whatever we are to say of Marcellus, was not a confessor, but a martyr: nor was he a bishop. These considerations must be borne in mind should we ever attempt to construct the external history of the document. Meanwhile, but within square brackets, I give in my list of values the numerical totals in terms of letters of the several constituents as 'corrected' for a martyr. These, however, I believe to be applicable to none but redactions θ_3, θ_3 *bis*, and γ_1.

We saw just now what were the devices by means of which the political Mass, if set forth originally on two pages of θ capacity, could have been made to occupy first three, then four, γ pages. Instructed by that experience I now propose to make it a working hypothesis that the several Masses of our Sanctorale were in the first instance cast in the Roman norm, thus containing two, but only two, prayers preliminary to the oblation of the gifts, and that these were the two, or the two first, that now offer themselves to our notice; that no Mass had in the first instance more than one 'Super oblata', one 'Post communionem', or one 'Super populum', our choice in cases of plurality being determined by priority of place; and that in all such of the constituents thus selected as are evidently cumulations of intrinsically independent clauses only the first clause is to be regarded as of the original scheme.

I. In accordance with this hypothesis I eliminate from the first Mass (Mur. ii 682) the third and fourth of its extant constituents, the sixth, the seventh and the last; and, besides these, so much of the extant Preface as now follows the words 'quas sc̄i helarii pontificis tui confessione praesenti confidimus adiubandas'; but these, if we are to have the genuine reading, must be corrected to 'quas in sc̄i martyris tui confessione praesenti confidimus adiubandas', thus giving what I conceive to be the first scheme of the Preface the value, with an added 'per quem', of 111 letters (4 θ lines). My reason for regarding as adventitious to the original scheme all that now follows 'adiubandas' is that the tautological 'ut illius patrocinio nos adiubante . . . placeamus' reads like a very awkwardly subjoined *additamentum*, and that the three sentences which come next—'quia dum . . . deposcimus', 'quia supplicationibus . . . praestari', 'quia licet nobis' &c.—have as little connexion with each other as the first of them

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has with what precedes it.[1] On the assumption that the right reading of the first sentence is what I have just suggested, and that it was retained until the last general transcription, the two values next after the first were 340 and 478; but, had the text been worded as for a martyr, which I believe to have been the case with the first sentence so long as it stood alone, these totals would have been slightly less; namely 331 and 465. In my tabular synopsis I distinguish 'martyr' from 'confessor' values by enclosing the former within square brackets.

We now encounter a difficulty. Like the 'Hanc igitur' of the fourth Mass of the series, the corresponding constituent of the first Mass may, when introduced, have been nothing more than hint of a clause in the Canon; or it may have been a modification of that clause, the words 'in honore sc̄i helarii confessoris tui atque pontificis' being intended to take the place of the lengthy 'in honore domni beati martyris tui *illius* et pro peccatis' &c., &c.'.[2] By the former hypothesis we should, when constructing our table of values, be at a loss when first to notify the value of the formula and should have to await the first stichometrical opportunity for doing so. If we adopt the latter hypothesis we must remember that the extant clause could not have been made a constituent of the Mass before the Mass itself, which may originally have been a *missa de communi martyrum*, had been appropriated to St Hilary. Not knowing which of the two to adopt, or at what stage in the developement of the work to make use of it when adopted, I propose to neglect the formula until, meanwhile constructing the table of values, we shall have ascertained when its inclusion first became possible or necessary if the Mass was to occupy an integral number of pages.

II. 1. In the second prayer, 'Beati martyris' &c., of the second item (Mur. ii 683) the phrase 'ut eius sacra natalicia . . . conspiciamus aeterna' reads like a carelessly worded addition to an original complete in itself, and we have the authority of the 'Gelasian' *missa* for the twenty-seventh of December (*ib.* i 499) for so regarding it. Its omission reduces 158 letters (6 γ lines) to 91 (3 θ lines). 2. Warned by similar experiences in the Leonianum, as at XVII i, XVIII xviii, XL ii, I suspect the second half, 'Unde benedicimus' &c.,[3] of the Preface to be proper to a later

[1] The first of them, but with 'per eos qui tibi placuere' for 'per eum qui tibi placet', is the St Gallen Preface, *In basilicis martyrum* (Gerbert, p. 220); the second, but with 'quoniam' for 'quia' and 'quam beati Rufi' for 'quam beati Helarii confessoris tui', is the St Gallen Preface (*ib.* p. 169) for St Rufus; while the same collection (*ib.* p. 153) assigns the third to St James the Apostle, but without the 'et illorum' which disfigures our text.

[2] The clause is too long for citation in full. But see below, p. 563, in my collation of the text of the Canon.

[3] The St Gallen sacramentary (Gerbert, p. 115) has this second sentence, as well as the first, in its Preface for SS. Nereus, Achilleus and Pancratius.

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redaction than the first. By omitting it, and also the needless 'maiestatem' of the conclusion, we reduce 234 letters (8 γ lines) to 153 (6 of θ value). Omitting the needless 'quem' we have 149 letters (5 γ lines).

III. In the third item (Mur. ii 684) I assume (1) that the prayer 'Sc̄i martyris tui' &c., ended originally at 'augmentum', as in the Leonianum (*ib.* i 401), thus counting 80 letters (3 θ lines), not 149 (5 of γ value); and (2) that, as in the Leonianum *missa* for St Agapitus (*ib.* i 400), but that of the Codex Sangallensis for St Hippolytus (Gerbert, p. 163), the Preface ended at 'iustorum'[1] with a total of 188 letters (7 θ lines). (3) Besides this first logical pause there is, at 'uictorem', yet another before we reach the extant conclusion,[2] and thus 395 letters (14 γ lines) as a second total.

IV. 1. The fourth member of the series (Mur. ii 685) has a Preface the first part of which, as far as 'protegis', occurs twice in the Leonianum (*ib.* i 334, 340); while the hopelessly ungrammatical construction given to the extant whole by the words which immediately follow 'protegis' makes it morally certain that these are a comparatively late addition. By neglecting them and assuming 'protegis' to have been followed by the usual conclusion, 'Per quem', we have a prior total of 87 letters as against the 234 letters of the present text. But, ancient as was this 'Qui ecclesiam tuam . . . protegis', I cannot feel sure that it is identical with the Preface as originally set forth in our document, for, on the Feast of St Bartholomew, the St Gallen sacramentary, with which our document has much in common, subjoins to 'Qui ecclesiam tuam . . . protegis' the words 'et sine fine custodis' (Gerbert, p. 169); and I think that, as at present informed, our most prudent course is to identify the original text of the earlier portion of the present Preface with this St Gallen Preface as we just now identified the original text of the earliest portion of the first Preface, 'Quoniam fiducialiter' &c., with the St Gallen Preface for St Hermes, and to give the constituent the three successive values of 105, 87, and 234 letters.

2. In dealing with the next constituent we are beset by a difficulty similar to that which we encountered in the only other 'Hanc igitur' of

[1] But with the difference that, whereas our text has 'supplicaret' and the Leonianum 'supplet' (? 'suppleret'), St Gallen has 'obtineret'.

[2] As observed in the text, the St Gallen Preface for St Hippolytus ends with the words 'tibi grata iustorum'; but on the nineteenth of August we find our next phrase, 'Qui humanum genus . . . eripiens . . . soluisti; per quem ita . . . ut . . . beatum martyrem suum magnum faceret esse uictorem'. In this latter agreement there would be nothing extraordinary, were it not for the startling fact that, whereas the character, the title, and the entourage of our Preface require us to see in 'magnum' a noun adjective qualifying 'martyrem', St Gallen makes a proper name of it, identifying it with the real or imaginary St Magnus whom it celebrates on that day.

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the section. A normal 'Hanc igitur' is no necessary constituent of a Mass constructed, as by the hypothesis each of these may in the first instance have been, in accordance with the Roman type of *missa*; and, as the 'Hanc igitur' of this Mass is normal, it must be regarded as mere 'padding' which may have been inserted at any one of several redactions, and which we must therefore first compute when first we shall find it necessary to do so. But, even so, we must be on our guard. We must remember that, simple as it is, the formula during the period covered by the earlier history of our document may certainly have had a lower textual value than it now has; for, frequently as it occurs in the Leonianum, it never in that collection contains the theologically significant words 'seruitutis nostrae sed et cunctae familiae tuae', and in our own document the 'Hanc igitur' of the political Mass was devoid of 'sed et cunctae familiae tuae' not only during the period of θ pagination, but also—a fact to be carefully noted by any who would attempt to trace the external history of the compilation—when, at the first γ redaction, it underwent a very considerable augmentation.[1] By neglecting the words last cited we have a possible antecedent value of 79 letters as against 103.

V. The second 'Super oblata' of the fifth Mass (Mur. ii 686) sets it in analogy with the first, third, and fourth, each of which has more than one prayer for the offering of the gifts. Its opening clause, 'Suscipe . . . laudis', seems to have been borrowed from the fourth item, and, by means of a connecting 'ut', conjoined to a prayer, 'Benedictio tua' &c., which in the Petau Gelasianum (II xv) serves as second Secreta for the Feast of St Euphemia. When we compute the linear values of the series we shall find that but for this prefix to a sufficiently equipped prayer the series would have fallen inconveniently short of an integral number of pages at the last general redaction.

Like each of its four predecessors, the Preface would seem to have attained its extant value by a process of gradual coacervation. It resolves itself into four parts. The second of these, 'Quoniam gloria . . . uincentibus contulisti'—which, however, and for reasons to be stated on a later page, I believe to be first in the order of time—is, as a literary achievement, superior to any of the Leonianum Prefaces (VIII viii, xv, xviii, xviiii) on the model of one or more of which it would seem to have been composed; and we may reasonably believe it to be the work of one who knew the older document. The third in textual order—'Qui . . . fuderunt'—is a relative clause added, it may be, by the compiler of an amplified issue of the work, who, as he neared his goal, found himself in want of four lines of text; and, if I am right in believing it to be second in the order of time, it was most probably added at the

[1] See the list of values, p. 538 *supra*.

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		Scheme θ_3 and θ_3 bis		Scheme γ_1	Scheme γ_1 bis	Scheme γ_2	Scheme γ_3	Scheme γ_3 bis
		6 pages	5 pages	6 pages	8 pages	9 pages	12 pages	Additional lines
Already computed								+7
I ORATIONES ET PRECES IN NATALI &c.		xxxv	3 xxxvi	xliiii 3	xliiii 3	li 3	liii 3	
Sc̄s dn̄e helarius &c.	[76[1]], 87[2]		3[1]	3[1]	3[2]	3[2]	3[2]	
Intercessio nos quaesumus &c. . .	[111[1]], 107[2]		4[1]	4[1]	4[2]	4[2]	4[2]	
Indulgentiam nobis &c.	[113], 123[1], [212], 222[2]				5[1]	5[1]	8[2]	
Exaudi dn̄e preces &c.	[145], 172[1], [305], 332[2]					6[1]	12[2]	
Sc̄i confessoris tui &c.	[164[1]], 181[2]		6[1]	6[1]	7[2]	7[2]	7[2]	+1
Sacrificium dn̄e quod &c.	[151], 157*					6[2]	6*	
Ut nobis dn̄e tua sacrificia &c. . .	[76], 79*						3*	
VD. Quoniam fiducialiter &c. .	[111[1]], [331], [465], [598] 119, 340[2], 478[2], 611[4]		4[1]	4[1]	12[2]	17[3]	21[4]	+1 †
Hanc igitur oblationem &c. . . .	[114], 139*					5*	5*	
Beati helarii confessoris &c. . .	[145[1]], 155[2]		5[1]=25	5[1]	6[2]	6[2]	6[2]	+1
Protegat nos dn̄e &c.	[131], 144*						5*	
II ORATIONES ET PRECES UNIUS &c.		xxxvi	1 xxxvii	1	1=41	1=63	1=84	
Ds̄ qui nos annua &c.	108		4	4	xlvi 4	liiii 4	lvii 4	
Beati martyris tui &c.	91[1], 158[2]		3[1]	3[1]		6[2]	6[2]	
Praesta dn̄e mentibus &c. . . .	125						5	+1
Hostiam nostram quaesumus &c. .	90		3	3		3	3	+1
VD. Quoniam a te &c.	153[1], [149], 234[2]		6[1]	5[1]		8[2]=21	8[2]	
Quaesumus dn̄e salutaribus &c. . .	91		3	3	xlvii 3 lv		3[=29]	+1 [=13]
Adesto dn̄e familiae tuae &c. . .	138		5=25	5		5	5	+1
III ITEM DE UNO MARTYRE . . .		xxxvii	1 xxxviii	1		1	1	
Adsit nobis quaesumus	131		5	5		5	5	
Sc̄i martyris tui dn̄e &c.	80[1], 149[2]		3[1]	3[1]		3[1]	5[2]	

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Muneribus nostris dñe &c. . . .	126		5		5=63	5	5	+1
Adesto dñe supplicationibus . . .	170						6	
VD. Qui non solum malis &c. . .	188[1], 395[2], 465[3]		7	xlvii	7	14[2]	16[3]	
Sumptis dñe sacramentis &c. . .	102		4=25		4	4	4	+1
Sumentes gaudia &c.	170						6	
IV ITEM DE UNO MARTYRE		xxxviii	1 xxxviiii		1	1=41	1=83	
Oñp semp dš fortitudo &c. . . .	191		7		7	xlviiii 7 lvii	lxi 7	
Praesta quaesumus dñe &c. . . .	130		5		5	5	5	
Grata tibi sint munera &c. . . .	107		4		4	4	4	
Suscipe dñe sacrificium &c. . . .	135						5=21	
VD. Qui ecclesiam tuam &c. . . .	105[1], 87[2], 234[3]		4[1]		3[2]	8[3]	lxii 8[3]	+1
Hanc igitur oblationem &c. . . .	79[1], 103[2]				3[1]	4[2]	4[2]	
Caelesti munere satiati &c. . . .	83		3=24		3	3	3	+1
Libantes dñe mensae tuae &c. . .	112						4	
V IN NATALE SCŌRUM		xxxviiii	2 xl		1	1	1	
Dš qui nos scōrum tuorum &c. . .	109		4		4=42	4	4	
Prosint nobis dñe quaesumus &c. .	138		5	xlviiii	5	5	5	
Offerimus dñe preces &c.	135		5		5	5	5	+1
Suscipe dñe sacrificium &c. . . .	165						6	
VD. Confiteantur tibi dñe &c. . .	115[1], 235[2], 406[3], 458[4]		4[1]		8[2]	14[3]	14[3]	+2[4] †
Purificet nos quaesumus &c. . .	81		3		3=21	3=63	3	+1=22
Praesta quaesumus oñp dš &c. . .	130						5=62	
Explicit.		25=2						
Last page		xl						
		BOOK ENDS						
From the following			2=25					
			Page xl ends.		Page xlviiii ends.	Page li ends.	Page lviiii ends.	Page lxiiii ends.	Page lxv ends.

† For these two values, which are not those of minor rubrics, see below, pp. 557–559.

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first γ redaction. The fourth in textual order—'Clementiam tuam . . . affectu'—would be a duly constructed and completely equipped Preface if it stood alone[1]; but, standing where it does, and thus substituting a subject in the first person for that of the preceding context, which is in the third, it bids us assign its introduction to some by no means careful rehandler of the document—perhaps a scribe rather than an editor—who under compulsion of a stichometrical exigency followed the example and rivalled the carelessness of the contributor of the 'Qui . . . fuderunt'. I appropriate it with some confidence to the first amplification which the series seems to have undergone after it had been transferred to γ pages and at a subredaction which may be conveniently denominated γ_1 *bis*.

The first in textual order of these mutually independent sentences—'Confiteantur tibi dñe omnia opera tua et sci tui benedicant te'—is the strangest of the four; for it violates all precedent, and has neither ethic relation to the 'Vere dignum' formula nor grammatical nexus with it. I was at one time inclined to think it a marginal memorandum that had found its way into the text through scribal inadvertence; and the guess, though wide of the mark, was not far from the truth, as we shall see on an early page. Meanwhile we must be careful not to think of it as part of any one of the redactions of which we have as yet had cognizance, but to set down the values as 115, 235, and 406.

Thus much said by way of a preliminary survey of our Sanctorale, its characteristics and its peculiarities, let us try to ascertain whether or not it be possible to justify the opinion that it was subjoined to the first main instalment of our document, the pontifical, concurrently with the insertion into this of the *Ad Consummandum Diaconatus Officium* in the form for the ordering of deacons, and of the 'Fiant omnia' &c. in the *Consecratio Altaris*, and with the adjunction to it of the political Mass.[2]

THE θ REDACTIONS. On consulting so much of the foregoing synopsis of values as relates to the second and three following items, the reader will perceive that if, neglecting for a while the intractable 'Confiteantur tibi . . . benedicant te' just noticed, we give the four Prefaces the respective first values, just found for them, of 153, 188, 105, and 115 lines; and that, if we give the 'Beati martyris tui' and the 'Sci martyris tui' the first values, just found for them, of 91 and 80

[1] In the St Gallen sacramentary (Gerbert, p. 183) the 'Clementiam tuam' appears as Preface for the Feast of SS Cosmas and Damian, but with the evidently right readings 'cum exultantibus scis' and 'debitae uenerationis contingamus affectu', as against our 'cum exultatione scis' and 'de uitae ueneratione coniungamus affectu'.

[2] As suggested above, p. 536.

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letters, there remain to the constituents proper for selection as those necessary to a 'Roman', as distinguished from a 'Gallican', equipment values such that the second, third, and fourth items, would each of them occupy a θ page, and that the fifth would occupy twenty-three θ lines, thus leaving two lines for an explicit or a connecting rubric. And if, turning back to the first item, now dedicated to St Hilary, he here again fixes his attention on the constituents proper to a 'Roman' as distinguished from a 'Gallican' *missa*, that is to say, on the first, second, fifth, eighth, and tenth, he will find that, reducing the lowest textual totals of these to terms of θ lines, and allowing, as usual, three lines for the *capitulum*, we obtain twenty-seven such lines, or two lines in excess of a page. But if, remembering it to be not only probable but presumable that in the first instance this item was, like each of the others, a *missa de communi martyrum*, he gives the five several constituents the values demanded by that hypothesis—reducing, more especially, the 'Super oblata' from 181 letters to 164 by substituting 'martyris' for 'confessoris atque pontificis', and the 'Post communionem' from 155 to 145 by substituting 'martyris' for 'helarii confessoris'—if, I say, he makes the corrections required by the hypothesis, he will find that the resulting total is the precise equivalent of one θ page.

THE FIRST γ REDACTION. A scribe whose business it might be to transfer the present section from five θ pages to six of γ capacity would find on reaching the end of the third Mass that he had given as many as seventy-four lines to material which in his exemplar filled but seventy-five; and that if the fourth *missa* was to end on the hundredth line—the limit given to it in the older copy—he must make it longer by two lines than it actually was. This amplification I conceive him to have effected by removing the words 'et sine fine custodis' from the Preface and inserting a 'Hanc igitur' of the value of three lines.[1] He must now deal with the last item. He saw by inspection that two-and-twenty lines would suffice for this as it then was; but twenty-six lines were to be filled. He therefore added the sentence 'Qui summum . . . morte fuderunt' to the original scheme of the Preface, 'Quoniam gloria . . . contulisti'. Its 120 letters constituted a nett accession of four lines of text.

THE SECOND GENERAL γ REDACTION. At the last of the three general γ recensions of the document the component items of the present section were admirably distributed. The first of them—by this time definitively appropriated to St Hilary, the spiritual patron of the see of Poitiers—filled four pages; four pages contained the second and third, the latter of these being for the vigil of a martyr; four more contained the other two. But, inasmuch as some of the constituents were by this time at a third, and even at a fourth, stage of textual coacervation,

[1] As to this value, in 79 letters, see above, pp. 542, 543.

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we may reasonably imagine that the section as a whole, like the form for the blessing of virgins and widows, like the *Consecratio Altaris*, like the political Mass, had undergone one, if not two, editorial developements since it was first copied out on γ pages. Let us therefore once again consult the tabular synopsis.

Neglecting the first Mass for a moment, but assuming the second to have begun on a fresh page at the recensions which I notify as γ_1 *bis* and γ_2, the reader will perceive that by giving the later of its two values to the 'Roman' prayer, 'Beati martyris tui' &c., and by doing the like by the 'Roman' Preface, 'Quoniam a te' &c., an editor would carry down this latter constituent to the foot of a page; and that, if he wished the fourth Mass to begin on a fresh page, he might, still confining his ingenuity to 'Roman' materials, attain that object by prolonging the Preface of the third Mass, 'Qui non solum malis' &c., as far as to the words 'faceret esse uictorem'. Again: by giving its third and extant value to another 'Roman' constituent, the Preface of the penultimate *missa*, and its third value to that of the last—the second value had been assigned at redaction γ_1, the fourth was to be used at a later stage—he would make these two items, as he had just made the two before them, fill three pages. These five values are 158, 234, 395, 234, 406.

REDACTION γ_1 *bis*. The first Mass of the series is yet more interesting. The composite prayers and Prefaces to which I have thus far invited notice are all of them 'Roman'; that is to say, their position in the several items bids us assume that each of them when as yet in its first form was the constituent of a Mass constructed after the Roman ideal, and therefore containing not more than two prayers preliminary to the oblation of the elements. But in the first Mass of the series as now known to us there are two more such preliminary constituents, each of which has an earlier and a later value; namely, the 'Indulgentiam nobis' and the 'Exaudi dñe preces'. The first part of the former, 'Indulgentiam . . . ualeamus', comprising, with an added 'per', 123 letters (5 γ lines), figures in the St Gallen sacramentary (Gerbert, p. 220) in the Mass 'In basilicis martyrum'; and the first part of the latter, 'Exaudi . . . nos absolue peccatis,' comprising, with an added 'per', 172 letters (6 γ lines) appears in the Petau Gelasianum (II iii) as a prayer for the Feast of St Marcellus (Mur. i 636). Hence, therefore, the inference that it was before the last general redaction that a third and a fourth preliminary prayer were subjoined to the first and second. Nor is this all. The further inference that there may have been two amplificatory redactions of the item after γ_1 but before γ_3 is suggested by the fact recorded on a previous page that the Preface has no fewer than four successive values, the second of which would seem to be later than γ_1. How then does the case stand? On referring to the column

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marked 'Scheme γ_1 *bis*' in the table of values the reader will see that to make the item coincide with two γ pages, as compared with the twenty-four γ lines which it had previously filled, nothing more was needed than the first 'confessor' value of the accessory prayer, 'Indulgentiam nobis' &c.; the 'confessor', as distinguished from the 'martyr', text of the first 'Super oblata', now worded 'Sc̄i confessoris tui' &c.; and the second of the four 'confessor' values of the Preface.

THE SECOND GENERAL γ REDACTION (*resumed*). And, under 'Scheme γ_2', he will further perceive that to make the item coincide with three γ pages, the needed modifications were the first 'confessor' value of the accessory prayer, 'Exaudi dn̄e' &c.; the second 'Super oblata'[1]; the third of the four 'confessor' values of the Preface, and the 'Hanc igitur'.

THE THIRD GENERAL γ REDACTION. The Mass for St Hilary was at the last general redaction made to occupy the extraordinary space of four γ pages by adding three lines of text to the first accessory prayer, and six to the second; by introducing, on three lines, a third, but seemingly needless 'Super oblata'[1]; by, yet again, adding four lines of text to the already twice lengthened Preface, and by adding on five lines a second and seemingly needless 'Post communionem'. The proper value of this was four lines, but the simple device of adding 'dn̄m n̄ ih̄m xp̄m filium tuum qui tecum' to the usual and sufficient 'per' made it five.

The devices by means of which the second and third *missae*, and, after them, the fourth and fifth, were made, each pair in its turn, to fill four γ pages instead of three need not be described in detail. They speak for themselves.

PART III. THE SUCCESSIVE EDITIONS OF THE THIRD INSTALMENT.

At some comparatively early period, not improbably the eighth decade of the fifth century, we have a dual document, the successive paginal values of which were:—

		β	θ_1	θ_2	θ_3
First Instalment	Minor Orders . .			2+3	2+3
	Major Orders . .	2+9	2+12	18	19
	Virgins, Widows .	3	4	6	6
	Consecratio Altaris	1+1	1+1	2+1	2
		16	20	32	
Second Instalment	Political Mass . .				2
	Sanctorale . . .				5+1
					40

[1] Muratori prints these as if they were one prayer. Mabillon separates them.

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As early, it may be, as the first decade of the sixth century we have a threefold document of which I believe this to be the summary compendium in terms of pages:—

		β	θ_1	θ_2	θ_3	$\theta_3$bis
First Instalment	Minor Orders . .			2+3	2+3	
	Major Orders . .	2+9	2+12	18	19	
	Virgins, Widows .	3	4	6	6	=30
	Consecratio Altaris	1+1	1+1	2+1	2	3
		16	20	32		
Second Instalment	Political Mass . .				2	2
	Sanctorale . .				5+1	5
					40	
Third Instalment *Missae Cotidianae*						7+1
						48

To determine the textual value of the source, and trace the developement, of this third instalment must be our next endeavour.

Section VII. The *Missae Cotidianae*.

The minor rubrics of our *missae cotidianae* (Mur. ii 687–692) are of the type usually denominated Gallican[1]; and, although in the present condition of the series each Mass in its turn is not the equivalent of an integral number of γ pages, there is reason to believe that such equivalence was a characteristic of the penultimate stage of editorial revision. To learn whether or not it be likely that the earliest ascertainable γ redaction had been preceded by an edition executed on θ lines, but in accordance to the Roman norm, I propose, as when dealing with the Sanctorale, to make it a working hypothesis that in such edition there were only two prayers previous to the oblation of the gifts, and only one 'Super oblata' and one 'Post communionem'; that our selection of these is in every instance to be determined by priority of textual order; and that, when a constituent has more than one value, the lowest is to be selected.

But the group presents a difficulty the solution of which must precede all our other efforts.

The Lost Leaves of the Vatican MS. M. Léopold Delisle, in his description of the Vatican codex, informed us that the gathering registered 'XVII' is incomplete[2]; and, with a diffidence worthy of so conscientious a scholar, estimated our loss at 'probably' three leaves—'le cahier XVII est incomplet, probablement de trois feuillets'. The lacuna occurs at the end of the first Mass; and, since the item next

[1] The '*Collectio*' before the second prayer is probably meant for '*Collectio post precem*'.

[2] *Mémoire sur d'anciens sacramentaires* p. 71.

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after it is not defective at the beginning, either an integral number of *missae* must have disappeared, or none. Unless nothing has been lost, I fear that more has gone than M. Delisle suspected, and that, not only have three leaves disappeared, but, besides them, an entire quaternion, or its equivalent. My reason for so thinking shall be given without needless delay; but, for the convenience of the reader, and to make my reason more readily intelligible, I at once estimate, as accurately as may be, the value in terms of γ lines of eleven leaves of the Vatican Codex :—

1. We learn from M. Delisle[1] that a piece has been removed from the upper part of fol. 117, and that fol. 122 *verso* ends with the last extant words, 'sustentet et foueat', of the first Mass. On referring to Muratori (ii 687), I find that fol. 117 *recto* began with the opening words, 'Dꝭ qui diligentibus', of the first constituent. Hence it follows that, as will be found on careful examination of my list of linear values,[2] six leaves of the Vatican codex represent, with exceedingly close approximation, 63 γ lines of text and minor rubrics[3]; or, to state the case more accurately, that the constituents and minor rubrics which at the last editorial period in the history of the *missae cotidianae* occupied 63 γ lines occupied six leaves when transferred to the Vatican book. From this we may infer that the eleven Vatican leaves which I assume to have disappeared would hold constituents and major and minor rubrics which if re-transferred to γ lines would have been found to have the value of 115 or 116 of these; but that if only three Vatican leaves have disappeared our loss is, in terms of γ lines, 31 or 32.

2. Each of the three complete Masses of the extant group has either five or six minor rubrics; and on the assumption that two *missae* have disappeared we must suppose that these together contained, say, eleven such rubrics on as many lines.

3. On referring to the last column but one of linear values the reader will observe that, if we disburden I of its minor rubrics, we have major rubric and text of the value of 63 γ lines, three integral γ pages; that IV, if thus treated, is equivalent to two integral γ pages; that V, if thus treated, represents three integral γ pages, and that VI in all moral certainty had the same value.

4. If, then, the lost material filled, like each of the Masses handed down to us, a multiple of 21 lines at the last stage but one of editorial activity, and if at the last they filled about 115, the number of lines to be allowed it on the earlier occasion is 105, or five γ pages. But were we to employ M. Delisle's cautious 'probablement' as warrant for the very assumption which that word precludes, we should have on the last occasion but one a Mass whose *capitulum* and nine con-

[1] *Op. cit. ut supra.* [2] See below, p. 554. [3] For 63 + 5 − (4 + 1) = 63.

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stituents were lodged in 21 lines, and on the last occasion the same Mass *plus* the 10 or 11 lines required to make a total of 31 or 32; that is to say, 10 or 11 lines of minor rubric—an incredible hypothesis.

5. Let us now examine the case more closely, and by a different method.

Before they were amplified by minor rubrics three out of the four extant *missae* filled three pages each, and one of them filled two. How many *missae*, then, of one or other of these values shall we assume to have disappeared? A definite number, or an indefinite? If an indefinite number, there is an end to argument—*cadit quaestio.* If a definite number, we must assume it to have been two; for six is the total of *quotidianae* both in the Petau Gelasianum (Mur. i 700–703) and in the St Gallen sacramentary (Gerbert, pp. 230–238); a number not improbably determined by the ferial days of the week. I therefore make it a working hypothesis that the lost material consisted of two Masses, and that these at the penultimate editorial stage of our document filled either four, five, or six γ pages. Which of these alternatives to adopt we must hope to be able to determine when we have explored the earlier history of the four surviving items. As a first step to this end let us at once examine their text.

THE EXTANT TEXT. 1. The latter part, 'precantes ut . . . placere possimus', of the first Preface (Mur. ii 688) does not cohere with the 'Oⁿiptiam . . . sempiterna succedant' which precedes it; but, on referring to the series of Prefaces in the appendix to Alcuin's theoretical Gregorianum to which is prefixed the admonition 'Heic studiose praescriptas' &c. (*ib.* 291), we find that early in the ninth century a composition (*ib.* 323) closely resembling the first part ended, like it, at 'sempiterna succedant'. And, in the St Gallen sacramentary (Gerbert, pp. 139, 184) and in that edited by Ménard (pp. 171, 181) there are two separate Prefaces, one of which, for the Fifth Sunday after Pentecost, agrees in the main with ours as far as 'succedant', where it ends; while the other, for the Twentieth Sunday, agrees in the main with ours at and after 'precantes', where it begins. We may therefore infer that ours is a dual composition, and that at some period in the evolution of our *missae cotidianae* it ended at 'succedant' and followed by 'per' (or 'per. per quem maiestatem') comprised 256 (or, preferably, 273) letters, not as yet 399 (or, preferably, 416).

2. The opening prayer, 'Perpetua quaesumus dⁿe pace' &c. (Mur. ii 688), of the second of the surviving items, numbered 'IV' in my list of values, exhibits a like phenomenon. Its first part, 'Perpetua . . . concede', which, with 'Adesto nobis misericors dˢ' before the words 'et tuae pietatis' &c., appears as two distinct but contiguous prayers in the St Gallen book (Gerbert, p. 230), in the *missae quotidianae* of

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Petau (III xviii) and in the ungrouped *orationes quotidianae* of Ménard (p. 197), presents no difficulty; but its second part, 'et ut tuis' &c., is not in structural nexus with the first. We may therefore infer that in such nuclear predecessor of the present series as I am endeavouring to discriminate the constituent ended at 'concede' and, with a subjoined 'per', comprised 95, not 167, letters.

3. The Preface of the same Mass, 'Ut quia tui est operis' &c., though grammatically faultless, falls ethically into two unconnected halves at 'facultatem'; but finding, as I do, that not only in the supplement, just mentioned, to the Alcuinian Gregorianum (Mur. ii 317) but in the *missae quotidianae* of the St Gallen book (Gerbert, p. 231) there is a Preface substantially identical with the first half and, like it, ending at 'facultatem', I cannot doubt that here again we have a composite constituent, the first half of which has, with an added 'per', the value of 130, not 279, letters. The second half, 'Ut non in nobis' &c., but with 'proueniat' for 'praeueniat', figures in St Gallen (Gerbert, *ut supra*) as Preface of the *missa quotidiana* next after that which has the first for its Preface.

4. The Postcommunion of the next item is a mere coadunation of two distinct prayers. For 'Sumpti sacrificii' &c., see Leon. XXVIIII xiii, Gel. II xxiv, xlviii, III xxviii, and Gerbert, pp. 63, 137. For 'Sc̄a tua nos dn̄e' &c., see Leon. XXVIIII xviiii and Gel. I xxvii, xxxvii.

5. For 'Verbum tuum', the first words of the last Preface, we should perhaps read 'Per uerbum tuum', thus giving the whole a total of 618 letters. I cannot identify this constituent. In a shorter text it may have had a place in the lost portion of the Leonianum; for, like others of its class in the preceding section and in this, it seems to have had two values, ending in the first instance at 'ipse sustinuit', and thus comprising 478, not 618, letters.

THE θ REDACTIONS. In none of these cases have we, as we had when dealing with other sections, more than two values; nor does it seem possible to work our way back, as we could when dealing with the Sanctorale, to a source on β pages. But we cannot doubt that, constructed in accordance with the Roman norm, the section had at one time been set forth on pages of θ capacity. For, if we assume items I and IV to have had, each of them, but two preliminary prayers, one 'Super oblata', one Preface, and one 'Post communionem', but no 'Ad plebem'—a class of prayers eschewed by Roman usage on any but fasting days—and if in cases of dual value we select the lower alternative, we have a result equivalent to $[31+20=]51$ lines; but, on the assumption that two *missae*, II, III, have disappeared, and that their respective values were nineteen and thirty, we have for I and II $[31+19=]50$ lines, or two pages; for III and IV $[30+20=]50$, or

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		Scheme θ_3 bis 8 pages	Scheme γ_1 11 pages	Scheme γ_1 bis (2) and γ_3 17 pages	16 pages	Scheme γ_2 bis 18 pages
ORATIONES ET PRECES COMMUNES &c.		*	l 4	lii (lx)	4 lxv	lxvi 4
I. *Post prophetiam*						1
Dŝ qui diligentibus te &c.	170	xli 6	6		6	6
Collectio						1
Dŝ qui in sc̄is habitas &c.	150	6	5		5	5
Ante nomina						1
Protector in te sperantium &c.	160				6	6
Dŝ uirtutum cuius est &c.	175				6	6
Super oblata						1
Propitiare dn̄e supplicationibus &c.	160	6	6 = 21		6	6
Adesto dn̄e supplicationibus &c.	181				6	6
VD. Om̄ptiam tuam &c.	273[1], 416[2]	9[1]	li 10[1]		14[2]	14[2]
Post communionem						1
Caelestis doni benedictione &c.	99	4 [= 31]	4		4	4
Ad plebem						1 = 63
Veniat dn̄e quaesumus &c.	151		5		5	lxviiii 5
II.	+x	1	1 = 21	lv (lxiii)	1 = 63 2 (lxviii)	1 1
Computed losses		18 [= 19] = 50	lii 21 = 21		40 = 42	
III.		xliii 30 [= 30]	liii 41	lvii (lxv)	62 (lxx)	113
IV. ITEM ALIA MISSA		1	1 = 42		1 = 63	1
Perpetua quaesumus dn̄e &c.	95[1], 167[2]	4[1]	lv 4[1]	lx (lxviii)	6[2] (lxxiii)	6[2]
Exaudi nos miserator &c.	47	2	2		2	2
Dŝ cui nulla potest &c.	144				5	5
Praesta nobis misericors &c.	123				4	4
Super oblata						1
Suscipe dn̄e quaesumus &c.	121	5	4		4 = 21	4
Alia				lxi (lxviiii)	(lxxiiii)	1
Munera dn̄e tibi dicata &c.	152				5	5
Contestatio						1
VD. Ut quia tui est operis &c.	130[1], 279[2]	5[1]	5[1]		10[2]	10[2]
Post communionem						1
Mysteria sc̄a nos dn̄e &c.	79	3 [= 20] = 50	3		3	3
Item alia						1
Da ueniam dn̄e peccatis, &c.	84		3 = 21		3 = 21	3 = 168
V. ITEM ALIA MISSA		xlv 2	lvi 2	lxii (lxx)	2 lxxv	lxxvii 2
Post prophetiam						1

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Dṡ qui nobis oṁptiam &c.	150	6	5	5		5
Post precem						1
Oṁp seṁp dṡ qui abundantia &c.	162	6	6	6		6
Ante nomina						1
Oṁp seṁp dṡ adesto &c.	180			6		6
Creaturarum omnium &c.	199			7		7
Super oblata						1
Dṡ qui legalium differentias &c.	216	8	8=21	8		8
Suscipe munera quaesumus &c.	176			6		6
VD. Ut filius tuus iḥc xp̄c &c.	354	13	lvii 12	12		12
Post communionem						1
Sumpti sacrificii &c.	80^1, 143^2	3^1[=38]	3	5^2		5^2
Ad plebem						1=63
Benedictio dn̄e quaesumus &c.	171		6=21	6=63	lxxx	6
VI. ITEM ALIA MISSA		1	lviii 2	lxv (lxxiii) 2 lxxviii		1
Post prophetiam						1
Concede quaesumus oṁp dṡ &c.	90	3	3	3		3
Post precem						1
Ecclesiam tuam dn̄e &c.	104	4	4	4		4
Ante nomina						1
Praesta quaesumus oṁp dṡ &c	206			7		7
Pateant aures misericordiae &c.	122			4		4
Super oblata						1
Dṡ cui omnium sacrificiorum &c.	162	6	6	6		6
Remotis obumbrationibus &c.	211			7		7=42
Quaesumus oṁp dṡ n̄ &c.	99			4	lxxxii	4
VD. Per uerbum tuum tibi &c.	478^1, 618^2	17^1	17^1	17^1		21^2 †
Postcommunion (conjectural)		4	4	4		
Ad plebem (conjectural)			3	3		
Explicit		2[=37]=75	2=41	63=2		
Last page		xlviii BOOK ENDS.	lx BOOK ENDS.	lxviii (lxxvi) BOOK (BOOK) ENDS. 2=63 Page lxxx ends.		
From the following						
INCIPIT CANON ACTIONIS						2
Sursum corda. Resp. Habemus ad dn̄m	20					1
Gratias agamus dn̄o dō n̄	18					1
Dignum et iustum est	16					1
Vere dignum &c.	338					12=42 Page lxxxiii ends.

† Of the 21 lines occupied by this Preface at the final redaction the last 4 were on p. lxxxiii. See below, p. 559.

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two pages; and—with the reasonable allowance of four lines for the transferred, but now lost, Postcommunion of VI—[38+37 =]75, or three pages, for the last pair.

THE LOST LEAVES OF THE VATICAN MS (*resumed*). Unless, then, the process of elimination which served us so well when we were dealing with the Sanctorale is to be thought illusory in its results when applied to I, IV, V, VI of the present series, we may rest assured that of the lost *missae*—by the hypothesis two in number—the first was at one time contained in 19 θ lines and the second in 30.

THE γ REDACTIONS. The reader will discover on referring to the table of values that if in imagination we now transcribe I, IV, V, VI, not on θ, but on γ pages,[1] and allow to each of the first three its final prayer—whether rubricated *Ad plebem* or *Item alia*—and allow three lines for a final prayer, now lost, of VI, their successive values are 42 lines (two integral pages), 21 lines (one integral page), 42 lines (two integral pages), and 41 lines (the practical equivalent of two integral pages). And since it is incredible that these should be haphazard coincidences, I assign one γ page to item II, which was the analogue of IV when as yet on θ lines; and a couple of γ pages to III, which was the analogue of I when as yet at the θ stage.

In like manner: if, with the exception of the interspersed minor rubrics—the object of which has yet to be divined—and of the presumably expletory 'Unde' &c. at the end of the last extant item of VI,[2] we compute the present values of all the constituents, un-Roman though they be in numerosity, we find that I, V, VI are each of them equivalent to three γ pages, and IV to a couple of such pages. And since no sane scepticism could pronounce fresh results like these fortuitous, I infer that II, once more like its analogue IV, now had a new value of forty-two γ lines, and III, like I and V, a new value of sixty-three.

At the last redaction of all (γ_3 *bis*) the items of the present section were amplified, like the political and the Saints' Masses, by minor rubrics; and, since eleven of them have been allotted to I and IV, eleven is no unfair allowance for II and III.

One result of this seemingly capricious interspersion of minor rubrics is to me unexpectedly encouraging. It carries down IV at the last redaction of all to the end of a page, and bids me hope that there was after all method in the seeming madness. What, if any, may have been the object held in view we must enquire presently.

[1] See column headed 'Scheme γ_1'.

[2] See column headed 'Scheme $\gamma_{1\ bis\ (2)}$ and γ_3'.

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PART IV. THE LAST EDITION OF THE SECOND AND THIRD INSTALMENTS.

1. At a comparatively early period in our investigation we found that three successive editions of the pontifical had been so devised that, allowance always made for a first leaf left textless and for a last page left blank, each had the value of a quadruple number of leaves, and thus of an integral number of membranes; the first edition representing a quire of β capacity; the second, five θ membranes; and the third, eight (see above, p. 535). (2) The document was next made dual, in great part by the adjunction of a Sanctorale to the pontifical, when it occupied ten θ membranes (see above, pp. 535, 545). (3) After four times traversing the third stage of the journey we found that the document—by this time threefold and comprising pontifical, Sanctorale, and *missae cotidianae*—had attained the successive values of twelve θ membranes, and of fifteen, seventeen, nineteen membranes of γ capacity (see above, p. 555). (4) But when, at the third general γ redaction, though neglecting as yet the minor rubrics interspersed through the political Mass, the Sanctorale, and the *missae cotidianae*, we at last gave to each successive item in each of those three main instalments of the document its full textual value, we perceived that they represented eighty pages, or twenty membranes, but without room allowed for a final page left blank (see again p. 555).

The inference which I deduce from this peculiarity of no room left for a blank page is that the redaction which gave their final textual equipment to pontifical, to Sanctorale, and to *missae cotidianae* was the redaction at which the *Canon Actionis* was conjoined to those three instalments. The text, therefore, of the Canon must engage our attention so soon as we shall have disposed of three subjects which we have not as yet had suitable opportunity for discussing. These are the 'Pax fidi s̄ca' next before the Preface of the first item of the Sanctorale, the 'Confiteantur tibi . . . benedicant te' which obstructs the Preface of the last, and the minor rubrics interspersed through the Sanctorale and the *missae cotidianae* (Mur. ii 682, 686, and 682–691).

I. True though it be that the first Mass of the Sanctorale, now devoted to St Hilary, was originally framed in accordance with the Roman norm, it by no means follows that the more ample equipment which it received at the third general redaction was a mere exploit of bibliographical ingenuity. The rubrics *Post prophetiam*, *Post precem*, *Ante nomina*, which are so striking a feature of the *cotidianae*, forbid any such inference; and, until we know what specifically was the ritual of the diocese of Poitiers in the later decades of the sixth century, we must allow it to be possible that four out of the six prayers which now

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precede the 'Ut nobis dn̄e' &c. of the Mass in question did, in fact, serve the purpose of a *Post prophetiam*, a *Post precem*, an *Ante nomina* and a *Post nomina*, and the 'Ut nobis dn̄e' &c. itself that of an *Ad pacem*. This granted to be a tenable hypothesis, what shall we say of the 'Pax fidi sancta', as the editors read it, a feature of our document which would seem to have escaped the notice of scholars like Morin, Mabillon, and Martène? The account which with all proper diffidence I propose is that in 'PAXFIDISC̄A' we are to see a truncated 'Pax fides caritas' and to identify it with 'Pax fides et caritas', a formula which the writer of the *Expositio Breuis* of presumably the Paris ritual of the Mass has left upon record as having the authority of St Germanus: 'Constituerunt canones ut longiorem benedictionem episcopus proferret, breviorem funderet presbyter dicet [?'dicens'] "Pax fides et caritas et communicatio Corporis et Sanguinis Domini sit semper uobiscum".'[1] If I am not mistaken, our 'Pax fidi sc̄a', disfigured and mutilated though it be, is the only known text that bears a resemblance better than merely remote to the 'Pax fides et caritas' of this passage. Certainly, the place given to it in the first Mass of our Sanctorale does not seem to accord with that contemplated by the writer of the *Expositio*; but I would suggest that the difficulty may be met by one or both of two considerations. First: the *Expositio Breuis* is a second-hand account, a none too carefully written and evidently unauthorized record of something said by St Germanus; and, since the manifest object of Germanus was to give the rationale of the shortness of a priest's mode of blessing, as compared with a bishop's, what he really said may in effect have been, 'A priest's formula is "Pax fides et caritas" and, again, "Communicatio Corporis et Sanguinis Domini sit semper uobiscum"', the 'sit semper uobiscum' applying by zeugma to each formula, and the second 'et' being part of neither. Secondly: in addition to, or in place of, this account it may be suggested that the Paris ritual united two formulae which elsewhere and aforetime were kept separate[2]; one being proper to the kiss of peace which, as at Tours, for example, was given before the Preface, the other being the benedictory prayer which preceded the Communion.[3] But, whatever be the truth as to what St Germanus said and what the anonymous author of the *Expositio* conceived him to have said, we may rest assured that 'Pax fides caritas' or 'Pax fides et caritas'

[1] Migne *S. L.* lxxii 94 B.

[2] The 'et' before 'caritas' may be held to favour this hypothesis.

[3] In the Missale Gallicanum Vetus, whose only proper of a saint is the Mass in honour of St Germanus, the first *Collectio ad Pacem* for the season of Advent is 'Grata tibi sint ... munera ... et ... tribue nobis *fidem* integram, *pacem* perpetuam, *caritatem* puram'; and the second, 'Sacrificium ... placatus intende ... et *communicatio* praesentis *osculi* perpetuae proficiat caritati' (Mur. ii 702, 704).

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is the formula indicated by the 'Pax fidi sancta' of the printed editions, and must therefore be on our guard not to suspect a scribal transposition in what it may be our wisdom to regard as an evidence of the Poitiers ritual in and even before the last quarter of the sixth century.

II. In the 'Confiteantur tibi . . . benedicant te'[1] which obstructs the last Preface in the Sanctorale we may not unreasonably see the *Sonus*, the versicle from the psalter which by the ritual known as Gallican was sung during the oblation of the elements; for, in reply to the objection that in the Vatican MS it follows, instead of preceding, the words 'Vere dignum . . . et salutare', I would suggest that at a previous transcription the monogrammatic compendium of VD (='Vere dignum') had by clerical error on the part of scribe or rubricator been set before 'Confiteantur', its proper place being before 'Quoniam'.

III. 1. These two subsidiary additions together with the minor rubrics capriciously dispersed through political Mass and Sanctorale have the gross value of twenty-two lines, so that when they were inserted at the transcription notified as γ_3 *bis* the last item of the latter section ended on the last line of page lxv, not, as at γ_3, on the penultimate line of lxiiii (see above, p. 545). (2) The minor rubrics interspersed through the first four *missae cotidianae* at γ_3 *bis* had the nett value of a page, so that these now ended with page lxxvi, not, as previously, with lxxiiii (see above, p. 554). (3) Those introduced into the fifth and sixth *cotidianae* were the linear equivalent of all that at the previous recension had followed the Preface of this latter Mass, so that this constituent, still in its first value of 478 letters—'Per verbum tuum . . . quae ipse sustinuit'—was now conterminous with page lxxxii.

If, then, the words 'quae ipse sustinuit', which, by my hypothesis, brought the first text of the Preface of the sixth *cotidiana* to an end, were on the last line of page lxxxii at the final redaction of the second and third instalments, it follows (4) that the supplementary clause of the Preface, 'Unde nos . . . potentia resurgentis', now occupied the first four lines of page lxxxiii, (5) that the 'Sursum corda' and its response, the 'Gratias agamus' and its response, the 'Vere dignum' and the *Praefatio communis* filled the remaining lines of lxxxiii, and (6) that the 'Te igitur' began at the head of lxxxiiii. There must have been a purpose in all this. What, then, was it?

PART V. THE TWO EDITIONS OF THE FOURTH INSTALMENT.

A summary of the paginal values of the four instalments of our document at the successive γ redactions which I conceive each to have

[1] Ps. cxliv 10. The Vulgate reading is 'benedicant tibi'.

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undergone may be of interest to such of my readers as are disposed to think that my analysis has been accurate. In conjunction with the synopsis of values at the β and θ redactions, on p. 550, it elucidates what I believe to have been the interna history of the document from first to last.

	γ_1	γ_1 bis	γ_2	γ_3	γ_3 bis
Minor Orders	2+4		2+7	2+7	
Major Orders	22		22	23	
Virgins, Widows	7		9	10	
Consecration of Altar	5		6	6	=48
Political Mass	3	=43	4	4	$4\frac{7}{21}$
Sanctorale	6	8	9	12[=64]	$12\frac{14}{21}$
Missae Cotidianae	10+1	16+1	16+1	16[=80]	$17\frac{4}{21}$
	60	68	76		
Canon Actionis				7+1	$7\frac{17}{21}$
				88	
Transferred and additional Prayers					1+1
					92

SECTION VIII. THE *CANON ACTIONIS*.

The phenomena which characterize our document have led me to infer that at the general redaction notified as γ_3 the *Canon Actionis* in the wider sense of the phrase filled seven pages (lxxxi—lxxxvii), but that at the final transcription (γ_3 *bis*) an elaborate economy of rubric and text had the effect of setting the *Praefatio communis* and its accessories on the fifth and following lines of the *recto* side of a leaf (p. lxxxiii), and thus of making the 'Te igitur' begin, as before had not been the case, on a fresh page; with the necessary consequence that, if this with its accessories was to fill seven pages, it must meanwhile have received an increment, whether of text, or of rubrics, or of both, of the nett value of seventeen lines. What the increment may have been we must conjecture as best we can, for, by some deplorable accident to the Vatican Codex, its text of the Canon is cut short at the end of the word 'digneris' in the 'Nobis quoque' paragraph.[1]

Had Morin been so lucky as to read between the lines of the political Mass it might have occurred to him that our document, so

[1] It will be seen on an early page that by my computation the lost material is to be estimated at rather more than fifty γ lines, and that it would thus have occupied five leaves of the Vatican MS. This may, therefore, have lost its last fasciculus, which in that case would be a ternion. For relative values see above, p. 551.

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far from being a single editorial achievement, was the product of successive developements of an ancient original, and that one or more of these had been executed before the Frankish occupation of western Gaul early in the sixth century. And, had it but occurred to Mabillon that the Canon might be, as the 'CUM CANONE' subjoined to the title of the *missae cotidianae* suggests, an *ex post facto* addition to that series, and that they in their turn might be of later date than the Sanctorale, he assuredly would not have assigned the document as a whole to the seventh century for the mere reason that the Canon contains Gregory the Great's 'diesque nostros' &c.

I venture to assert, moreover, that Mabillon was less accurate than was his wont when he said 'Canon idem est item cum Romano'. That so much of it as survives is substantially identical with the corresponding portion of what is customarily called the Gregorian Canon is beyond both doubt and cavil; but, this notwithstanding, it has numerous characteristics which would seem to be peculiar to itself, and which would further seem to set it in the same relation to St Gregory's *textus classicus* that an earlier recension bears to a later; and, besides these, a few readings which, though not proper to itself, favour that inference.

Where first to look for St Gregory's *textus classicus* is a question which in the opinion of some still awaits decision. I, for one, turn to the corrected text of the Canon in the Canterbury missal,[1] a text which claims the two recommendations of direct descent and a short pedigree; and, next to it in authority, because of the antiquity of the codex in which it lies, I place what some would set before it, that of the Petau sacramentary, No. 316 of the Queen of Sweden's collection at the Vatican.[2] In the following collation I use both; and notify, first, the instances in which Poitiers—by which I designate our document—Petau and Canterbury differ from each other; secondly, those in which Canterbury stands alone; thirdly, those in which Petau is unsupported by the other two; and, finally, those in which Petau and Canterbury agree, Poitiers differing from them: my hope being to learn whether or not the readings peculiar to the Poitiers text are such as to justify us in pronouncing this earlier than either of the others.

I. First, then, we have the following contrast, where (1) Petau may be defective, but where in Poitiers, as contrasted with Canterbury,

[1] My theory with regard to this is that, whether from inadvertence or for whatever reason, the scribe of the Canterbury missal, when engaged on the Canon, had not used St Gregory's authentic text as his exemplar, but that his handiwork was subsequently corrected into conformity with that text.

[2] Usually known by the speculative and provisional name of 'The Gelasian Sacramentary'.

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we not improbably have the text of a Canon designed for the use of none but the Pope himself, or, in any case, primarily, if not exclusively, meant for him; and where (2) the 'catholicae et apostolicae fidei' would seem to be a carefully considered improvement on the therefore presumably earlier 'apostolicae fidei' of the Poitiers book:—

Poitiers [Petau] (Canterbury).

1. Te igitur . . . una cum *omnibus orthodoxis atque* (2) *apostolicae fidei cultoribus* [famulo tuo papa nostro illo et antistite nostro episcopo illo] (famulo tuo papa nostro N et antistite nostro et rege nostro et omnibus orthodoxis atque (2) catholicae et apostolicae fidei cultoribus).

II. As between Poitiers and Petau, on the one hand, and Canterbury, on the other, we have:—

Poitiers, Petau [Canterbury].

1. Memento . . . *qui tibi offerunt* [pro quibus tibi offerimus uel qui tibi offerunt].
2. Communicantes . . . per *xp̄m* [eundem xp̄m] dn̄m n̄.
3. Unde et *memores sumus* [memores].
4. Supplices . . . per *xp̄m* [eundem xp̄m] dn̄m n̄.

Here the alternative 'pro quibus tibi offerimus' allowed at Canterbury would seem to be a disciplinary advance on 'qui tibi offerunt', and thus, in any case, a subsequent addition. I should imagine that it may have been inserted into the text of the Canon by Gregory himself for use by his missionaries in England when saying Mass for the conversion of heathens, or otherwise in their behalf; for of them, as unbaptized, 'qui tibi offerunt' could not be used. The second and fourth of the Canterbury readings are improvements on 'per xp̄m' such as might have occurred to Gregory when preparing copies of the Canon for the use of his missionaries. But, whatever be the right account of these variants, there can be no doubt that in each case Poitiers has the older or less eligible of the two.

III. Petau stands alone in six places:—

Poitiers, Canterbury [Petau].

1. Communicantes . . . gloriosae *semper* [semperque] uirginis . . .
2. *petri* [petri et] pauli.
3. Quam oblationem . . . *postquam* [posteaquam] caenatum est.
4. Inde (Unde) et memores . . . in *coelos* [caelis] ascensionis.
5. Supplices . . . per manus *sc̄i angeli* [angeli] tui.
6. Nobis quoque . . . partem aliquam *et societatem* [societatis].

Here the enclitic between 'semper' and 'uirginis' looks like an insertion by one to whom '*ἀειπαρθένου*' was an unknown phrase, and the 'et' between 'petri' and 'pauli' like that of one to whom it was a note of orthodoxy to assert that the two apostles had suffered on one and the same day; while the 'angeli tui', as against 'sc̄i angeli tui', may

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have been a protest or a precaution against such as might pretend that by 'sanctus angelus' our Divine Lord Himself was meant.[1] In each of these cases the Poitiers reading must be regarded as the earlier of the two.

The 'postquam' in 3 is to me specially interesting, because in the Canterbury Missal it has been altered from 'posteaquam'. The 'caelis' in 4 is probably a mere Merovingianism.

IV. But the cases in which Poitiers stands alone exceed all of the foregoing in both interest and number.

Poitiers [Canterbury, Petau].

1. Te igitur clementissime . . . pro *tua sca ecclesia* [ecclesia tua sca]
2. Communicantes *sed et* [et] memoriam uenerantes
3. *ancleti* [cleti]
4. Hanc igitur oblationem . . . *quam tibi offerimus in honore domni beati martyris tui ill. et pro peccatis atque offensionibus nostris ut omnium delictorum nostrorum remissionem consequi mereamur quaesumus dne* [quaesumus dne] ut placatus accipias diesque nostros . . . disponas atque nos
5. *eripias* [eripi] . . . et . . . iubeas . . . congregari.
6. Quam oblationem . . . facere *dignare* [digneris]
7. *quae* [ut] nobis corpus et sanguis fiat . . . qui . . . eleuatis
8. *oculis suis* [oculis].
9. *ad* [in] coelum ad te . . . tibi gratias
10. *egit* [agens] benedixit . . . dicens accipite et
11. *manducate* [manducate ex hoc omnes] . . . Simili modo . . .
12. *accepit* [accipiens] . . . calicem in scas
13. *et* [ac] uenerabiles manus . . . dedit . . . dicens accipite et bibite ex
14. *hoc* [eo] omnes.
15. *Inde* [Unde] et memores . . . filii tui.
16. *dni n* [dni dī ī] . . . passionis . . . resurrectionis . . . ascensionis offerimus . . .
17. *maiestati* [maiestati tuae] . . .
18. Supra quae . . . sereno uultu *aspicere dignare* [respicere digneris] et
19. Supplices te *rogamus et petimus* [rogamus] . . . iube
20. *perferri* [haec perferri] per manus sci angeli tui
21. *in sublimi altari tuo* [in sublime altare tuum] . . . ut quotquot
22. ex *hoc altari scificationis* [hac altaris participatione].

Of the Poitiers readings in these contrasts those numbered 15, 17, and 20 may fairly be dismissed as referable to the accidents of post-editorial transcription; but there can be no doubt that in a largely preponderating majority of the rest the reading which by universal consent would be regarded as Gregorian differs from its rival as does a revised text from the same text as it stood before revision. Thus:

[1] Since this was written I have found unexpected support of my hypothesis in a suggestion of Mgr Duchesne's (*Origines* p. 173 n. 1): 'Il ne faut pas oublier, quand il s'agit de formules aussi anciennes, que le Verbe divin est quelquefois qualifié d'ange du Seigneur. Je n'entends pas définir si c'est ou non le cas ici.'

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if in 1 we assume 'pro tua sca ecclesia' to be the earlier reading, 'pro ecclesia tua sca' is explained by the danger of vocally converting, as would be only too likely to happen to careless or preoccupied readers of a sixth-century manuscript, the final letter of 'sca' and the initial of 'ecclesia' into a diphthong: and in 18 not only is the danger averted of pronouncing 'uultu aspicere' 'uult uaspicere', but a better idiom is secured by substituting 'respicere' for 'aspicere'.

Again: both sibilation, assonance, and the danger of a false vocal distribution will have been remedied if we assume that in 3 the words 'Communicantes sed et'—which with some readers might be made to sound like 'Communicantes et et'—have been replaced by 'Communicantes et'; while in 5 the reviser postulated by my hypothesis not only remedied a needless assonance when he superseded 'eripias . . . iubeas' by 'eripi . . . iubeas', but effected two striking parallelisms, balancing 'ut . . . (i) accipias diesque nostros in tua pace (ii) disponas' by 'atque ab aeterna damnatione nos (α) eripi et in electorum tuorum (iii) iubeas grege (β) numerari'. On the same assumption, sibilation and assonance were remedied in 8 by the omission of the needless 'suis' from 'elevatis oculis suis'; and sibilation in 21 reduced by the suppression of 'et petimus' in the phrase 'Supplices te rogamus et petimus omnipotens Deus'.

Again: needless assonances were, by my hypothesis, remedied when in 6 'Quam oblationem . . . facere dignare' was of set purpose replaced by 'Quam oblationem . . . facere digneris', and in 10 'gratias egit, benedixit, fregit' by 'gratias agens, benedixit, fregit'.

In the clause which introduces the words of institution we have, besides the change of 'oculis suis' into 'oculis', the further correction (9), as simple as it is desirable, of 'ad coelum ad te' into 'in caelum ad te'; nor can there be a doubt that in 12 the conversion of 'accepit' into 'accipiens' would serve to determine the scope of the initial and therefore emphatic formula 'Simili modo' to the culminating phrase, 'dedit discipulis suis dicens accipite et bibite' &c. . . . And in 13 the substitution of 'ac' for 'et' not only rectifies a needless departure from the wording of the 'in scas ac uenerabiles manus' which stand before the words 'Accipite et manducate', it averts the danger incident to a mode of writing in which words were not kept separate from each other, the danger of so pronouncing the words as if 'sanctas set uenerabiles' had been intended. In the case of so 'perilous' a formulary as the prayer of consecration no precaution against lapses like these could be too scrupulous. Nor can this consideration be too carefully borne in mind.

Of converse instances there are none; and there can be no doubt that in each of these the reading which *ex hypothesi* is the later of the

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two is also the better of the two.[1] Besides them there are two in which the corrective motive of a careful theologian would seem to have been at work.

Thus, the relation of effect to cause is in 7 more clearly and more happily expressed by 'ut' than by 'quae', admirable in itself as is the construction yielded by the relative pronoun—'Quam oblationem tu dŝ benedictam adscriptam ratam rationabilem acceptamque facere digneris ut [instead of 'quae'] nobis corpus et sanguis fiat' &c. And, indeed, the reviser postulated by my hypothesis may have deemed 'ut' a dogmatically safer word than 'quae', for the further reason that he conceived it possible that 'facere digneris' might be thought to have a governing force such as would be proper to the metaphrasis 'dignam facias'; in which event the sense would have been 'Quam oblationem tu dŝ benedictam, adscriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptam facias, et dignam quae nobis corpus et sanguis fiat' &c.

To this instance we may add 16, where the hypothetically later variant 'dñi di ñ' is, for an evident theological reason, preferable to 'dñi ñ'.

That in the present list of contrasts between Poitiers on the one hand and Canterbury and Petau on the other, the latter category represent the *textus classicus* of St Gregory's revision of the Canon is a proposition which is not likely to be challenged; but I make bold to hazard the opinion that, if we neglect the Poitiers readings in 17 and 20—for they are evidently scribal, and not improbably post-editorial, blunders—and, for reasons to be explained presently, except those in 3 and 11 as doubtful, the former category exhibit to us the text of which St Gregory's *classicus* was the recension. Indeed, if we could but certainly know that, when the Poitiers copy of the Canon reached its destination, it had already been reinforced by St Gregory's own interpolation, the 'diesque nostros' clause, we might with some confidence assert that—allowance made, as I have just intimated, for the possible exception of 'Anacleti' as against 'Cleti', and of 'manducate' as against 'manducate ex hoc omnes'—its text was the very text which Gregory himself used in the earlier years of his pontificate. But even if, instead of holding this opinion to be probable until disproved, as for all argumentative purposes we should be bound to do, we content ourselves with the more philosophical alternative of treating it as merely possible, there remain one or two readings proper to the Poitiers text which have a claim on our attention for considerations

[1] For many instances of very closely analogous contrasts between a presumably late and a presumably early text of St Gregory's *Antiphonary*, each of them in all moral certainty authentic, see pp. cxxxv-cxli of my Introduction to the Missal of St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury.

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much higher than those of idiomatic clearness, euphony, and vocal accuracy.

In the 'Supplices' paragraph the Poitiers reading is 'iube (haec) perferri per manus sci angeli tui (21) in sublimi altari tuo [*as against* 'in sublime altare tuum'] in conspectu diuinae maiestatis tuae ut quotquot (22) ex hoc altari scificationis [*as against* 'ex hac altaris participatione'] sacrosci filii tui corpus et sanguinem sumpserimus omni benedictione caelesti et gratia repleamur'. Except on the barely tenable hypothesis of a Merovingian ablative in place of an accusative, this 'perferri in sublimi altari tuo' must be regarded as fraught with danger, for it might be deemed a *constructio praegnans*, and interpreted as meaning 'Command these gifts to be carried by the hands of Thy holy angel to Thy heavenly altar and there by him presented to Thee'. St Gregory's phrase, by which I mean St Gregory's happy substitution of the accusative inflexion for an ablative, gives a sense which from the theological point of view is diametrically different: 'Command them to be carried by the hands of Thy holy angel to Thy heavenly altar'; this and nothing more; this and with it no suggestion that the function of there making atonement devolves on the angel minister, or any created being whomsoever. It would be impossible to overestimate the service here rendered to sound theology by a textual modification which may reasonably be attributed to St Gregory.

The contrast exhibited by the next pair of readings is equally instructive; for it would well have become so trustworthy a teacher as St Gregory, by neglecting 'ex hoc altari scificationis' for 'ex hac altaris participatione', to call off the thoughts of the hearers of the Canon from an exclusive contemplation of the material '*hoc altare*' at which they were gathered to that '*altare tuum*' within the veil of which all in all ages are partakers, the altar of which they have no right to eat who serve the tabernacle.[1]

Turning from these very sacred topics to the contrasted readings in the present list which yet await notice, we find that in the third instance and the eleventh the Poitiers text seems to reveal a distinctly different literary tradition from that observable in what I conceive to be St Gregory's *textus classicus*.

Scholars have no need to be reminded that in some catalogues of the Bishops of Rome the immediate predecessor of St Clement is called, like St Clement's immediate successor, not Cletus, but Anacletus. Whether the truth be that the earlier of these had two names, or that

[1] In this connexion compare the following from the *Orationes Paschales* &c. of the Missale Gothicogallicanum: 'In sanctorum sancta admissi et altaris caelestis sacerdotii aeterni participes effecti ... deprecemur' &c., Mur. ii 586 (Migne *S. L.* lxxii 271 B).

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'Anacletus' is in the case of this Pope an error for 'Cletus', 'Anacletus' is favoured by Greek writers and 'Cletus' by Latin. Hence the possibility that our 'ancleti'—by which I assume 'anacleti' to be meant—is a reading which had been substituted in place of an authentic 'cleti' in obedience to an immemorial tradition of the Gallican Church, a tradition based on the literary authority of St Irenaeus. But, whether we suppose that 'anacleti' is the original and Roman reading of the Canon which found its way to Poitiers, or that 'ancleti' is, as I have just ventured to suggest, a Gallican substitute for an original and Roman 'cleti', we cannot doubt that 'cleti' is the reading of St Gregory's *textus classicus*, and 'ancleti' a true variant.

Similarly, the Poitiers 'Manducate' in the words of institution is, I apprehend, a true variant; though here again it may be difficult to decide whether 'Manducate' on the one hand or 'Manducate ex hoc omnes' on the other is purely textual or purely traditional; and equally difficult to decide whether a Gallican bishop who had been accustomed to 'Manducate' would be likely, out of respect for the tradition of his own Church, to elide 'ex hoc omnes' from his copy of the Roman Canon, or whether St Gregory's predecessors at Rome having always said 'Manducate', Gregory himself would venture to add 'ex hoc omnes'. But, whatever be the right account, 'Manducate' must be regarded as the true Poitiers reading, 'Manducate ex hoc omnes' that of St Gregory's *textus classicus*.

We are on different ground when we come to the only pair of variants (4) that now awaits consideration; for here there is no reason to suspect that the Poitiers reading may not at one time have been in use at Rome. When dealing with I 1, I suggested, as the reason why the Poitiers text contains no prayer for either Pope or local bishop, that the Poitiers text is, as mere matter of fact, a papal text, and a papal text in the stricter acceptation of the term; a text, that is to say, which had been designed primarily, if not exclusively, for use by a Bishop of Rome. When dealing with II 1, I thought it possible that the formula 'pro quibus tibi offerimus' had been inserted into the *Memento* of the living by Gregory the Great, his design being to make that paragraph applicable to occasions on which Mass might be said on behalf of heathens, for of these the phrase 'qui tibi offerunt' could not be used. And here, in the 'Hanc igitur' paragraph, we seem to have an adaptation to new, though not necessarily non-Roman, circumstances by means of a cancelled, not a substituted, text. Shall I be deemed too bold if I attribute this also to St Gregory? So long as the immemorial custom was as yet unbroken in obedience to which Bishops of Rome celebrated the anniversary of a martyr's death or deposition by saying Mass on the site of that martyr's tomb, and so long as Bishops of Rome were the sole or

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primary users of the Canon, so long would it be apposite that the Canon should comprise as part of its normal text the formula 'quam tibi offerimus in honore domni beati martyris tui *illius* et pro peccatis atque offensionibus nostris' &c.; this bearing to the special clauses to be interpolated at Easter, at Pentecost, and on exceptional occasions the same sort of relation that the *Praefatio Communis*, the normal prefix to the Canon, bears to proper Prefaces. But when, in the course of Gregory's pontificate, the continued occupation of the Campagna by the Lombards had thrown the custom just mentioned into desuetude that promised to be final, and when the policy was firmly established which set no geographical limit to the extra-Roman use of the Canon, a reviser who had an official and personal authority like Gregory's might well deem it his wisdom to cancel the clause. And this could the more conveniently be done now that the phrase 'diesque nostros ... numerari' was present to give, what otherwise had been lacking, substance and purpose to the words 'Hanc igitur oblationem ... quaesumus ut placatus accipias'.

I submit these considerations on the Poitiers text of the Roman Canon to the judgement of scholars not only because, as was intimated in my remarks on the first of the variants just examined (I 1), I believe it to have been transcribed from a papal copy—papal in the more restricted sense of the phrase—but also for the more interesting reason which my readers have by this time surmised, that its characteristics justify us in inferring it to be the text on which Gregory founded his better known recension, and to represent the period in his literary labours which lay between his introduction of the 'diesque nostros' clause and his adjunction of the Lord's Prayer.

The defective condition of this our only copy of what I believe to be the proto-Gregorian text of the Roman *Canon Actionis* cannot be too deeply deplored; but I believe that if the missing leaves of the Vatican Codex should ever come to light they will be found to justify the view formulated in the subjoined syllabus of linear values; that, whereas at the last general recension, notified as γ_3, the document had occupied eighty-eight pages, four more, the equivalent of a membrane, were employed at the subredaction γ_3 *bis*, the main object of this enlargement being to find room for the Lord's Prayer and its textual accessories. True it is that no more than seventeen lines were required for these: but space of the value of two pages was now allotted to minor rubrics interspersed through the political Mass, the Sanctorale, and the first four *missae cotidianae*[1]; space of the nett value of nine lines was now given to minor rubrics in the fifth and sixth *cotidianae*,[2] the Preface of this last being carried forward from the end of p. lxxxii and through the first four

[1] See above, pp. 538, 544, 545, 554. [2] *Ib.* p. 555.

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		Scheme γ_3	Scheme γ_2 bis
		Eight pages	Nine pages
INCIPIT CANON ACTIONIS		lxxxi 3	*
Sursum corda. *Resp.* Habemus ad dñm	26	1	*
Gratias agamus dño dõ ñ	18	1	*
Dignum et iustum est	16	1	*
Vere dignum et iustum &c.	338	12	*
Te igitur clementissime &c.	311	11	lxxxiiii 12
Memento dñe famulorum &c.	250	9	9
Communicantes sed et &c.	430	15	15
Hanc igitur oblationem &c.	345	12	12
Quam oblationem &c.	165	6	6
Qui pridie quam &c.	206	7	7
Simili modo postquam &c.	335	12	12
Inde et memores &c.	314	11	11
Supra quae propitio &c.	193	7	7
Supplices te rogamus &c.	244	9	9
Memento etiam dñe &c.	175	6	6
Nobis quoque peccatoribus &c.	367	13	13
Per quem haec omnia dñe &c.	180	7	7 = 126
Oremus	5		xc 1
Praeceptis salutaribus &c.	66		3
Pater ñ qui es in caelis	18		1
Rubric	10		1
Sed libera nos a malo	16		1
Libera nos quaesumus dñe &c.	289		10
Pax dñi sit semper uobiscum	22	1	1
Et cum spũ tuo	10	1	1
Explicit		2 = 147	
Last page		lxxxviii BOOK ENDS.	
Explicit of *Canon Actionis*			2 = 21
Postcommunion of *cotidiana* VI			xci 4
Ad plebem of *cotidiana* VI			3
Additional prayers			12
Explicit			2 = 21
Last page			xcii BOOK ENDS.

lines of lxxxiii by means of the added 'Unde nos . . . resurgentis'. The two remaining constituents of the last *cotidiana* being relegated to a distant page, the incipit of the Canon now found itself in a place which ill became it; but, awkward as this arrangement unquestionably was, the awkwardness was redeemed by three consequent felicities; for now,[1] as had not been the case before, the Canon κατ' ἐξοχήν, the formula of consecration itself—the formula beginning with the mystic *tau*, the initial letter of the paragraph 'Te igitur'—began on the first line of a page (p. lxxxiiii); now the Canon κατ' ἐξοχήν ended on the last line of a *recto* page (p. lxxxviiii); and hence the *Pater noster* with its accessories, which, as Gregory himself had taken care to explain to his friends, was no part of the Canon, now stood on the *verso*, p. xc. Page xci was

[1] See table above

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devoted to the transferred 'Post communionem' and 'Ad plebem' of the last *missa cotidiana*, and a few supplementary prayers; after which p. xcii, left blank, closed the volume.

Yet nothing would have been easier than to make the introductory portion of the *Canon Actionis*—the *Praefatio Communis* and its accessories—fill precisely the whole of p. lxxxiii; for, as the reader will perceive on reverting to the table of the linear values of the *missae cotidianae*, nothing could have been easier than (1) to assign six minor rubrics instead of ten to the last two of these, (2) thus giving the *capitulum* of the Canon its due place and dignity in the first three lines of p. lxxxiii, and (3) to prolong the *Praefatio Communis* and triumphal hymn from 338 letters to 429 (that is to say, from twelve lines to fifteen) by adding to the latter, which now ends at 'sabaoth', the complementary phrases 'Pleni sunt caeli et terra gloria tua. Osanna in excelsis. Benedictus qui uenit in nomine dñi. Osanna in excelsis'. The admirable concinnity of arrangement which would have been achieved by these transparently simple economies leaves me absolutely certain that—except on the extremely improbable hypothesis of clerical caprice or error—the now immemorial phrases just cited were not regarded by the Church of Poitiers as necessary part of the ordinary of the Mass at the time of the last rehandling of our document. What may have been the use of other dioceses than Poitiers, or of other provinces than Bordeaux, is a question irrelevant to the present subject.

Conclusion.

The external history of the document may with probability be summarized thus :—

First, at a comparatively late date in the fifth century, and in a newly written *libellus*, the earliest ascertainable pontifical of the Roman Church, carried to Gaul for the use, if of any one, of a bishop; and there through a long series of years, which may have included the whole of the sixth century, adapted to the ritual of first one, then another, perhaps even a third, diocese or province.

Secondly, a political Mass and a short Sanctorale, which, accruing to the pontifical about the year 474, were thenceforth amplified concurrently with it, though not at each of its many redactions.

Thirdly, and after the lapse of perhaps a human generation; a group of *missae cotidianae* annexed to the foregoing and, though originally framed in conformity to the Roman rite, in such wise developed as to suit the requirements of the rite usually known as Gallican.

Fourthly, and with the year 590 as its *terminus a quo*, the Roman *Canon Actionis* in its proto-Gregorian text subjoined to the triple document at a moment when the Sanctorale in this reached its final stage of

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textual developement. If the Vatican Codex were but complete we should in all moral certainty be able to say that the Lord's Prayer was subsequently added; perhaps during or soon after the journey through Gaul, in 596, of St Gregory's missionaries to England, but probably at a much later date.

I suspect that inferences more explicit than these are to be deduced from a careful scrutiny of the many items of the document. But all that I at present venture to suggest is that the transportation into Gaul of the primary nucleus, the hitherto unsuspected text of the first ascertainable pontifical of a Bishop of Rome, must be referred to Sidonius Apollinaris, the illustrious Gallo-Roman, who, *Praefectus Urbis* in 468, the year which witnessed the election of Pope Simplicius, was himself consecrated Bishop of Clermont[1] a year or two later; and that to him are due the successive editions notified in the foregoing essay as θ_1, θ_2, and θ_3, the two-page political *missa* in the last of these being compiled and used by him during the terrible siege of Clermont by the Visigoths in 474,[2] and the first scheme of the Sanctorale being also his[2]; that when, on the cession of Auvergne, in 475, Sidonius was sent into banishment, he took his *libellus* with him; that he left a copy of it at Bordeaux, where part of his exile was spent; and that there, in or about the year 500, it was amplified by formulae for the blessing of paten and chalice[3] and a group of *missae cotidianae*[4]; that from Bordeaux it found its way to the suffragan see of Poitiers; that here it was three times re-edited throughout, but that between the first (γ_1) and second (γ_2) of these editions[5] the Sanctorale and *missae cotidianae* underwent a very considerable developement (γ_1 *bis*), being, by this means, adapted to a ritual which, though subject to local variation, was of the type known as Gallican; that at the second and third (γ_2 and γ_3) general γ revisions[6] the pontifical received some very curious accessions; that on the last of them (γ_3) the *Canon Actionis* was incorporated into the document in a text identical, save for two possible concessions to Poitevin tradition, with that which was in use at Rome in the early years of Gregory the Great[7]; and that a yet later edition followed, perhaps at Poitiers, perhaps in some other diocese, the main characteristic feature of which was that the Lord's Prayer had been added to the Canon.[8]

[1] Professor Dill in the learned, though not perhaps duly appreciative, account of Sidonius which forms one of the many charms of his *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire*, makes the remarkable mistake of styling him Bishop of Auvergne. Arverni—like the analogous Cenomanni or Treviri—was not a province, but a city. The modern name of the place is Clermont-Ferrand.

[2] See above, pp. 538 and 544, 545.

[3] See p. 247, in column headed 'Scheme θ_3 bis'.

[4] See above, pp. 554, 555.

[5] *Ib.* p. 544, 545 and 554, 555.

[6] See pp. 234, 235, 243, 244.

[7] See above, pp. 560–568.

[8] *Ib.* 568–570.

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The last component section of this bridge of many spans has fallen into ruin; but the foundations of the first may have been laid by Leo the Great, and this is as perfect now as when Simplicius, Leo's second successor, completed it. The last span but one was fashioned by contemporaries of St Gregory.

MARTIN RULE.

POSTSCRIPT. In my previous article there are two uncorrected inaccuracies. On p. 237 (line 27) *for* 'the Leonianum text has a change' *read* 'the Leonianum text has a clause'. On p. 246 (line 6 of paragraph '3') *for* 'then looks' *read* 'thus looks'

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A NEW TEXT OF THE APOCALYPSE OF PETER. III.

The two texts of the Apocalypse of Peter.

In my first article (*J. T. S.* p. 54) I called attention to the very puzzling phenomenon presented by the Akhmim text as compared with the Ethiopic; namely, that *Akh.* gives the whole description of Hell in the past tense and represents it as a vision shewn to Peter, whereas *Eth.* puts the whole into the future, and does not represent it as a vision but as a prophecy. Moreover in *Akh.* the description is put into Peter's mouth, but in *Eth.* the whole must be taken to be a prediction uttered by our Lord. This important part of the text has therefore been recast by one or the other of our authorities. Which is the original?

At first sight it seems obvious that *Akh.* must preserve the older form. The presentation of the torments in a vision shewn to a seer, who narrates it, is, one would say, the simple and normal method, and the more likely to be original. To describe them under the guise of a prophecy is an elaborate procedure. And, further, the text in which we find this treatment is a version—most likely a version of a version—forming part of a late compilation preserved in a late manuscript. *Akh.* certainly has the advantage in all these points.

Looking a little closer, however, we find that *Eth.* (or rather the form of text which it represents) is not wholly destitute of support. The scanty patristic quotations afford some evidence which must not be overlooked. Those preserved by Macarius Magnes can be dismissed: they belong to the portion of the *A. P.* in which the Last Judgement was described, and this must in any case have been couched in the future tense. Those in Clement and Methodius, on the other hand, belong to the description of Hell; and in these the tenses employed merit investigation.

In *Ecl.* 41 we have τὰ βρέφη . . . παραδίδοσθαι . . . παιδεύεσθαι καὶ αὔξειν. καὶ ἔσονται κτλ. ἔσονται, the future, applies to a state consequent upon the previous verbs, and cannot be pressed. The three present infinitives are compatible either with the description of a vision seen, or with a prediction. Or we may put it thus; they are as little compatible with *Akh.* as with *Eth.* The setting of *Akh.* requires such a phrase as we have in *Paul* 40 (ἐδόθησαν αὐτὰ ἀγγέλῳ).

Methodius agrees with Clement in giving παραδίδοσθαι.

The next clause (ἀστραπὴ . . . πηδῶσα . . . καὶ πλήσσουσα) does not

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help to a decision. The participles may have been governed by a verb either in the past or the future.

Ecl. 48 repeats παραδίδοσθαι, and has two futures, τεύξεται and μενεῖ ἄνευ κολάσεως. I do not regard these as quotations, but as Clement's own deduction from the *A. P.*, and do not press them.

In the passage that comes next (τὸ δὲ γάλα . . . γεννήσει θηρία . . . καὶ . . . κατεσθίει) we have a noteworthy use of the future. We know that *Akh.* has nothing corresponding to it; but we cannot suppose that it has merely omitted the words quoted by Clement: *no* sentence in the future would fit in to the text of *Akh.* We can tolerate it as part of a text in which a vision is being narrated; but in that case the narrative cannot have been in the form of *Akh.* It is also readily intelligible as part of a prediction; and it actually occurs in *Eth.* in such a setting, and in a form in which nearly all Clement's words are traceable.

From the Methodian quotation we do not gain any help: he employs παραδίδοσθαι, as has been remarked, and subsequently two imperfects, παρεδίδοτο and ἐκίκλησκον: but these are due to the form of the rhetorical question into which he has recast the passage.

I think that we may say that the Clementine quotations are made from a text in which the setting differed from that of *Akh.* It cannot have been couched, as that is, wholly in the past tense. We are not as yet in a position to say that it resembled *Eth.* to the extent of being couched wholly in the future.

Besides the patristic quotations we have the Bodleian fragment to consider. On the recto of this, which is fairly legible, there are present participles (which are of no importance) and a future 'ἀναπαύστως ἕξουσιν τὴν κόλασιν'. This future is again indecisive: no other tense was possible in speaking of an unending state.[1]

The verso, which is in bad condition, has a reading of great importance, ἔσονται ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες. The following words have not been deciphered with complete certainty, but after them the text has οὗτοι δέ εἰσιν οἵτινες κατέλιπον ὁδὸν θεοῦ. Mr Winstedt, who has repeatedly examined the original, has little doubt as to the presence of ἔσονται; Professor Vernon Bartlet agrees with him, and, if they are right, we have here evidence as old as the fifth century of the existence of a Greek text in which the description of Hell was given in the future tense. This constitutes a powerful support for *Eth.* and tends to make it more probable that the Clementine passages are further specimens of a similar text.

There is another consideration which cannot but affect our view of

[1] It is worth noting that in *Akh.* a different expression is used, which avoids the future tense, viz. μηδέποτε παυόμενοι τῆς τοιαύτης κολάσεως.

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Eth. Is it a tolerable supposition that the description of Hell was originally written in the future tense throughout? There is no parallel to it, and, as has been said, the presentation of such thing in the form of a vision (as in *Akh.*) seems far more natural.

The difficulty appeals to me; but there is a justification for the form of *Eth.* What it describes is the condition of things subsequent to the final judgement. Support can be found in early writings for the view that until that judgement has taken place the souls of men are to be confined in 'storehouses', *promptuaria*, where the good will, indeed, be happy and the wicked unhappy, but where neither the bliss nor the pain of eternity will be theirs. This is the view of *Enoch* (xxii) and of 4 *Esdras* (vii). But in the later visions, though it is sometimes said that bliss and pain will be intensified after the Judgement, there is unanimous testimony that actual torments of various kinds, and actual happiness, are being meted out at this moment to disembodied souls.

It may be objected that in *Eth.*, as well as in *Akh.*, certain righteous souls are represented as already dwelling in Paradise. I answer that warrant for this may also be found in *Enoch.* The teaching of that congeries of writings is inconsistent with itself. In xxii the souls of the righteous dead are apparently in the storehouses of souls in the west, Paradise being at that time empty (xxxii 3–6); but in lx 5 (a Noachic fragment) we read of 'the garden where the elect and righteous dwell': in lxi 12 of 'all the elect who dwell in the garden of life': in lxx 9 Enoch 'saw the first fathers and the elect from the beginning who dwell in that place'. Nothing analogous to this, however, is stated of the souls of sinners, so far as I can see. Thus the writer of *A. P.* was at liberty to select such features as suited him from the teachings of *Enoch*; and we have seen that the book lay before him in its present form, since there are in his work evident reminiscences of a quite late portion of it (viz. ch. cvi).

There seems, then, to be some reason for regarding *Eth.* as representing, in this particular, an early stage of belief. Not the earliest, for the pagan visions of the next world know of no final judgement, and represent punishment and reward as following immediately after death; but a form of belief which was to be found in at least one Jewish book (*Enoch*) from which the *A. P.* demonstrably drew.

There is, moreover, a detail (absent from *Akh.* but supported by the Bodleian fragment) which it is difficult to explain save on the supposition that *Eth.* is right in its presentation. I allude to the statement that idolaters are to be tormented in the presence of the actual idols which they have worshipped. That this is the meaning of *Eth.* I cannot doubt: and *Bodl.* confirms it in the words ἔμπροσθεν τούτων ⟨τῶν⟩ εἰδώλων τῶν πλάνων. One cannot imagine a transference of the actual

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idols to Hell as a process which could be going on now, or could precede the Judgement; and yet the conception has early support as part of the text of the *A. P.*

From what has been said so far I hope it will have appeared that the future tenses of *Eth.* are neither without justification in themselves, nor incompatible with the theory of an early date.

We have seen reason to believe that Book II of the Sibylline Oracles is very largely based upon the *A. P.*; and this is expressed wholly in the future. But I have not adduced it as supporting *Eth.* in this respect, and I do not do so, inasmuch as the future tense is a necessary result of the attribution of the whole to the Sibyl; and this form of expression runs through almost the whole of the Sibylline Corpus. The evidence of the Sibyl may, however, fairly be adduced when we enquire into the order of the contents of *A. P.* Perhaps the time for making that enquiry has now been reached.

In *Akh.* we have:

(*a*) Fragment of an eschatological prophecy spoken by our Lord.
(*b*) Transition of our Lord and the Apostles from some place unknown to 'the Mountain'.
(*c*) Appearance of two glorified saints in answer to a request of the Apostles.
(*d*) Paradise shewn to the Apostles.
(*e*) Hell shewn to Peter.

In *Eth.*:

(*a*) Our Lord on the Mount of Olives. A long eschatological prophecy including the description of Hell (= *a*+*e* of *Akh.*).
(*b*) Transition to the 'Holy Mountain' (=*b Akh.*).
(*c*) Appearance of two glorified saints (=*c*).
(*d*) Paradise shewn to the Apostles (=*d*).
(*e*) Narrative resembling that of the Transfiguration: obviously containing later elements if not wholly late.
(*f*) Descent from the Mountain.

The important difference being that in *Akh.* the matter relating to Paradise precedes the description of Hell, but follows it in *Eth.*

This is a case in which patristic quotations afford us no help. I believe that the only approach to external evidence is that derivable from the Second Book of the Sibylline Oracles. This may fairly be claimed as a supporter of the order given in *Eth.*, to this extent, that its description of Hell follows immediately upon that of the Judgement. The parallelism continues to the end of the passage in which the Acherusian lake and the Elysian fields are mentioned. But it has nothing corresponding to the vision of the glorified saints or of Paradise.

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For the rest, I do not see what can guide us save the analogies of other Apocalypses in which Heaven and Hell are described. *Enoch*, from whom *A. P.* has borrowed some traits, certainly is shewn some places of punishment before he sees Paradise, but he also sees some subsequently. In the fragmentary *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* (as I still call what Steindorff has edited as an anonymous Apocalypse) the seer seems to pass through the underworld and thence to Paradise, from which he sees something of the torments of Hell. *Paul*, which copies *A. P.* in many places, is obviously composite. Paradise is followed by Hell, and then is introduced again; and some of the same characters meet Paul on both occasions. In the later Apocalypses of the Virgin, and of Esdras, as well as in practically all mediaeval visions,[1] Paradise is placed last. As to the pagan Apocalypses to which *A. P.* is thought to be so deeply indebted, if we may take the Sixth Aeneid as a fair specimen, Elysium follows Hades. Analogy, however, cannot be strongly pressed. All that one can say is that the order presented by *Eth.* is the more usual one; and an answer to this, that *Eth.* is a later text, made to conform to current usage, is not far to seek.

The Apocalypse and the Gospel of Peter.

The view that *Akh.* is a portion of the *A. P.* has commanded the assent of the very large majority of critics, but not of all. Among the dissentients, two are of special eminence, namely A. Dieterich and Zahn. Both of these have maintained that *Akh.* is a second fragment of the *Gospel of Peter* (*Ev.*). The grounds they adduce for this belief shall be set forth here.

Dieterich deals with the question in *Nekyia* pp. 13 sqq. He begins by saying that he can find no place in *Akh.* for the majority of the patristic quotations from *A. P.* He goes on to remark upon the juxtaposition of the two pieces (*Ev.* and *Apoc.*) in the Gizeh manuscript. Turning to internal evidence, he maintains that the setting of *Akh.* is that of a Gospel. Its opening sentences find a parallel in the eschatological discourses of our Lord. After these the narrative proceeds '*καὶ προσθεὶς ὁ κύριος ἔφη· ἄγωμεν εἰς τὸ ὄρος*', κτλ. This (he says) is quite in the manner of the Gospels; and the point needs to be more sharply emphasized than has hitherto been done, that it is the earthly life of our Lord that is here in question; whereas in other Apocalypses, current as separate books, it is the risen or glorified Christ who is the source of revelation. It follows that we have here, not an independent Apocalypse—not *the Apocalypse of Peter*—but a portion of a Gospel. The short eschatological speech, the going to the mountain, the vision of the two glorified saints (so closely resembling the story of the Trans-

[1] The Vision of Adamnan is an exception.

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figuration, and so evidently developed out of it), and the visions of Heaven and Hell, were excerpted from a Gospel as being appropriate to be placed in a tomb with the dead, just as the narrative of the Passion and Resurrection taken from the *Gospel of Peter* was so placed. That the Apocalyptic portion comes from this same Gospel is not only the most natural supposition, but is clear, from the fact that in both Peter is the narrator. The Apocalyptic portion will have preceded the Passion-narrative, and (as in the Synoptic Gospels) will have been separated from it by no long interval.

Out of this portion of the *Gospel* the separate *Apocalypse of Peter* was developed. We see in the fragments of the latter, on the one hand, obvious though not exact correspondences, and on the other hand, equally plainly, heightening of colour and amplification. In its separate form it became, of course, a revelation of the ascended Christ, given to Peter alone, and a vision shewn to Peter of the next world. We see the process clearly. The Apocalyptic section of the *Gospel* was circulated separately, and nothing is more natural than that an *Apocalypse of Peter* should have been developed out of it. The *Gospel* must be placed not later than in the beginning of the second century; Clement of Alexandria and the Muratorian fragment are the first to mention the *A. P.*, which belongs to the second half or to the end of that century. This relation of dates is what we should have been compelled to assume even apart from external evidence.

So far Dieterich, for whom the *Gospel* is the parent of the *A. P.* Of Zahn's view, the only exposition known to me is in a note to his *Grundriss d. Gesch. d. neutestamentlichen Kanons*, ed. 2, 1904, p. 24). After stating the ordinary view that *Akh.* is a fragment of the *A. P.*, he says: 'Against this view are the following considerations: (1) The MS from which both fragments (*Ev.* and *Akh.*) are derived gives no support to the hypothesis that they come from two different writings attributed to Peter; (2) in the Apocalyptic fragment no single one of the certain quotations from *A. P.* (which, be it remembered, was a very short book) is to be found in the same form; (3) the late (post-Mohammedan) Arabic *Apocalypse of Peter* shews resemblances to a quotation from *A. P.* in Clement,[1] and to 2 *Peter*, but none to *Akh.*: see Bratke *Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.* 1893, 454–493; (4) the contents of *Akh.* are not suitable to the use made of *A. P.* in Holy Week, as reported by Sozomen; (5) the literary form of *Akh.* is exactly that of the *Gospel of Peter*. In both Peter speaks in the name of the Twelve Apostles (I omit Zahn's references); and the name of Jesus does not occur in either: He is always ὁ κύριος. This Apocalyptic piece can only be a further fragment of the *Gospel of Peter*. The comparison of the quotation in Clement,

[1] The resemblance is of the most shadowy description.

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Ecl. 47 and *Akh.* 26, shews that the author of the *Gospel* drew, among other sources, from the certainly older *Apocalypse of Peter*.

Thus for Zahn the *A. P.* is the parent of this portion of the *Gospel*. Of the various arguments adduced by Dieterich and Zahn in favour of the view, that the two fragments in the Akhmim manuscript are parts of one book, two seem to me to deserve further investigation: first, the evidence of the manuscript which contains them, and, next, the similarities of diction which connect them.

1. As to the first point, I believe that the following is an accurate statement of the facts. The two documents—*Ev.* and *Akh.*—are found, in the single manuscript which has preserved them, written in the same hand (a hand differing from that of the remainder of the volume), and in juxtaposition.

The arrangement is as follows:—

p. 1 of the manuscript is occupied by a drawing of a cross, and the letters A and Ω.

pp. 2–10 contain *Ev.*: a line of rude ornament is drawn across the page at the end of the text.

pp. 11–12 are blank.

The above pages form a quire or gathering of six leaves.

The next quire, of four leaves, is bound in upside down. Its first page is blank. The text of *Akh.* begins on the second page (the verso of leaf 1), and continues to the eighth page (the verso of leaf 4), which it does not quite fill. Thus three pages are left blank between the end of *Ev.* and the beginning of *Akh.*

These facts are compatible with any of the following suppositions: (*a*) that the copyist was making an extract from each of two separate writings; (*b*) that he was transcribing a single fragmentary writing, and left pages blank to shew his consciousness of a lacuna that might some time be filled up; (*c*) that he had selected two passages from a continuous original for some reason. (Dieterich suggests that they were from their subject-matter appropriate to be placed in a tomb with the dead.)

The fact that the two portions begin and end in a fragmentary manner, *Ev.* in particular breaking off in the middle of a sentence, favours supposition *b* as against *a* or *c*.

2. As to the second point, similarities of diction. I find the following, which I set down in the order of the Gospel fragment (*Ev.*), employing the Harnack-Preuschen numeration of verses.

Ev.	*Apoc. Akh.*
ὁ κύριος (never Ἰησοῦς) 1 *et passim*	4, 6, 12, 15, 20
πεφονευμένῳ 5, 15	25
ἑστῶτες 9	6, 25

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Ev.	*Apoc. Akh.* 27
μαστίζειν 9	7, 17, 21
ἔνδυμα 12	11
ἐπειδή 15, 23, 50	3
καὶ τότε 21	6 (in both cases of supernatural beings)
δύο ἄνδρες 36	
ἰδόντες οὖν 38	11
φαίνονται 44	6
ἀφέντες 45	34
ἐξηγήσαντο 45	7, 9
προσελθόντες . . . ἐδέοντο 47 (cf. 3, 29)	5, 12
ἐφλέγοντο 50	23, 27, 29, 34
ἔλεγον 52	24, 25
ἀπελθοῦσαι 55 (MS) ἀπήλθαμεν 60 (cf. 56)	5
ἡμεῖς οἱ δώδεκα μαθηταί 59	5

Note also the frequency of ἐκεῖ (ἐκεῖθεν, ἐκεῖσε) in both pieces : *Ev.* 3, 32, 33 (36), 55 (twice), 56. *Ap.* 15 (16), (18), 19, 21, 22, 25, 26 (twice), (32), 33.

ἐκεῖνος is also very common in both, six times in *Ev.* and thirteen times in *Apoc.*

We may perhaps add to the above lists :—

ἔμπροσθεν (τοῦ θεοῦ) 48	6 (ἔμπρ. τοῦ κυρίου)
ἐκαθεζόμεθα . . . κλαίοντες 27	26 (καθήμενα ἔκλαιον)
ἐξελθόντας ἀπὸ τοῦ τάφου 39	5 (ἐξελθόντων ἀπὸ τοῦ κόσμου)

ἐξέρχεσθαι occurs again in *Ev.* 58, *Ap.* 7.

It should be noted that § 5 of *Ap.* presents several coincidences with *Ev.*, and, among them, the most striking of all, namely, ἡμεῖς οἱ δώδεκα μαθηταί. This section is the one small portion of narrative, as distinguished from prediction or vision, which *Ap.* contains.

These are the considerations which make for the hypothesis that *Ev.* and *Ap.* are two portions of the same book—the *Gospel of Peter*. We now have to ask, assuming that such is the case, whether the separate *Apocalypse of Peter* is more likely to have been developed out of the *Gospel*, or incorporated into it.

In favour of the latter alternative I submit the following considerations :—

(*a*) The absorption of smaller separate documents into larger ones is a common phenomenon in the literature with which we are dealing. It has plainly taken place in the case of *Enoch*, where a plurality of Enochic and Noachian books have been welded together into a single whole, and also in that of the *Ascension of Isaiah*, where the *Martyrdom*

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and the *Vision* were current as separate writings. The same process has been postulated with varying degrees of probability in regard to the *Assumption of Moses*, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, the *Apocalypse of Baruch*, and 4 *Esdras*, to say nothing of the hypotheses which concern the eschatological discourses of our Lord, and the *Apocalypse of John*. Of the converse process, the developement of a separate book out of an episode in a larger work, I know no single instance. The nearest approach to it is the excerption of episodes out of longer books, such as we see in the *Epistle of Baruch*, detached from his *Apocalypse*, or in the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, and the correspondence with the Corinthian Church, both taken from the *Acts of Paul*. But, in these cases, was the text of the detached episode recast? The *Acts of Paul and Thecla* were, in later times, altered in the direction of furnishing a completer narrative of the life of Thecla, for liturgical use; and liturgical use accounts for modifications of the text of miracles and martyrdoms which were extracted from continuous Acts of Apostles and read on their feast-days. In the case of the *Epistle of Baruch* it does not appear that the text was recast or expanded. In short, I submit that the absorption of *A. P.* into the *Gospel* is in accordance with a tendency or literary fashion which may fairly be described as common.

(*b*) The incorporation of an existing document is in accordance with the habits of the author of the *Gospel of Peter*. No one doubts that this writer borrowed extensively from the Canonical Gospels. The amount of verbal coincidence with them is very large, allowing for the intentional variation of expression. It is not an overbold supposition that such a writer, finding another Petrine book ready to his hand, might have borrowed large portions of it, with changes chiefly affecting the tense and order of the matter.

The uncritical reader would be no more inclined to reject either *Apocalypse* or *Gospel* on the ground of community of matter than to reject any of the Synoptic Gospels on like grounds. When criticism began the credit of both the Petrine books was bound to perish for other reasons; and perish it did.

(*c*) The hypothesis is not contradicted by external evidence.

The *A. P.* is first mentioned in the Muratorian fragment (170–200) and by Clement of Alexandria. The history of its reception is, in the beginning, not very unlike that of 2 *Peter*, and similarities have been pointed out between these two books, which may indicate that they were produced in the same *milieu*. Use of 2 *Peter* seems probable on the part of Aristides (*circ.* 140?). The celebrity of the *A. P.* was far greater than that attained at any time by the *Gospel*. This fact weighs, if very slightly, in the direction of the view that the *A. P.* is the older book of the two.

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The *Gospel*, it has been held, was known to Justin Martyr. The point is doubtful. It was certainly known to Serapion of Antioch (190). The general verdict places it about 150.

There is, I believe, nothing in the nature of external evidence which renders it impossible that the *A. P.* should have preceded the *Gospel* by some twenty or thirty years.

This, then, is the thesis for which I ask consideration: we have two texts, *Eth.* and *Akh.*, for each of which the claim has been made that it represents the *Apocalypse of Peter*; of these I suggest that *Eth.* represents the *A. P.* known to Clement of Alexandria, Methodius, and Macarius Magnes, and that *Akh.* is a portion of the *Gospel of Peter*, almost wholly derived from the *A. P.*, which was already current as a separate book when the *Gospel* was compiled.

Contents of the original Apocalypse of Peter.

On the supposition that *Akh.* is not a portion of the *A. P.* (whether it is an earlier or a later form thereof does not affect the question) we must allow that certain passages in it did not appear in that work, while it is clear that the contents were differently arranged in the two texts.

My own present notion of the order and contents of the *A. P.* (which is, of course, very much subject to correction) is as follows:—

It began with an enquiry of the apostles, addressed by Peter to our Lord, as to the signs of the end. The scene of this may have been the Mount of Olives.

Our Lord's answer took up the greater part of the book. It began with a warning against false Christs. This portion of the answer (which I take to have been brief) ended with *Akh.* 1–3 πολλοὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν . . . υἱοὺς τῆς ἀνομίας.

Then came the long description of the Judgement and of Hell, which was introduced by the words 'Behold now what shall overtake them in the last days' (*J. T. S.* p. 39), and ended with the paragraph 'Then will I give to mine elect', &c. (l. c. p. 52): the following paragraph ('I have spoken to thee, Peter', &c.) containing little, if anything, of the original.

Thereupon followed the transition to the Holy Mountain (*Eth.*), the appearance of the two saints, the vision of Paradise. And this, I believe, was followed by a narrative resembling that of the Transfiguration, and by the descent from the mountain, with which the whole concluded.

I believe that the *A. P.* differed from *Akh.*, in that it identified the two saints with Moses and Elias. Consequently, *Akh.* 5 (ἀπερχόμενοι δὲ μετ' αὐτοῦ . . . τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἡμῶν ἀνθρώπους[1]) will not have appeared in this form in *A. P.* Similarly *Akh.* 13, 14, in which our Lord describes

[1] It will be remembered that in these lines of *Akh.* the most striking resemblances to *Es.* occur.

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the saints as 'your righteous brethren', and Peter asks where the rest of the righteous are, stood, in *A. P.*, in a different form.

Again, *Akh.* 17–19 and 21 are not represented in *Eth.*, and 21 at least is incompatible with the order adopted therein. A phrase of 17 has an echo in 21: 17 has ἐνδεδυμένοι ἦσαν ἔνδυμα ἀγγέλων φωτεινῶν, καὶ ὅμοιον ἦν τὸ ἔνδυμα αὐτῶν τῇ χώρᾳ αὐτῶν: cp. 21 οἱ κολαζόμενοι ἐκεῖ καὶ οἱ κολάζοντες ἄγγελοι σκοτεινὸν εἶχον τὸ ἔνδυμα κατὰ τὸν ἀέρα τοῦ τόπου. In these lines, therefore, there has been adaptation on the part of one of our texts. *Akh.* 20, where our Lord says 'This is the place of your leaders (?), the righteous men', has an equivalent in *Eth.*, 'Hast thou seen the company of the Fathers? This is their rest'.

A question akin to the last treated is, whether the whole of the matter which I suggest was contained in the *A. P.* could have been compressed within the 300 στίχοι (each presumably of 34–36 letters) which is recorded as having been the compass of the book in Greek (the Latin numeration of the Codex Claromontanus gives 270). I think an affirmative answer is reasonable. The Akhmim text gives us something to go upon. In it the prediction (vv. 1-3) makes about 7 στίχοι: the next paragraph (not all of which was in *A. P.*, as I think) another 7. The section on Paradise (6–20), 39 στίχοι. The description of Hell, 81: in all, 134. We know that in *A. P.* the description of Hell, even in the portion parallel to *Akh.*, was somewhat longer: say that it contained 100 στίχοι. I believe that the prophecy of Judgement, and the remainder of the description of Hell, could be got into 150 στίχοι; and 50 would remain for the introduction and conclusion. This is largely guesswork, but it seems worth while to record the fact that no insuperable obstacle to the identification of *Eth.* with the *A. P.* arises on the score of the known length of the latter.

M. R. James.

THE TYPE OR TYPES OF GOSPEL TEXT USED BY ST JEROME AS THE BASIS OF HIS REVISION, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ST LUKE'S GOSPEL AND CODEX VERCELLENSIS (*a*).

In the investigation of the Old-Latin authorities for the text of the Gospels it is of the utmost importance that we should secure as a starting-point a text of the Vulgate as it left the hands of St Jerome, and there can be little doubt that the edition of Wordsworth and White has practically conferred this upon us. In individual passages it is, of course,

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possible to disagree with their verdict, but even in these cases it is they who provide us with the very evidence which leads some critics to another conclusion. The service they have rendered to the study of the Vulgate, however, is by no means confined to the construction of a text and the compilation of an apparatus, and amongst the further interesting features of their edition is the text of *f* (Codex Brixianus, of the sixth century), which they print below their text of the Vulgate as in their opinion (and that of Westcott and Hort) the type of text which St Jerome used as the basis of his revision.

This view has not been allowed to pass unchallenged. Professor Burkitt in his *The Old Latin and the Itala*[1] had been disposed to agree, but afterwards in a notable article in the first number of the JOURNAL,[2] while admitting that for about ninety per cent. of their texts *f* and the Vulgate agree, he shewed that there were a number of cases where *f* stood in solitary agreement with the sole MS of the Gothic version among all extant authorities for the text of the Gospels. He explained *f* as representing a fundamentally Old-Latin text, which had been partly corrected to the Vulgate, before it was altered to suit the readings and renderings of the Gothic. Both his conjecture that *f* represents the Latin side of a Gothico-Latin codex, and his other conjecture that the discovery of another MS of the Gothic might reveal yet further coincidences with *f* have been signally verified by a discovery made in Egypt of a fragment of just such a *codex*, to which he himself has referred in the JOURNAL for July last.[3]

Having thus destroyed the claim that *f* represents the type of text used by St Jerome as the basis of his Vulgate, he suggests that in reality it was a MS more like cod. Veronensis (*b*) which was so employed. Whether the fresh readings of *b* which Mr Buchanan has discovered and published in his recent edition (*Old-Latin Biblical Texts* vi) will cause him to modify his view in any way I do not know; I do not fancy so. On the problem as a whole I have no right to speak. I merely wish to suggest that Latin Gospel codices in the fourth century may have been made up of assorted texts, or in other words that a version may not have been always 'einheitlich' throughout a particular MS of the four Gospels. I make this suggestion in view of the possibility that in one of the four Gospels St Jerome may have used a type different from *b*, without prejudice to the possibility that in the other three Gospels he may really have employed the latter type. This view occurs to me as the result of a little research only recently made possible.

It does not seem to have occurred to any one to examine fully what type or types of Old-Latin text Jerome actually cites in his surviving

[1] p. 55 ff (Cambridge 1896), (*Texts and Studies* &c. vol. iv no. 3).
[2] Vol. i (1899–1900) p. 129 ff.
[3] pp. 611–613.

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works. This kind of detective work can be pursued even with Vallarsi's edition, which is perhaps for the most part worthy of the great esteem in which it is commonly held. But certainly a new era in the study of St Jerome has dawned with the publication of the first volume of the Vienna edition of his works, containing Epistles 1 to 70. In Epistle xxi, written to Pope Damasus himself, the 'onlie begetter' of the Vulgate, about the very time of its publication,[1] Jerome, in giving an extended comment on the section concerning the Prodigal Son, chooses not his new revision, but a text practically identical with that of cod. Vercellensis (*a*) traditionally said to have been written by Eusebius of Vercelli himself (*ob.* 371)!

In the left-hand column I give the text of *a*, and in the right that of St Jerome; the portions of both texts which agree with the Vulgate are printed in Roman type. The real differences between the text in *a* and that in Jerome are given in capitals, these capitals being Roman where the reading agrees with the Vulgate, and italic where it differs from the Vulgate. The ordinary italics represent readings differing from the Vulgate which are found in one or more Old-Latin MSS other than *a*. Readings in Clarendon type are unknown in any other MSS the texts of which are accessible to me.

a (Lc. xv 11–32)	Hier. *epist.* xxi § 4 seq.
Homo quidam	Homo quidam
habebat duos filios	*habebat* duos filios
(12) et dixit *illi* adulescentior	Et dixit *illi* adulescentior
pater	pater
da mihi portionem substantiae	da mihi portionem substantiae
quae me contingit	quae me contingit
ET diuisit ILLIS substantiam	*QUI* diuisit *EIS* substantiam
(13) Et non post multos dies	Et non post multos dies
collectis omnibus	**collectis** omnibus
adulescentior filius	adulescentior filius
peregre profectus est	peregre profectus est
in regionem longinquam	in regionem longinquam
et ibi dissipauit	Et ibi dissipauit
substantiam suam	substantiam suam
uiuens luxuriose	*uiuens* luxuriose
(14) **cumque** *consumpsisset* omnia	**Cumque** *consumpsisset* omnia
facta est famis ualida	facta est fames ualida
per regione*m* illa*m*	*per* regione*m* illa*m*
et ipse coepit egeri	Et ipse coepit egere

[1] Vallarsi dates the letter about the beginning of 383.

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a (Lc. xv 11–32)	Hier. *epist.* xxi § 4 seq.
(15) Et abiit	et abiit
et **con***iunxit se*	et **con***iunxit se*
uni **de** MUNI**cipibus**	uni **de** *PRIN***cipibus**
regionis illius	regionis illius.
qui misit illum	**Qui** misit illum
in *agro suo*	in *agro suo*
ut pasceret porcos	ut pasceret porcos
(16) Et cupiebat **saturare**	Et cupiebat **saturare**
uentrem suum	uentrem suum
de siliquis	de siliquis
quas porci *EDEBANT*	*PORCORUM*
NEC QUISQUAM DABAT ILLI	ET NEMO ILLI DABAT
(17) In se autem *con*uersus	In se autem *con*uersus
dixit	dixit
Quanti mercenarii	quanti mercennarii
patris mei	patris mei
abundant *pane*	abundant *pane*
ego autem	ego autem
hic fame pereo	hic fame pereo
(18) *Surgens* ibo	*Surgens* ibo
ad patrem meum	ad patrem meum
et dicam illi	Et dicam illi
pater	pater
peccaui in caelum	peccaui in caelum
et coram te	et coram te
(19) iam non sum dignus	iam non sum dignus
uocari filius tuus	uocari filius tuus.
fac me sicut unum	Fac me sicut unum
ex mercenariis tuis	*ex* mercennariis tuis.
(20) Et SURGENS uenit	Et uenit
usque ad patrem suum	**usque** ad patrem suum
Cum**que** adhuc longe esset	Cum**que** adhuc longe esset
uidit ILLUM pater IPSIUS	uidit *EUM* pater *EIUS*
et misericordia motus est	et misericordia motus est
et **pro**currens	Et **pro**currens
incubuit	*incubuit*
super collum **ipsius**	*super* collum **ipsius**
et osculatus est *eum*	Et osculatus est *eum*
(21) Dixit *autem illi* filius	Dixit *autem illi* filius
pater	pater
peccaui in caelum	peccaui in caelum
et coram te	et coram te

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a (Lc. xv 11–32)	Hier. *epist.* xxi § 4 seq.
iam non sum dignus	iam non sum dignus
uocari filius tuus	uocari filius tuus
(22) Dixit autem pater	Dixit autem pater
ad **pueros** suos	ad **pueros** suos
Celerius proferte	**celerius** proferte
stolam **priorem**	stolam **priorem**
et induite illum	
et date anulum	Et date anulum
in *manu* **illius**	in *manu* **illius**
et calciamenta	Et calciamenta
in *pedibus eius*	in *pedibus eius*
(23) et ADDUCITE	Et *ADFERTE*
uitulum *ILLUM* saginatum	uitulum saginatum
et occidite	et occidite
et manducemus	et manducemus
et aepulemur	et epulemur
(24) **quoniam** hic filius meus	**quoniam** hic filius meus
mortuus *fuerat*	mortuus *fuerat*
et reuixit	et reuixit
perierat	perierat
et inuentus est	et inuentus est
Et coeperunt aepulare	Et coeperunt epulari
(25) Erat autem	Erat autem
filius **illius** senior	filius **illius** senior
in agro	in agro
et cum ueniret	Et cum ueniret
adpropinquauit domui	**adpropinquauit** domui
et audiit	*et* audiuit
symphonia*S* et chorum	symphoniaM et chorum
(26) et uocauit	Et uocauit
unum de *pueris*	unum de *pueris*
et interrogauit	et interrogauit
quidnam essent haec	*quidnam essent haec*
(27) **Qui ait** illi	**Qui ait** illi
quoniam frater tuus uenit	*quoniam* frater tuus uenit
et occidit	et occidit
pater tuus	pater tuus
uitulum *ILLUM* saginatum	uitulum saginatum
quoniam	**quoniam**
incolume	**incolumem**
illum recepit	illum recepit
(28) *Iratus* est autem	*Iratus* autem

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	a (Lc. xv 11–32)	Hier. *epist.* xxi § 4 seq.
	ET *noluit intrare*	*noluit intrare*
	Egressus autem	*Egressus autem*
	pater illius	*pater illius*
	coepit rogare **eum**	coepit rogare **eum**
(29)	*Ipse* **autem**	*Ipse* **autem**
	respondens **ait**	respondens **ait**
	patri suo	patri suo
	Ecce tot annis	ecce tot annis
	seruio tibi	seruio tibi
	et numquam	et numquam
	mandatum tuum	mandatum tuum
	praeteribi	praeteriui
	et numquam	Et numquam
	dedisti mihi	dedisti mihi
	haedum	haedum
	ut cum amicis meis	ut cum amicis meis
	aepularer	epularer
(30)	**Cum** *autem*	**Cum** *autem*
	filius tuus hic	filius tuus hic
	qui *comedit*	qui *comedit*
	omnem facultatem suam	**omnem facultatem** suam
	uiuens cum *FORNICARIIS*	**uiuens** cum MERETRICIBUS
	uenit	uenit
	et occidisti	*et* occidisti *EI*
	uitulum *ILLUM* saginatum	uitulum saginatum
(31)	*Ipse autem*	*Ipse autem*
	dixit illi	dixit illi
		FILI
	tu *MECUM FUISTI SEMPER ET ES*	tu *MECUM ES SEMPER*
	et omnia mea	et omnia mea
	tua sunt	tua sunt
(32)	aepulari autem *nos OPORTEBAT*	Epulari *nos OPORTET*
	et gaudere	*et gaudere*
	quonium **hic frater tuus**	*quoniam* **hic frater tuus**
	mortuus *fuerat*	mortuus *fuerat*
	et reuixit	et reuixit
	perierat	perierat
	et inuentus est	et inuentus est

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Let us first note the differences between the two texts :—

(A) Differences of underlying Greek :—

(*v.* 12) (*a*) et (καί), with ℵ*DΩL,[1] &c.
(Hier.) qui (ὅς), unparalleled, perhaps a mere stylistic improvement of Jerome's.

(*v.* 15) (*a*) municipibus (πολιτῶν, universal).
(Hier.) principibus, if not due ultimately to a πρώτων, a scribe's error for πολιτῶν, may be an error in the archetype of Jerome.

(*v.* 16) (*a*) quas porci edebant (ὧν ἤσθιον οἱ χοῖροι, universal).
(Hier.) porcorum, perhaps a simplification of Jerome's, in the interests of brevity.

(*v.* 20) (*a*) surgens (ἀναστάς, universal).
(Hier.) *om.* probably an error in the archetype of Jerome's letter.

(*v.* 22) (*a*) et induite illum (καὶ ἐνδύσατε αὐτόν, universal).
(Hier.) *om.* perhaps like the last (some MSS of Hier. insert the words).[2]

(*v.* 25) (*a*) symphonias (συνφωνίας, almost universal).
(Hier.) symphoniam, probably a stylistic alteration to harmonize with the singular *chorum*, but *gat* agrees.

(*v.* 28) (*a*) et (καί, universal).
(Hier.) recasts the sentence in the interests of style.

(*v.* 30) (*a*) ei *om.* with DL (vt.e).
(Hier.) αὐτῷ with all other authorities.

(*v.* 31) (*a*) fili *om.* with D.
(Hier.) fili (τέκνον), with all other authorities.
(*a*) mecum fuisti semper et es (exactly thus only in *q*, but other Old-Latins have a similar expansion ; there is no known Greek authority for it).
(Hier.) mecum es semper (this precise order appears to be unparalleled, but the *reading* is the common one).

(*v.* 32) (*a*) oportebat (ἔδει) with the great majority of authorities.
(Hier.) oportet (δεῖ) with H L and a number of Old-Latin MSS, &c.

(B) Differences of rendering :—

(*v.* 12) (*a*) illis (with *e b ff* vg).
(Hier.) eis. It would be generally admitted that Jerome frequently alters the Old-Latin *ille*.

[1] Ω = the great majority of Greek MSS, **L** = Latin authorities.

[2] I omit *vv.* 23, 27, 30, as, though the *illum* represents the second τόν in the Greek, there is no reason to suppose that it was omitted for any other reason in Latin than because it was unnecessary.

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(*v.* 16) (*a*) nec quisquam (following the classical idiom, spoilt by the later literalness).
(Hier.) et nemo (with *e b ff q* vg).
(*v.* 20) (*a*) illum (with *e b ff q* vg).
(Hier.) eum (cf. v. 12).
(*a*) ipsius (with *b ff* vg).
(Hier.) eius.
(*v.* 23) (*a*) adducite (with *e b ff q* vg).
(Hier.) adferte.
(*v.* 30) (*a*) fornicariis.
(Hier.) meretricibus.

This last difference is interesting. *Fornicaria* is a vulgar word (Tert. Ps.-Cypr. Hier. Aug.), which, though it is found in the Cyprianic Bible[1] and has survived in *e* at this place, is never found in the Vulgate, πόρνη being always rendered by *meretrix* (except in Apoc. xvii 16, where even Tyconius has *meretrix*).

The two texts are clearly the same, and the identity is even closer than might be suggested by the clarendon type, for I have refrained from using it in some cases where its use would have been perfectly legitimate. For instance, though every element of the following phrase is to be found in some Old-Latin MS or other, the exact combination *egressus autem pater illius* (*v.* 28) is confined to these two texts, and might very well have been so marked. The force of such identity of rendering as *collectis* (*v.* 13), which is an 'African' rendering of συνάγειν[2] (for the usual European *congregare*), as *coniunxit se* (*v.* 15) = ἐκολλήθη, represented by a bewildering variety of words in other texts, as *celerius* (*v.* 22) (= ταχύ), where all others have *cito*, *priorem* (*v.* 22) (= πρώτην), where all others have *primam*, the penchant for *ille* (*vv.* 22, 25), and *quoniam* (*vv.* 24, 27, &c.), the occurrence of the good old word *incolumem* (*v.* 27) (= ὑγιαίνοντα), instead of the more exact *saluum* of the others, will be admitted by all who have studied Latin texts.

Thus far it had been possible to proceed in May 1910, and the discovery seemed striking enough to deserve immediate publication, which it received in the *British Congregationalist*. But in reading through the sumptuous volume in which Mr H. C. Hoskier has published (Feb. 1911) a collation of *The Hamilton Gospels* (saec. vii–viii, written in the North of England), now in the possession of Mr J. Pierpont Morgan,[3] with a wealth of illustrative matter, I found that he

[1] Von Soden *Das lateinische Neue Testament* u.s.w. (Leipzig 1909) p. 73.

[2] Cf. Von Soden *op. cit.* p. 142, &c.

[3] With splendid munificence copies of this wonderful book (of which only 200 have been privately printed) have been given not only to various public institutions but also to some private persons in this country.

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had independently observed Jerome's use of the *a* type of text. Mr Hoskier gives the following instances :—

Luke vii 32 *planxistis* Jerome ($\frac{2}{2}$) with *a* alone of Old-Latin authorities (p. xxvii).

xv 1 *accedentes* Jerome with *a* alone of Old-Latin authorities (p. xxix).

15 *coniunxit se* Jerome with *a* alone of Old-Latin authorities (p. xxix).

xvi 7 *cautionem* Jerome with *a* alone of Old-Latin authorities (p. xxix).

xix 12 *paterfamilias* Jerome with *a* alone of Old-Latin authorities (p. xxix).

He remarks (p. xxix): 'We find that *St Jerome* was using the *a* text at the time he addressed Damasus'; 'it remains noteworthy that St Jerome was well acquainted with and used *a*.' On p. cxiv he speaks of *a* as St Jerome's 'friend'.

I venture to think, then, it may be taken as established that for St Luke's Gospel St Jerome habitually used an Old-Latin text practically identical with *a*. It has been noted that in the Fourth Gospel the text of *a* is closely related to the copies employed by Novatian and Lucifer. It will be necessary to ask later whether Jerome has special points of context with the text of *a* in other Gospels also.

If, then, St Jerome regularly used this type of text, and chose it to comment on in a letter to Pope Damasus at the very time when the preparation of the revision we know as the Vulgate was in hand, may it not be, is it not in fact probable, that this was the type of text he used, in St Luke's Gospel at least, as the basis of his revision? Let us assume for the moment that it was, and see whether we can explain the alterations made by St Jerome. And the first question to ask is whether there are any differences between *a* and vg in the underlying Greek text in this section. Leaving doubtful cases out of account, we ought perhaps to conjecture a difference in the underlying Greek in the following cases :—

(*v.* 19) *a*: *iam non* (= οὐκέτι of ℵ A B D *al.*).
vg: *et iam non* (= καὶ οὐκέτι of G M P X *al.*) (cf. Wordsworth-White, p. 665).

(*v.* 20) *a*: *incubuit super* (= ἐνέπεσεν ἐπί of D).
vg: *cecidit super* (= ἐπέπεσεν [ἔπεσεν] ἐπί of all others).

(*v.* 22) *a*: *pedibus eius* (= τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ D G P X *al.*).
vg: *pedes* (= τοὺς πόδας ℵ A B L M ω).

(*v.* 28) *a*: *noluit* (= οὐκ ἠθέλησεν A L P X *al. pauc.*).
vg: *nolebat* (= οὐκ ἤθελεν ℵ B D ω).

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(*v.* 30) *a*: *omnem* (traces of this in the πάντα of D and *e*).
vg: *om.* (with all others).
(*v.* 32) *a*: *oporte(ba)t et gaudere* (= (ἔ)δει καὶ χαρῆναι (ἀγαλλιαθῆναι) D K Π).
vg: *et gaudere oportebat* (= καὶ χαρῆναι ἔδει ℵ A B Ω).

St Jerome had a Greek text before him of the type we should have expected. But there has been still more alteration in the matter of rendering. The wording of this priceless parable, if it was to be altered at all, must be delicately altered in the interests of accuracy. The coarseness of *a* is avoided by the substitution of *implere* for *saturare* (*v.* 16). *Uiuens* (*v.* 13) is altered to *uiuendo*, because the latter better expresses the means than the coincident participle does. *Conuersus* (*v.* 17) may have been altered to *reuersus*, to avoid the ambiguity of the technical sense of the former. *Surgens ibo* (*v.* 18) is loose Latin, seeing that the rising is really prior to, and not coincident with, the going: the knot is cut by *surgam et ibo*. In *v.* 20 *accurrens* gives better point than *procurrens*. In *v.* 26 *haec essent* is a more dignified, if a less pointed, ending than *essent haec*. In *v.* 30 *substantiam* is certainly purer Latin than *facultatem* (sing.). The Vulgate, too, is full of more exact renderings of the Greek: *adhaesit* (*v.* 15); *ciuium* (*v.* 15) a wider word than *municipum*[1] would have been; *panibus* (*v.* 17) to correspond better with the plural ἄρτων; in verse 19 *de* is distinctly better than *ex*, as the Greek has only a possessive genitive (and no ἐκ); in verse 20 *usque* is rejected as redundant, the Greek having simply πρός, and in *v.* 22 the comparative *celerius* is changed to the positive to represent ταχύ, point being gained, while a nice Latin idiom is rejected; in the same verse note the superior accuracy of *primam* and *manum*. The pluperfect *fuerat* (*vv.* 24, 32), characteristic of the earlier translators, is rejected for the more exact *erat* (ἦν). In *v.* 25 the error of taking ὡς closely and only with the ἐρχόμενος is corrected by St Jerome. In *v.* 30 the *uiuens* (without Greek equivalent) introduced by the translator to help out the sense is summarily ejected in the interests of literalness.

[1] It is not impossible that some inference as to the locality in which the translator of the *a* type worked should be drawn from his use of *municeps* rather than *ciuis* (cf. Professor H. F. Pelham in *Old-Latin Biblical Texts* No. ii p. 137 f).

A. SOUTER.

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GEORGIAN MANUSCRIPTS AT THE IBERIAN MONASTERY ON MOUNT ATHOS.

THE following is a translation of a Catalogue of the Georgian MSS in the Library of the Iberian Monastery on Mount Athos, compiled by Prof. A. A. Tsagareli in 1883, being pp. 69–94 of part i of *Svyedyeniya o pamyatnikakh gruzinskoi pismennosti* (St Petersburg 1886).[1]

1. BIBLE in 2 vols. $16\frac{5}{8}'' \times 12\frac{11}{16}''$, 532 ff and 418 ff. Fine, white, well-preserved parchment. Large, legible, ecclesiastical script, almost identical in both vols. despite the fact that there were three scribes, contemporaries, Michael, George, and Stephen. Both vols. written in two columns, twenty-six lines to the page. From the size, the handwriting, and the notes of the scribes which are found at the end of almost every book of this Bible, it is evident that the MS was written by three scribes at the same time for the great warrior-monk Thornici, during his lifetime, and bound by Stephen, one of the scribes; probably it was then complete, but it fell to pieces afterwards, and thus the missing sheets and books were lost. It is apparent that the Dadian's copy was made from this Bible carefully and accurately, and the passages lacking are rightly indicated. The binding of both vols. is strong wooden boards covered in black leather. The pagination follows in a regular manner after each eight sheets, in letters of the Georgian alphabet, on the upper and lower edges of the sheets, shewing that this Bible was complete. At present the beginning of Genesis lacks six sheets and begins at ch. xii 9.

The chapters and verses were not indicated in either volume, but are given by the copyists of the Dadian's copy of 1851: the chapters and pages in Arabic figures, and the missing passages in pencil; on folio 3 at the lower edge we find an entry by the priest Tablianidze, who says that by order of the Exarch of Georgia, Isidor, and the bishop-vicar, Nikifor, he began copying this book on Saturday, January 16, 1851. After Genesis follows Exodus complete, but in Leviticus there is a gap from chap. xi to the end; Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua are completely lacking, also eighteen verses of chap. xix of Judges. On p. 143 we read: *tsigni merve Rovithisi. k'e: sh'e Th'nc.* At the end of the Book of Ruth: *dideba shenda k'e nathelo samaradisoo, sultha ch'ntha ganmanathlebelo, gansrulda tsigni merve Ruthisi; k'e shtsq'le mamae Iovani Thornic qophili.* Then Job: *tsigni metzkhre Iobisi.* A note in the book of Job: *Patronsa Baadurs sh's da shth'aesa dzmasa pt'rnsa Kaikhosros sh's Gh'n. Dido da brtsqinvalitha nathlitha shemosilo*

[1] A translation of the Catalogue of the Georgian MSS at the Monastery of the Holy Cross, near Jerusalem, was printed in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Boston 1894.

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Bortaitisa Ghvthis-Mshobelo, sh'e tzodvili Barnaba Urbneli episcoposi. Gh'o ikhsen vnebisagan suli chemi, didath visuren tsigni mkhedman amathman,—mroveli Iona. On fol. 224 we read: *d'dba sh'nda k'e, daesrula ts'tsbae Esaiasi, k'e sheitsqale Thornic patrici da glakhaci Mk'l mtserali, a'n.* Lower: *tsinastsarmetqvelebae Ieremiaesa.* At the end of Jeremiah: *akamomde thavidam gadavstsere mgh'n P'tre Tablianidzem, Theb. ie chqna.* In the middle of Ezekiel: *k. eha didebulo da kerabim-serabimtha uzeshthaeso, da ts'tha uts'dso, da brtsqinvaleo didebulo Bortaidisa Ghvthis-Mshobelo, sh'e s'd tzodvili Philipe ughirsi mghudel-monazonebisa, r'mli sakhith var da kholo sakmith ver aghvasruleb. tseltha chphëz* (i. e. 1567). At the end of Ezekiel: *k'e adide Thornic patrici shvilithurth, a'n. da glakhacisa Mikael mtserlisathvistza lotzva hqavth.*

The first volume ends with Judith, though three sheets of Tobit are sewn on to it, but, judging by the handwriting it is to be supposed that they are of later date; in any case the writing of Tobit is not of the same century as that of the other books of this Bible.

The second volume begins with Samuel: *k. pichveli* (*? pirveli*) *thavi mephethaĕ Saulisi da Davithisi, da Samuel ts'tsqvelisaĕ.* At the end of 2 Samuel: *k'e sh'e Thornic Svingelozi da shvilni misni, a'n.* At the end of 1 (3) Kings: *k'e sh'e Thornic Iovane.* At the end of 2 (4) Kings: *d'dba Gh'sa, daesrula tsigni Mephethaĕ khhelitha glakhacisa Ste'sitha* (*Stephanesitha*). *Saqverelno, thu daclebaĕ raĕme iqos shemindevith da khhsenebulmtza var ts'tha sh'a lotzvatha thk'ntha, amin.*

K. i'o k'e, adide sulierad Th'rnc Svingelozi da shvilni misni.

i'o k'e, adide Io'vni vr'zvchi sulierad da sulni misni u'ce zhamtha, a'n, iqavn. daitsera ts'ĕ ese tsigni Lavrasa shina didsa Ushcs saqophelsa ts'dsa Nathlis Mtzemelisasa salotzvelad sul curthkheulisa Thornic Svingelozisathvis da shviltha mistha. Motsqaleo Gh'o, ukhuad mianidche tsqalobaĕ sheni sulsa mathsa, a'n.

All these notes are made in the same hand as the text except the notes at the end of 2 (4) Kings, which is written in majuscules in black and red inks, while the following are in minuscules, gradually diminishing till they are hardly legible: *k. saqvarelno, guls modgineba th'd makunda, garna tseraĕtza esthen vetzade, Gh'thsathvis shemindevith; odes amas tsignsa vtserdi gonebitha ver datsqnarebith viqav.*

Shromisathvis lotzva q'vth, daclebisathvis sh'mndevith: k'e, mphlobelo orsave s'phls, sh'e M'kl dze Vrazvachesi,—didi sitcboebaĕ michvenes amis tsignisa shromasa.

Brdznisa catzisa q'i s'phli phas-ars, kh' ugunurisa artza erthi d'ngi (*? dargi*).

Ts'no m'mano, Mthatsmidelno, glakhaci amis mshromeli lo'tzsa ts'sa momikhseneth.

These insertions clearly shew that this Athos Bible was written in the

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tenth century before the building of the great Iberian Monastery (A.D. 985) on the site of the ancient Clementine Monastery, in the Lavra of St John the Baptist, still called Ushk by the Greeks; consequently it was written during the lifetime of Thornici, and in all probability at his request. The whole of the first volume was written by Michael, the four books of Kings (1, 2 Samuel and 1, 2 Kings) by Stephen, and the rest by George, son of Gelasi; thus at the end of Proverbs: *daesrula igavthaě khelitha glakhacisa G'i Gelasis dzisaětha. K'e adide Γe Γe Γne shvilithurth da chemthvistza l'tzva qavth.*

At the end of Ecclesiastes we read: *u'o, moikhsene G'i: kebaě kebathaě thkovimovili* (*thkmuli*) *Solomonisi: ambor miqav me . . . pirisa misisaětha.*[1]

In the Song of Songs there are twenty-nine headings, written in vermilion minuscules, agreeing with the Dadian's copy; then everywhere *mardjvene misi th'vsa chemsa kveshe* and not *zeda*, as in the Dadian copy; also in the Athos MS we read *qeli* and not *kheli* as in the Dadian copy.

In ch. vii 1 *raě ikhiloth udulamethis thana* (not *udughamelisthana* as in the Dadian copy), *r'li movals, v'a gundi banacthaě.*

At the end of the Song of Songs: *didebaě sh'nda Gh'o, daesrula kebaě kebathaě. K e sh'tsqe glakhaci G'i, a'n.*

Lower down, in red: *Sibrdzne Solomonisi panaretosi. K'e sh'tsqle Γe Th'rnic.*

At the end of the Book of Wisdom: *D'dba Gh'sa daesrula sibrdzne Solomonisi. Thavi-d. K'e adide mamaě Γe Thornic modzghovirith, dzmith, shvilithurth, a'n. U'o moikhsene glakhaci G'i Gelasis dze; r'i dameclos shem'dvith.*

In the middle of the book of Jesus son of Sirach we read: *akamde G'i-si, akaěthgan Mikaelisi tsaghmarth* [*natseria*]. And, indeed, from this point there is a change not only in the handwriting but in the colour of the ink; Michael writes a square, neat, legible hand, while George and Stephen have in addition the beauties of the Athos calligraphy, i. e. somewhat prolonged, thin letters.

The second volume ends with the twelve minor prophets: *Tsigni athormettha ts'tsmtqveltha.*

a.	thavi Hosesi	ā:	m:	q̄:	z.	Naumisi
b.	„ Iovelisi	ō:	o:	ḡh:	ě.	Ambacumisi
g.	„ Amosisi	ō:	i:	m̄:	th.	Sophoniasi
d.	„ Abdiaěsi	q̄:	vi:	z̄	i.	Angeaěsi
e.	„ Ionaěsi	n̄:	s̄c̄:		ia.	Zakariaěsi
v.	„ Mikeaěsi	ē:	e	dch	ib.	Malakiaěsi

[1] The text of the Song of Solomon from the Athos Bible is printed by Prof. Tsagareli, op. cit. pp. 17–56 (end of pt. I).

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At the end of Vol. II: *d'ba sh'nda K'e, nathelo samaradisoo, s'ltha ch'ntha ganmanathlebelo, g'nsrulda tsigni athormettha ts'ts-metqveltha*ă*. K'e adide Thornic patrici da shvilni misni a'n, a'n, a'n. Akamde Mikaelisi,—r'lsa tzthomil viqo Gh'thsathvis shemindevith da l'tzuasa momikhsenieth.* This is in the same hand as the text of the twelve prophets.

At the very end on two pages is a concluding discourse which begins with dogmatic theology, and then goes on: *da v'a zghva*ă *sheicrebs dzlierebasa mdinarethasa da ara gardaetzemis* . . . just as in the Dadian copy: *romlisathvistza me Iovane Thornic qophilman dze sulcurthkheulisa Chordvanelisaman movige ts'*ĕ *ese tsigni mephetha*ă *salotzvelad thavisa chemisa da dzmatha chemtha da shviltha chemthathvis da mosakhseneblad sulisa q'ltha mitzvalebultha chemthasa. Ats ts'o ghvthisano, vintza imsakhurebdeth . . . daitsera ts'*ĕ *ese tsigni khhelitha samtha mtseraltha: Mikaelisitha, Giorgisitha da Stephanesitha: ch'nthstza lotzua hqavth, ts'no gh'thsano, a'n. odes ese tsigni daitsera koroniconi iqo r zh ê'. sheimosa khhelitha glakhacisa Stephanesitha. lotzvasa momikhsenieth ts'no gh'thsano Mtha-ts'dlno, guls-modginebaă ph'rd makunda, gana tseraă da mosaă esthen vetzade.*

All this final passage is written in one hand, though it is in the names of Thornici (the owner) and the scribes; the hand is minuscule, ancient, of the Athos type of the tenth century, somewhat small, but very like the hand of the books of Kings written by the scribe Stephen, who in this concluding paragraph mentions himself. The books of Kings (i.e. Samuel and Kings) have a separate pagination, sheets from *a* to *cê* (1–28), while the succeeding part included in the same volume has also separate pagination (1–26), and six pages (*a*—*cv*); consequently they were at first separate from the rest of the Bible, and were afterwards bound up with it. The end of the second volume is undoubtedly by the hand of Stephen, the writer of the books of Kings, for one of the postils made by him at the end of the 4 (2) book of Kings, and reproduced above, is absolutely identical in calligraphy with the supplementary passage at the end of Vol. II.

Thus the Athos Bible was written (but not translated) in 978 (*r zh ê*) at the instance of Thornici by the three scribes: Michael, Stephen, and George. Volume I was written by Michael, the four books of Kings by Stephen, the other books of Volume II by George, and finally some books of the minor prophets again by Michael. The best hands are those of Stephen and George. At the end of Kings Stephen has made postils in seven different styles of calligraphy, beginning with large uncials and going down to a small, barely legible hand, but equally clear and beautiful. There are rubricated headings, but without ornamental initials, insertions, or miniatures; there are, however, fine large letters for chapter-headings. Where, in Vol. I, Numbers, Joshua,

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Deuteronomy, &c. are missing we have the number 22 (*cb*), and seven sheets later 50 (*n*); consequently these books were formerly included, and thus the Bible was complete to begin with. As has been said already, it was written in the Clementine Lavra at the Church of S. John the Baptist before the building of the great Iberian Monastery, i.e. before A.D. 982–985. It is one of the finest and best preserved monuments of Georgian literature. Like the Jerusalem Bible, it shews very few traces of use. In dimensions it reminds us of the Jerusalem MS of the Prophets; but the latter was written hastily and not so beautifully as the Athos MS, and in all probability was taken from another MS and not from the Athos MS, for it exhibits important variants pointed out by me in the Catalogue of the Georgian MSS at Jerusalem; besides, the order of arrangement of the books of the Bible is different in the two MSS; e. g. in the Jerusalem MS the twelve minor prophets, beginning with Hosea, come first, then the four major prophets (Isaiah, Jeremiah and Baruch, Ezekiel, Daniel), while the Athos MS gives first the major and then the minor prophets.

2. PSALTER. $14\frac{7}{8}'' \times 11\frac{3}{8}''$. 103 ff. Parchment. Lacks beginning and end. Divided into verses. Written in large eccl. minuscules. x–xi c.

3. PSALTER. In 4to on paper, eccl. minuscule. xv–xvii c.

4. GOSPEL. $20\frac{1}{8}'' \times 14''$. 315 ff. Parchment. Eccl. minuscule; small, not beautiful hand but legible. At the beginning on six sheets, under arches adorned in the Georgian fashion, there is a list of daily lessons. At the end, in the same hand as the text, is a note that this Gospel was translated (from the Greek) by George (Mthatsmindeli), and it would seem that he himself wrote this MS, which is consequently of the xi c. *Giorgisthvis, romel vthargmne, lotzûa hqavth.*

5. GOSPEL. $20\frac{1}{8}'' \times 14\frac{7}{8}''$. 169 ff. Parchment. Legible minuscule. Leather binding. Written in 1043 at Athos by John Khakhuleli at the Iberian Monastery, while his brother Stephen Khakhuleli was prior. Bound and partly written by Michael and George. Thus we have the three names of the scribes of the Athos Bible, but the difference of dates (978–1043) makes it almost impossible that they should be the same persons. The note at the end is in the same hand as the text: *Ioane Khakhuleli . . . kh' daitsera ts'aĕ ese sakharebaĕ mthasa ts'sa Athonas, saqophelsa tsm. Gh's-mshoblisasa, monastersa Karthûêlthasa mamobasa dzmisa chemisa Stephane Khakhulelisasa, mephobasa Constantinessa, r'sa etsode meored Monomakhoĕ; kh' daitsera tsm. ese tsigni da sheimosa khhelitha dzmatha suliertha M'kl da Grg'satha. K'cni iqo sĕg* (i. e. A. D. 1043).

6. GOSPEL. $9\frac{5}{8}'' \times 7\frac{7}{8}''$. 71 ff. Parchment. Defective. Contains only Matthew and Luke. No name of scribe or date. Written in two columns in a beautiful minuscule. xi–xii c.

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7. GOSPEL. $7\frac{7}{8}'' \times 6\frac{9}{19}''$. 156 ff. Parchment. Contains Mark and Luke, Matthew incomplete, and none of John. Beautiful minuscule. xi–xii c.

8. GOSPEL. $9\frac{5}{8}'' \times 7\frac{7}{8}''$. 94 ff. Parchment. Beginning and end wanting. Contains a picture of S. John. Legible minuscule. xi–xii c.

9. Select passages from GOSPEL AND APOSTLES for annual festivals. $9\frac{5}{8}'' \times 7''$. 215 ff. Parchment. Legible minuscule. xi–xii c. A sheet on paper xiv–xv c. Sewed on to the parchment.

10. GOSPEL. $15\frac{5}{16}'' \times 9\frac{5}{8}''$. 235 ff. Paper. Fine minuscule. xiv–xvi c. Written by one Joseph. Much damaged by worms. Contains list of daily lessons and division into chapters and verses. Defective at end.

11. APOSTLES. $8\frac{5}{16}'' \times 7\frac{7}{16}''$. 255 ff. Parchment. Precise minuscule hand of x–xi c. Begins with S. Paul's Epistles. In two columns. Written on Olympus in the Monastery of Cosmas and Damian, in the patriarchate of Polyeuctus and the reign of the emperor Nicephorus, acquired by the monk Michael: *Me Mikael glakhacman, sakhelad khutzesman, unarcheulesman mghûdelthaman movige tsm. ese Pavle ganzrakhvitha modsghûrisa chemisa Giorgisitha da shetsevnitha Iovane Cakhisaětha. daitsera tsm. Mthasa Olinpoĕsasa, saqophelsa tsm. Cozman da Damianethasa, patriarkobasa Costantinopoles Poliovctoĕsa, mephobasa Niciphoresa. Me M'kl mghûdelman, zecepe berman, Kuabisa shvilman, berthas aghzrdilman, ese tsm. Pavle movige.*

12. APOSTLES. $16\frac{5}{8}'' \times 13\frac{1}{8}''$. 182 ff. Parchment. Small, unattractive minuscule, probably autograph of S. George Mthatsmindeli (i.e. of the Holy Mount; he died in 1066), who, according to the MS 'looked through and translated it' (*r'n ganikhila da sthargmna*). At the end the scribe asks the reader to pray for George the Translator: *lotzûa hqavth Giorgis thvis mthargmnelisa.* Thus the Gospel No. 4 and this MS may be considered as proofs that the writer of them, S. George of the Holy Mount, collated the Georgian translations of the Gospel and Apostles with the Greek originals, and edited new translations of these and other books. This MS was acquired by 'the sinful Nicholas' . . . *movige tz'n Nicola.*

13. APOSTLES. $15\frac{5}{16}'' \times 9\frac{5}{8}''$. 201 ff. Paper. Fine minuscule hand. xiv–xvi c. Defective at beginning and end.

14. HOROLOGIUM. $7\frac{7}{16}'' \times 4\frac{3}{8}''$. 60 ff. Parchment. Small, legible minuscule. x–xi c.

15. HOROLOGIUM. $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 6\frac{1}{8}''$. 184 ff. Parchment. Sheets missing at beginning and end. Fine minuscule. xi–xii c.

16. HOROLOGIUM and fragments of GOSPEL and Apostles. $6\frac{9}{16}'' \times 4\frac{2}{8}''$. 147 ff. Paper. Minuscule. xiv–xvi c.

17. PARACLETICON. $13\frac{1}{8}'' \times 10\frac{1}{2}''$. 309 ff. Parchment. Writing

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resembles the Sinai papyrus Psalter, small, legible, in one column without ornaments. x–xi c.

18. PARACLETICON abridged. $9\frac{5}{8}'' \times 6\frac{9}{16}''$. 169 ff. Parchment much blackened and decipherment difficult. Minuscule. xi–xii c. Notes by Archbishop Timote 1756, and Bishop Elise 1640. *e'psi Elise, Saginashvili qophili, r'i moitsia mthasa Athons tcê k'cs.* After this follows the *Life of Varlaam the Merciful*, native of the Black Mountain in Antioch. He went to the Caucasus, led a pious life, and died in the Caucasian Mountains; but the date and place are not given. The Life is translated from the Greek by one David: *Tzkhovreba da mokalakoba netar. m. chûênisa Abarlaam motsqalisa, r'i iqo mthasa Cavcassa.*

19. PARACLETICON. $9\frac{5}{8}'' \times 7''$. 502 ff. Parchment. Precise minuscule. xi–xii c. Note: *Dautserinebia ese rva-khhmani Sakarthvelodan mosruls Athonas Grigol Drelidzeman (? Grdzelidzes), sheutsiria Portaitis ecclesiisthvis, rodesatz decanozath qophila Protshi.*

20. TRIODION. $7\frac{7}{8}'' \times 6\frac{9}{16}''$. Parchment. Lacks last leaves. Fine minuscule. xi–xii c. Written and presented to the Iberian Monastery at Athos. Copy 'from the new translation of S. George' (Mthatsmindeli †1066): *Tsm. ese zadici, akhlad thargmnili tsm. m. Giorgis mier, me berman Clim davatserine . . . qovlithurth sruli da unaclulo, da shevstsiren ecclesiasa tsm. G'th-Mshoblisasa mthasa tsmidasa, etrati m. Ioanesi iqo Bekaĕs dzisa . . . sheimosa khhelitha net. berisa Thevdoresitha.*

21. TRIODION. $9\frac{5}{8}'' \times 7\frac{7}{8}''$. 119 ff. Parchment. Lacks beginning and end. Fine minuscule. xi–xii c.

22. TRIODION. $9\frac{5}{8}'' \times 7\frac{7}{8}''$. 295 ff. Parchment. Large minuscule. xi–xii c. Copied at Athos by the monk Gregory from S. George Mthatsmindeli's translation: *Tsigni ese zaticni tsm. m. G'i Mtha Tsmindelisa Thargmnilisagan daitsernes . . . vitha dedansa sh'a mipovnia . . . amisthvis ph'd tz'i beri Grigol vithkhov . . . daitsernes . . . ese zaticni Mthasa Tsm., Karthûêltha monastersa, tsinamdzghurobasa m. Nicolozisa brdzanebitha misitha didisa ecclesiisathvis.*

In another place an xviii c. note asks the prayers of the reader for the Catholicos Domenti.

23. TRIODION. $10\frac{1}{16}'' \times 8\frac{5}{16}''$. 165 ff. Paper. Minuscule. xiv–xvi c. Written at the Iberian Monastery at Athos by Simeon Opizari.

24. TRIODION. $11\frac{13}{16}'' \times 8\frac{5}{16}''$. 231 ff. Parchment. Clear minuscule. xi–xii c. Written by 'Black' Simon: *Shav-Svimon.*

25. TRIODION (fasting). $11\frac{13}{16}'' \times 9\frac{5}{8}''$. 337 ff. Paper. Much damaged by worms. Handsome minuscule. xiv–xvi c.

26. TRIODION (fasting). $9\frac{5}{8}'' \times 6\frac{1}{8}''$. 96 ff. Parchment. Defective. Minuscule. xi–xii c.

27. TRIODION (fasting). $10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 8\frac{3}{4}''$. 200 ff. Paper. Minuscule. xiv–xvi c. Much worm-eaten.

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28. SYNAXARY. Complete. $10\frac{1}{16}'' \times 7\frac{7}{8}''$. 415 ff. Parchment. Written in 1062 at Athos by a certain Evstrati from the translation of S. George of the Holy Mount. Begins from September 1 and ends with August. Handsome minuscule. At end: *Gansrulda Svinaksari ese akhlad thargmnilisagan tsm. m. chûênisa Giorgisa khhelitha chem glakhacisa. . . . Evstrati decanozisaëtha, brdzanebitha G'i Olthisarisatha, romelman damatserina mamasakhlisobasa missa . . . daitsera tsm. ese tsigni mthasa tsm. Athonas saqophelsa Gh's-Mshoblisasa da shesavedrebelsa da navth saqudelsa ch'n qoveltha Karthûêlthasa, mephobasa Deogenisasa da aghmosavleths Bagratissa* (†1072 A.D.) *da dzisa mathisa Giorgisa, mmsakhlisobasa m. G'i Olthisarisasa, khhelitha chem gkh'csa Evstrati khutzesmonaz'ëtha. K'cni iqo . . . indictioni th. dasabamidgan tselni kh ph o* (A.D. 1062).

29. METAPHRAST. $10\frac{1}{16}'' \times 7\frac{7}{8}''$. 160 ff. Parchment. Small minuscule. xi c. This was translated from the Greek and written by Theophile, pupil of S. George Mthatsmindeli, at Constantinople, in the Monastery of the Virgin of Trianphlius, in 1081, during the reign and by the command of the Georgian king George II (1072–1089), in the time of the Emperor Niciphorus Botaniates and Alexis Comnenus at the time when 'queen (? princess) Mariam, daughter of King Bagrat IV of Georgia (1027–1072), came from the East (from Georgia) to Constantinople'. The Metaphrast is for the whole month of September. At the end: *ithargmna ucûe tsigni ese metaphrasti kalaksa sh'a samephosa Constantinepolsa monastersa sh'a q'd-shûêniersa Trianphlius dedisa Gh'thsasa, ughirsisa m'r Theophilëësa, khutzes-monazonisa, mathve khhelitha mier gainuskha, dsb'dgan tseltha ekvsi athas khuthas othkhmotz da metzkhresa; indict. othkhsa berdzulad, mephobasa aghmosavleths Giorgi cesarosisa, Bagratis dzisa, romlisa brdzanebitha vitsqe thargmnad tsigntha ellinurisagan karthulad, kholo saberdzneths dedophlobasa Martha, misive Giorgis disasa da mephobasa Niciphore Botonitisa da Aleksi Comninisatha,—mas zhamsa odes Bagratis asuli Mariam dedophali aghmosavlethith Consta'poles shemovida.*

30. MENAEUM for February. $8\frac{5}{16}'' \times 6\frac{9}{16}''$. 216 ff. Parchment. Fine Athos minuscule hand. Written at Athos in the Iberian monastery of B.V.M., from a translation of S. George Mthatsmindeli, by the hand of the monk Nicola whilst Nicola was protosingelos and ruler of the Lavra. xi c.

31. MENAEUM for January and February. $7\frac{7}{8}'' \times 6\frac{1}{8}''$. 339 ff. Parchment. Small minuscule. xi–xii c. Defective at beginning and end.

32. MENAEUM for November. $7\frac{7}{8}'' \times 6\frac{1}{8}''$. 200 ff. Parchment. Small minuscule. Written by the hand of S. George Mthatsmindeli, who translated it from the Greek. At end: *lotzûa hqavth . . . glak-*

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hacisa Giorgis thvis, romelman ese berdzulisagan vthargmne. The MS is therefore prior to 1066.

33. Brief MENAEUM. $7\frac{7}{8}'' \times 6\frac{1}{8}''$. 133 ff. Parchment. Minuscule. xi–xii c. Sheets lacking at end.

34. MENAEUM for September and December. $7\frac{7}{8}'' \times 6\frac{9}{16}''$. 150 ff. Parchment. Defective. Fine minuscule. xi–xii c.

35. MENAEUM for September–August. $9\frac{5}{8}'' \times 7\frac{7}{8}''$. 194 ff. Small minuscule. x c. End lacking.

36. MENAEUM. Defective. $8\frac{5}{16}'' \times 6\frac{9}{16}''$. 42 ff. Parchment. Clear minuscule. Lacks end and beginning.

37. Brief MENAEUM. $7\frac{7}{8}'' \times 6\frac{1}{8}''$. 200 ff. Parchment. Small minuscule. x–xi c. Lacks beginning and end.

38. Brief MENAEUM. $8\frac{5}{16}'' \times 6\frac{9}{16}''$. 260 ff. Parchment. Small minuscule. x–xi c. Lacks beginning.

39. MENAEUM from end of October to end of August. $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 6\frac{1}{8}''$. 332 ff. Parchment. Small minuscule. xi c. Resembles hand of S. George Mthatsmindeli and perhaps written by him.

40. MENAEUM. $8\frac{5}{16}'' \times 6\frac{1}{8}''$. 204 ff. Paper. Defective. Minuscule. xix–xvi c.

41. MENAEUM for November. $13\frac{9}{16}'' \times 8\frac{3}{4}''$. 283 ff. Paper. Minuscule. xiv–xvi c.

42. Brief MENAEUM for November. $10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{9}{16}''$. 177 ff. Paper. Minuscule. xiv–xvi c.

43. MENAEUM for December and January. $9\frac{5}{8}'' \times 7''$. 300 ff. Paper. Minuscule. xiv–xvi c.

44. MENAEUM for October. $9\frac{5}{8}'' \times 7\frac{7}{8}''$. 250 ff. Paper. Minuscule. xiv–xvi c.

45. PRAYER BOOK. $5\frac{1}{4}'' \times 4\frac{3}{8}''$. 162 ff. Parchment. Fine minuscule. xi–xii c. Coloured initial at beginning.

46. PRAYER BOOK in 4to. Paper. 138 ff. MS. xvi–xviii c.

47. HYMNS IN HONOUR OF B.V.M. (*dzilis-pirni da Gh's-Mshobelis sagalobelni*). $5\frac{11}{16}'' \times 4\frac{13}{16}''$. 165 ff. Parchment. Defective. xi c. Fine Athos minuscule in two columns. Written by one Ioanne.

48. HYMNS IN HONOUR OF B.V.M. $6\frac{9}{16}'' \times 4\frac{13}{16}''$. 167 ff. Paper. Minuscule resembling the papyrus Psalter. xiv–xvi c.

49. LIFE AND 26 WORKS (sermons, commentaries, &c.) OF S. BASIL THE GREAT. $9\frac{5}{8}'' \times 7\frac{7}{8}''$. 200 ff. Parchment. Handsome minuscule. Perfectly fresh and complete, in strong leather binding. Copy by Saba of translation by S. Euthymius from the Greek MS written in 981 A.D. in the Georgian Monastery of S. John the Divine at Athos. At end: *K'e adide sulitha m. da shvili mathi sulieri Ephthvime, amisi thargmani (mthargmneli) Iovane da metza sh'e glakhaci Saba, amisi utzbath mtserali . . . me Iovanne ghirs-viken mogebad tsm. amis tsignisa, r'i thargmna*

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shvilman chemman Ephthvime berdzulisagan da shromaĕ didi vachûêneth amas z'a . . . ats . . . mogvikhseneth: me Iovane da s'lrad da khortzielad dzmaĕ chemi Iovane, Thornic qophili, da shvili chemi Ephthvime, r'n thargmna ese, da sulierni dzmani chûêni: Arseni, Th'e da G'i . . . daitsera mthasa tsm. Athonas saqophelsa tsm. Gh's-Mshoblisasa, monastersa tsm. Iovanne Makharebelisasa, indictionsa dasabamidgantha tseltha kh ph pe (i.e. A.D. 981).

50. LIVES OF SAINTS. $13\frac{1}{8}'' \times 10\frac{1}{2}''$. 348 ff. Parchment. Legible minuscule. x–xi c. In two columns. Contains: (*a*) *Life of S. Bagrat*, written by his pupil S. Evagrius (his day is July 9). This saint was born in Pontus, went to Antioch as a child, lost his father and mother there soon after his arrival, then proceeded to Palestine where in a certain village he heard of the miracles of Christ. After the Crucifixion and Resurrection of the Saviour, Bagrat met the apostle Peter with whom he set out for Europe where he was slain. He does not seem to have any connexion with the Georgian Church, but since he came from Pontus he may have been a Laz; (*b*) *Life and Martyrdom* of the holy martyrs *Eustatius* and his wife *Theopista* and their children *Agapia* and *Theopista*; (*c*) *Teachings of the holy martyr Dimitri* written by John archbishop of Thessalonica; (*d*) *Narration of S. Clement*, pope of Rome, disciple of S. Peter, sent by him from Rome to Jerusalem to S. James, the brother of the Lord, at the request of the Apostle S. Peter. At end: *K'e adide sulitha m. Egnati, a'n.*

51. LIVES OF GREEK SAINTS. $15\frac{5}{16}'' \times 10\frac{1}{2}''$. 213 ff. Parchment —*palimpsest.* Large minuscule. x–xi c. Written in one column. Sheets missing at beginning and end. Occasionally finely coloured initials. Part written by a certain Simeon.

52. LIFE AND TRANSLATION OF RELICS OF S. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM. $14\frac{7}{16}'' \times 10\frac{1}{2}''$. 240 ff. Parchment. Legible minuscule in two columns. x c. Written at Athos in the Church of S. John the Baptist during the abbacy of Saba, i.e. before A.D. 980, by Iovane (*Khhelitha Iovane chiraĕsitha*).

53. LIVES OF SAINTS. $11\frac{3}{16}'' \times 7\frac{7}{8}''$. 260 ff. Parchment. Fine Athos minuscule. Dated 1002 and well preserved. Contains lives of: *S. Stephen, S. Ignatius of Antioch, S. Theodore, the Forty Holy Martyrs, SS. Cosmas and Damian, Martyrdom of S. George, Life of S. Eustatius, Life and Miracles of S. Demetrius, Lives of SS. Katherine, Irene, and Marina, SS. Peter and Paul, Martyrdom of S. Mamia* (*Mamaĕ*). From notes by the scribe at beginning and end it appears that the MS was written by Aquila Mtbevari in the reign of King Bagrat (III) in 1002, by the king's command, in the village of Shaori. (Bagrat is described as King of the Apkhazians and Curopalate of the Georgians.)

54. LIVES OF SAINTS. $11\frac{3}{16}'' \times 10\frac{1}{16}''$. 327 ff. Parchment. Legible

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minuscule. Contains: Life and Teachings of *S. Macarius* and life of *S. Bagrat.* Notes shew that the MS was written by one Isaac in A.D. 1030 at Olympus, in the Georgian cell at the Church of the B.V.M., by order of Father Gregory 'in the reign of the emperor Romanos when he undertook a campaign against the Saracens and defeated them'. The life of S. Bagrat here is somewhat fuller than in MS No. 50. It is from a translation by S. Euthymius and refers to a certain sovereign (*mthavari*) named Boniphante. Notes by the scribe at ends of both lives.

55. LIFE OF SS. VARLAAM AND MARTHA, mother of S. Simeon. $9\frac{3}{16}'' \times 6\frac{9}{16}''$. 160 ff. Parchment. Clear minuscule. x–xi c. Cf. No. 14.

56. LIVES AND TEACHINGS OF THE SAINTS. $9\frac{3}{16}'' \times 6\frac{9}{16}''$. 350 ff. Parchment. Contains: Life of *S. Dorotheus* and his teachings; life of *S. Saba* (festival December 5), monk of Jerusalem, native of Cappadocia; discourse of *S. Basil* the Great on the Assumption of the B.V.M. A beautifully preserved MS of the x c. Fine minuscule. Many notes by modern pilgrims: Bp Elise, Ilarion, Benedict, Ioseliani, &c. The MS was acquired by a certain Saba (*momgebeli Saba Kerdchamuli*).

57. LIVES OF GREEK AND GEORGIAN HOLY FATHERS, to the number of 80 or 90. $14'' \times 11\frac{3}{8}''$. 362 ff. Parchment. Beautiful minuscule hand of x c. in two columns, in strong wood and leather binding. At the end a note by Arsen, Bp of Ninotsminda. Contains very important, little known lives of Georgian saints: *David Dvineli, Shushanik*, the *Mesucevelian* saints (*tsm'tha Mesuceveltha*), martyrdom of the queen *S. Senedukht* (*tsameba tsm. Senedukht-dedophlisa*), *SS. David* and *Taredchani* (*tsm'tha Davith da Taredchanisa*), martyrdom of *S. Abo*, martyrdom of *Antoni Djavakhi*, martyrdom of *S. George Zoravari*, martyrdom of the archbp *S. Nerses*, martyrdom of *S. Gulandukht*, &c.

58. LIVES OF 12 GREEK SAINTS. $14\frac{7}{8}'' \times 11\frac{3}{8}''$. 272 ff. Parchment. Contains: Lives of *S. Gregory the Divine, Gregory* pope of Rome, Procopius, Nicholas, Andrew, &c. Large minuscule in two columns. Translation made by S. Euthymius in A.D. 980 (*kc's. s*). MS written by Arsen and John Grdzelidze in A.D. 982 (*Kristes akath sh p b*). Binding done in A.D. 1011 (*kc's s l a*).

59. LIFE OF S. SIMEON STYLITES and TEACHINGS OF SS. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM AND BASIL THE GREAT. $9\frac{5}{8}'' \times 7\frac{7}{8}''$. 217 ff. Parchment. Unattractive minuscule. x–xi c.

60. LIVES AND WORKS OF THE HOLY FATHERS. $10\frac{1}{16}'' \times 6\frac{9}{16}''$. 449 ff. Bombycina. Small minuscule. Translated by S. Euthymius, copied by Theophile. xiii c.

61. LIVES OF 20 HOLY FATHERS. $11\frac{3}{8}'' \times 6\frac{9}{16}''$. 251 ff. Paper. Minuscule. xiv–xvi c

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62. LIVES OF HOLY FATHERS. $16\frac{5}{8}'' \times 14\frac{7}{16}''$. 258 ff. Paper. Minuscule. xiv–xvi c.

63. LIVES AND LABOURS OF THE SAINTS, in 21 chapters. $15\frac{3}{4}'' \times 10\frac{1}{2}''$. 333 ff. Paper. Minuscule. xiv–xvi c.

64. LIFE OF S. GREGORY. $8\frac{5}{16}'' \times 6\frac{9}{16}''$. 90 ff. Bombycina. Minuscule. xiii–xiv c. Much worm-eaten.

65. COMMENTARY OF S. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM ON THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO S. JOHN. $15\frac{5}{16}'' \times 8\frac{5}{16}''$. 316 ff. Parchment. Three sheets lacking at beginning and one at end. 5 ff. of the preface are left; then follows the commentary on the first chapter: 'In the beginning was the Word.' Clear minuscule without ornaments. x–xi c.

66. COMMENTARIES OF S. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM ON THE GOSPELS: Matthew, John, and parts of Luke and Mark. $12\frac{11}{16}'' \times 11\frac{13}{16}''$. 247 ff. One of the 3 vols. of Chrysostom's Commentaries translated by S. Euthymius. This MS is on parchment. Some ff. are lacking at beginning. Large, very sprawling hand; pale ink; two columns; without ornament; easy to read; in leather and wooden binding. The copyists, according to the notes, were: Fathers Arsen, John, and Okropiri; the binder was Father Serapion; MS written in the Iberian Monastery at Athos in A.D. 1008. The translation of the Commentaries was completed by Father German.[1] Notes by Theodore and German are in a different hand from the text.

67. COMMENTARY OF S. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM ON MATTHEW, translated by S. Euthymius. $14\frac{7}{8}'' \times 11\frac{13}{16}''$. 333 ff. Parchment. This is one of the three vols. referred to above (cf. No. 66); evidently an autograph of S. Euthymius, written with the help of the monk John Grdzelidze, judging by the various notes. Very large minuscule of the beginning of xi c., without ornament, in two columns. Four ff. lacking at beginning. At the end there are numerous notes and a list of 31 works by S. Euthymius which is interesting because it omits the Nomocanon (of the VI Ecumenical Council), the Georgian translation of which is by some ancient writers attributed to Ephrem the Younger; nor does it appear from the list that Euthymius translated the Gospels or the Apostles.

68. THE LADDER OF S. JOHN CLIMACUS. $14\frac{7}{8}'' \times 9\frac{5}{8}''$. 315 ff. Parchment. Large minuscule in two columns without ornament. Very well preserved, in strong leather binding. In the preface S. Euthymius says that the abbreviated translation formerly existing was called *Clemaksi*, but he has entitled it *Cibe* (the ladder). The first copy of the Euthymian translation was written by John Svinkeli in 983, and this

[1] Cf. the note on the *verso* of the first fol. of the MS of the Synaxary ($15'' \times 9\frac{1}{2}''$) acquired for the Georgian section of the Bodleian Library in November 1910, which was newly (*akhlad*) bound by one German.

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copy by a certain Saba. There are notes at the end in the same hand as the text. On the last page are notes by Ilarion and Benedict (who bound the MS), pilgrims of the xviii and xix c.

69. TEACHINGS OF SS. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM AND EPHREM SYRUS. $14'' \times 11\frac{3}{8}''$. 317 ff. Parchment. Splendid specimen of compressed uncial script, in two columns, lacking one fol. at the beginning. Binding somewhat broken. MS written in A.D. 977 at Athos in the Georgian Lavra of Ushci (Oshci) at the Church of S. John the Baptist, while Saba was prior, by Stephan. The 'testament' (*anderdzi*), dogmatic in character, often found in Athos and Jerusalem MSS, is written by a certain David. The notes contain interesting historical facts about Thornici, the builder of the Iberian monastery at Athos, give the names of his kinsfolk, and mention his military campaign and victory over Sclerus.

70. S. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM'S COMMENTARY ON MATTHEW. $15\frac{5}{16}'' \times 11\frac{13}{16}''$. 260 ff. Parchment. This is the first of the 3 vols. (cf. Nos. 66 and 67) of the translation of S. Euthymius. It comprises chaps. i–xviii. Very large (*pharikhi*) minuscule; fresh, complete MS, in leather binding, lacking only the first leaf. The translation was made in 979 and this copy was written by the scribes Arseni Ninotsmindeli, John Grdzelidze, and Okropiri (i.e. Golden-mouthed) in 983. The binding was done by Serapion, probably in 1008. There is a long note at the end in the same hand as the text: *sakhelitha . . . da brdzanebitha Gh'th-shem'ssa m'msa*, &c.

71. TEACHINGS OF S. GREGORY OF NYSSA AND OTHER FATHERS. $11\frac{13}{16}'' \times 9\frac{5}{8}''$. 284 ff. Parchment. Large minuscule. x–xi c. In two columns, bound in leather, last leaves lacking.

72. TEACHINGS OF S. BASIL ARCHBP OF CAPPADOCIA, S. ZOSIMUS, AND S. EPHREM SYRUS. $6\frac{9}{16}'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$. 127 ff. Written by the hand of S. Euthymius the translator. x c. On three leaves a letter of S. Euthymius to the monk Theodore, dealing with apocrypha and the monastic life; it begins: *tsigni romeli mamaman Ephthvime miutsera Mthatsmindith Thevdores khutzessa mrecalsa pasukhad.*

73. TEACHINGS OF THE HOLY FATHERS. $8\frac{5}{16}'' \times 6\frac{9}{16}''$. 121 ff. Parchment. Legible minuscule. In great part autograph of S. Euthymius; the remainder is of later date and contains the discourse of *S. Gregory of Nyssa* concerning his brother *S. Basil the Great*, the epistle of *S. Basil the Divine* to *S. Gregory*, &c. Unbound.

74. HEXAEMERON. $10\frac{1}{16}'' \times 8\frac{5}{16}''$. 197 ff. Parchment. Defective. Handwriting of S. Euthymius.

75. COMMENTARY ON HOLY WRIT AND HYMNS TO THE B.V.M. $9\frac{3}{16}'' \times 6\frac{1}{8}''$. 162 ff. Parchment. Large minuscule. Corrected in many places by S. Euthymius, and in one place a note asking for the reader's prayers. x c. Strong leather binding.

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76. WORKS OF THE FATHERS: GREGORY THE DIVINE, BASIL THE GREAT, AND JOHN CHRYSOSTOM. $11\frac{3}{8}'' \times 7\frac{7}{8}''$. 249 ff. Parchment. Minuscule. Written by the scribe Arsen in the Iberian Monastery at Athos while one George was prior. xi c. Bound.

77. DOROTHEUS ON MONASTICISM and the PEARL OF S. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM. $9\frac{5}{8}'' \times 7''$. 215 ff. Minuscule. x–xi c.

78. WORKS OF THE FATHERS. $10\frac{1}{16}'' \times 7''$. 315 ff. Parchment. Beautiful minuscule. x c. Contains works of *Ephrem Syrus*, Life of *S. Maria Egyptiaca*, &c.

79. WORKS OF THE FATHERS. $10\frac{1}{16}'' \times 7\frac{7}{8}''$. 130 ff. Parchment. Small minuscule. x–xi c. Contains abridged *Commentary on S. Paul's Epistles by Cyril of Alexandria*, *Teachings of Gregory of Nyssa*, and *Lives of Saints*, translated by *S. George of the Holy Mount.*

80. TEACHINGS OF S. GREGORY OF NYSSA AND OTHER FATHERS. $11\frac{13}{16}'' \times 10\frac{1}{16}''$. 284 ff. Parchment. Large minuscule in two columns. x–xi c. Last leaves lacking.

81. S. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM'S COMMENTARY ON THE OLD TESTAMENT. $10\frac{1}{16}'' \times 7''$. 160 ff. Paper. Much worn. Rebound by a certain Saba. An ecclesiastical hand closely resembling the civil. xiv–xvi c.

82. COMMENTARY ON THE APOSTLES. $14\frac{7}{8}'' \times 9\frac{5}{8}''$. 117 ff. Paper. Fine minuscule, in two columns. Only the latter half of the MS is left. xiv–xvi c.

Note. All the *paper* MSS at the Iberian Monastery are in bad, broken leather bindings.

83. WORKS OF EPHREM SYRUS. $12\frac{11}{16}'' \times 7\frac{7}{8}''$. 145 ff. Paper. Fine minuscule. xiv–xvi c. MS in bad condition; many leaves cut out or worm-eaten. Contains: *Epistle of Ephrem Syrus to the monk John concerning Patience*, also other works by the same author.

84. HEXAEMERON OF S. BASIL THE GREAT and TEACHINGS OF S. GREGORY OF NYSSA. $13\frac{9}{16}'' \times 8\frac{3}{4}''$. 329 ff. Paper. Minuscule. xiv–xvi c. Last leaves lacking. At beginning representation of the Cross, and at end portrait of Christ.

85. TEACHINGS OF S. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM. $14\frac{7}{16}'' \times 11\frac{13}{16}''$. 167 ff. Paper. Fine legible minuscule in two columns. xiv–xvi c. Much damaged; leaves missing at beginning and end.

86. VAKHUSHT'S HISTORY OF GEORGIA. $13\frac{9}{16}'' \times 8\frac{5}{16}''$. 308 ff. Paper water-marked 1811. Title reads: *Istoria Georgiisa anu qovlisa Sakarthveloĕsa, kmnili Vakhushtis mier Bagrationisa, dzisa Vakhtang mephisa.* Fine small civil minuscule with vermilion headings written in interlaced ecclesiastical character. There is at the beginning an interesting note in Georgian, dated 1824, saying that this MS formerly belonged 'to the illustrious English Major Vent (? Went, ? Wight, ? White) Saab (? Sahib) and his wife Mariam', and another to the effect

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that it was presented to the Iberian Monastery at Athos by Plato Ioseliani on September 23, 1859. The former of the notes, in a woman's hand, runs as follows.: *ese Sakarthvelos Tzkhovrebis tsigni Inglizis maioris Venthis Saabis aris da Ghmerthman moakhmaros mas da amisi meughle Mariams khanis sitzotzkhleshid, rome mathi dze btsqinvale Davith mshvidobith mobrdzanebul iqos da dedamama mshvidobith enakhos. Kristes aketh ch q c d.* (i.e. 1824). The MS is in strong leather binding. It does not seem to differ from other MSS of the same book.

It would be interesting to know more about the English major, his Georgian wife, and their son David.

O. WARDROP.

'HE SAID' IN THE LATIN GOSPELS.

As a sequel to Prof. Burkitt's paper on the rendering of 'Chief Priests' in the Latin Gospels[1] the following statistics, provisional and incomplete as they are, may be welcome as a clue to the ramification of the Latin Versions.

The Concordance of Stephanus (1555) gives for *ait* the numbers:—

	Mt.	Mc.	Lc.	Jhn	Acts
	63	72	73	8	9
Dutripon gives	78	77	87	9	18

The passages are not complete, compared with the edition of 1592; but sufficient for a rough estimate.

The corresponding numbers are (without guarantee) in our chief documents:—

Codex D (d)		10	74	0	0	0
„	k (as far as preserved)	2	3	—	—	—
„	a	59	38	12	64	—
„	b	84	64	68	10	—
„	g	75	75	—	—	—
„	ff	—	65	60	9	—
„	g_1	81	—	—	—	—

What follows from these figures? First, that at least two Latin recensions must be distinguished, one which avoids *ait* and another which uses it freely.

Secondly that these versions are mixed in our documents. Luke in

[1] January 1908, ix 290.

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a and John in *b* belong to the same class, and *vice versa* Luke in *b* and John in *a*.

Thirdly a comparison with the division according to the rendering of ἀρχιερεύς shews that the translator who used *pontifex* (*k* in Mark, *a* Luke, *vg* in John) avoided *ait*.

The complete absence of the word in the later parts of *d* can be due to systematic revision. The *Thesaurus Latinae Linguae* says about *aio* (I, 1435):—

Notandum quod deest ap. CAES., in VIRG. *Ecl.*, in HOR. *Carm. Epod.*

De significatione cf. DON. TER. *Eun.* 139 semper 'ait' dicimus, cum vel invisa nobis et audientibus vel vana dicta narramus alicuius. *Andr.* 353 'ait' proprie quia contemnenda dicuntur. 321 'aiunt' de ea re dicimus quam volumus esse falsam. *Phorm.* 380 'ais' dicimus de eis qui vana loquuntur: 'dicere' autem dicimus de eis qui validiora.

If such a school tradition was in existence in a region where one of these Latin versions originated or came under revision, the reason for the absence of *ait* is clear.

Interesting is the occurrence of *ait* in *d* in the Gloss John xiv 1: 'et ait discipulis suis'.

I must leave it to others to take up these investigations; but I use the opportunity to ask, what is the best Concordance for the Latin Bible? That of *Peultier* gives *aïo* only till Gen. i, ii with the remark: deinceps omittitur; similarly says that of *Phalesius* 'et aliquoties', 'et saepe hoc capite'; in that of *Stephanus* in Mt. alone eighteen passages are missing, perhaps because it is not based on the text of 1592. Even in that of *Dutripon* I miss in Matt. viii 19, xiv 2, xv 24, xx 17, 25.

EB. NESTLE.

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'HOW DID THE JEWS BAPTIZE?'

STUDENTS will be grateful to the Rev. C. F. Rogers for his admirable survey of the evidence on this subject. His essay in the April number of the JOURNAL is a fine example of archaeological exactitude.

Nevertheless, it does not seem to me that he has proved his thesis. There are two distinct aspects of the question. The one is: Are the Rabbinic statements decisive as to the practice of submersion in the first century? The other is: Do the Rabbinic statements actually imply baptism by submersion at all? W. Brandt (*Die jüdischen Baptismen*, Giessen, 1910), who (unlike Mr Rogers) has no doubt that the second question must be answered affirmatively, questions whether bathing by immersion can have been prevalent in Palestine before the loss of independence (p. 32). He argues partly from the alleged paucity of water in the country (p. 34). But against this it may be urged, that abundance or defect of water in a country is *comparative*. Those who have spent much time in Palestine do not express themselves so absolutely, and my own briefer experience agrees with that of the authorities I am about to quote. 'The water supply of Palestine is fairly abundant' (Conder *Dictionary of the Bible* iii 642); 'Palestine is not exceptionally deficient in water . . . the country is not badly supplied with springs' (Socin *Encyclopaedia Biblica* 3539); 'It must not be thought that Palestine is a waterless country. . . . There are few spots from which a spring of some sort is not accessible' (R. A. S. Macalister, art. *Palestine* in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* ed. 11). The rain-water, too, was carefully stored, and any hole, or cavity, or pond, was eligible for ritual bathing. But we are not left to conjecture. During recent decades, when the Jewish population of Jerusalem has grown probably to equal or to exceed that of the Temple epoch, and when the water supply has been worse and not better organized than in the earlier period, there has never been the slightest difficulty in finding the water required by the Rabbinic ritual for the frequent submersions of women. As the persons to be 'bathed' ordinarily washed their bodies first, the water in which they were immersed remained clean, and could be used again and again. Moreover, in many cases in which ṭebilah or ritual-bathing was required, the act could be postponed until a visit to the Temple was contemplated.

But Mr Rogers's main contention concerns the Rabbinic evidence

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itself; he doubts whether the Mishnaic and Talmudic evidence really implies a practice of total submersion, which he seems inclined to defer to the Middle Ages. But what else but total immersion is conveyed by the statement in T. B. Yebamoth 47 b? We are told that the male proselyte receives certain brief instruction from two learned men, that he bathes and ascends (טבל ועלה, i. e. surely submerges himself in the bath and then comes up out of it), and is then accounted an Israelite. The only difference in the case of the female proselyte was that she received the instruction while crouching up to her neck in water. (I should add that the practice of total submersion does not imply necessarily that the person stood upright in the water, though this may have been the older practice. The woman, at all events, in later times was not allowed to stand so—she crouched in the water and dipped her head under. This is specially laid down in the Shulḥan 'Arukh, Yoreh Dea' ch. cxcviii § 35, and has some Talmudic authority, T. B. Niddah 67 a.) To return to the ceremony of baptizing a female proselyte as described in Yebamoth: 'Women place her (מושיבות) in the water up to her neck, and two learned men, standing outside, instruct her briefly.' Obviously, then, the woman was placed in a bath, and possibly was held up and supported (this may be the force of the Hebrew), for while she was undergoing the catechism she could not hold her head *under* the water! (This too is the explanation of the passage from Mishnah Berakhoth ii §§ 4, 5 cited by Mr Rogers.)

Yet, if one thing is certain, it is that in every act of ritual ṭebilah—and if so, undoubtedly in the case of the ṭebilah of a proselyte—the woman was required to cover her head and hair with water. This was the regular, monthly, case with the niddah (menstrual woman). The evidence of this is overwhelming. Take, e.g., the Mishnaic passage (Sabbath vi § 1). The Mishnah is discussing the ornaments which a woman may or may not carry on the Sabbath, and it ordains: 'A woman shall not walk abroad [on the Sabbath] with woollen, linen, or leathern bands on her head, and she shall not bathe ritually (ולא תטבול) with them [on week-days] until she unties them.' Her head and hair had thus to be so *entirely* covered with water that she had to remove even a hair-band. Thus from Yebamoth we know that the proselyte was placed in water up to her neck, and from other sources that the head and hair of the niddah had to be totally covered with water. The inference from these facts that total submersion was required is surely a just one. What else is possible?

The passage from the Mishnah Sabbath is reinforced by several more direct statements to the same effect. In fact, in a large number of the Rabbinic references to ṭebilah there is mention made of the *head* with such insistency as to point conclusively to total submersion. It is

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advisable at this point to explain what was meant by ḥaṣiṣah (חציצה)—literally 'intervention', 'separation', or 'intervening or separating object'. In the act of ṭebilah there was to be no ḥaṣiṣah between the water and the body. In the Mishnah Miqwaoth ix we have a list of those 'interventions' which render the ṭebilah nugatory; among them (§§ 1, 2) are several kinds of head-gear. Thus the head must have been submerged. Equally, or even more, emphatic is the Mishnah (Miqwaoth viii § 5) where the cases are treated of the niddah who, for instance, 'descends and bathes', and 'puts her hair in her mouth'—so that the water did not reach that part of her hair which she so retained; —and again (loc. cit.) of the niddah who, during ṭebilah, 'presses her lips too tightly together' (קרצה שפתותיה)—so that the water is *absolutely* kept from her mouth—in these cases the ṭebilah is quite ineffective (כאילו לא טבלה). In these cases, be it noted, 'she descends and bathes' (ירדה וטבלה), so that there is no room for supposing that some one poured water over her. Similarly with the *eyes*. R. Joḥanan says (T. B. Niddah 66 a), that if the bathing woman opened her eyes too widely or closed them too tightly the ṭebilah was useless. There is, in fact, no need to go beyond these prescriptions against ḥaṣiṣah to acquire the conviction that the ṭebilah contemplated by the Mishnah is an act of total submersion. Nor can it be assumed that these prescriptions were *theoretical* only. Actual incidents are recorded which shew that the laws of ḥaṣiṣah were practically applied. Thus (T. B. Niddah 66 b): 'It happened with the female slave of Rabbi (the compiler of the Mishnah) that she bathed and ascended (טבלה ועלתה), and there was found a bone between (חוצץ) her teeth, and Rabbi compelled her to undergo a further ṭebilah.'

It is impossible to explain these facts on the theory that the water was merely poured over the body. Such affusion was expressly forbidden. Water from a vessel (מים שאובים) was not only not to be used for ṭebilah, but it even 'made unclean' if it fell over the head and the greater part of the body of a person, who had already undergone ṭebilah in a spring or other lawful liquid. This rule occurs specifically in the Mishnah Zabim v § 12 with reference to eating teruma, and the rule was very old. From the discussion in T. B. Sabbath 13 b onwards it is seen to be part of the famous difference between the schools of Hillel and Shammai, and belongs at latest to the end of the first century A. D. It may well be much older, for the passage is dated by good authorities at 50 A. D. (Lerner *Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, 1885, pp. 113 sq.). According to T. B. Sabbath 15 b the rule against 'drawn water' is older still, being earlier than the Christian era. L. Katzenelson (*Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, 1900, pp. 433 sq.) plausibly argues that the rule as to total

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submersion (as opposed to merely pouring or sprinkling water) grew up in the Persian period, as a protest against the Persian rite of sprinkling (see Vendidad, Fargard ix). Tradition ascribed the laws of ṭebilah to Ezra (T. B. Baba Qama 82 a, T. Jer. Megillah IV, 1, 75 a 31), but the precise meaning of this ascription, and what it implies, is by no means clear. Be this as it may, the whole of the Rabbinic evidence falls in with the requirement that with laymen as with priests the whole body had to be washed at once, 'without any intervening' matter (שלא יהא דבר חוצץ בינו לבין המים) T. B. Erubin 4 b &c.; cf. for total washing at one act Siphra Meṣora' vi 3, 'Emor iv 7—ed. Weiss, pp. 77 b and 96 b). Mr Rogers thinks that the prescription of a legal minimum of 40 seahs for ṭebilah refers to the *quantity* of the water. This is so, but the whole point of requiring this quantity was that it sufficed to cover the whole body of a full-grown man at once. Both points—that the water must be enough to cover the whole body at once, and must not be 'drawn water'—are brought out together by a Mishnah in Miqwaoth v § 6, which certainly refers to laymen and not to priests:—'A wave which detaches itself [from the sea] and which contains 40 seahs, if it fall on a man or on vessels they are clean.' The sea is of course not 'drawn water', and the wave must contain at least 40 seahs, sufficient to immerse the man totally under its volume. The man need not in such a case deliberately dip his head in the sea if the wave has saved him the trouble by totally covering him.

There are many other points on which I should like to write, but I have directed my attention specifically to the main issue. It seems to me that there is no adequate ground for doubting that Jewish baptism in the first century was by total immersion.

I. Abrahams.

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'NOTHING EITHER GREAT OR SMALL.'

THESE words are the first line of a hymn which enjoyed an extraordinary popularity between 1860 and 1875. Familiarity brought on criticism and aversion, a new generation sprang up to which such didactic hymns did not appeal, and the once well-known hymn is now found indeed in Mr Sankey's *Sacred Songs and Solos*, but hardly anywhere else. I was recently asked for information regarding the hymn and its author. My notebooks seemed to promise an easy task; but the first attempt to verify the notes was quite fruitless; clue after clue led nowhere, and the facts only came to light after a very long correspondence in many quarters. The search revealed two things; first, that the history of the hymn affords a clear example of the way in which hymn-legends grow; and secondly, that the very severe criticisms which have been passed on the hymn rather miss the mark.

The stories which profess to tell the origin of well-known hymns are often nothing more than well-meant legends, designed to explain and justify the popularity of the hymns. Some are pure and simple fiction; see for example the *Dictionary of Hymnology*, 1907, p. 125 (*Befiehl' du deine Wege*; this hymn has recently been found in the 1653 edition of Crüger's *Praxis*, while Gerhardt was not married till 1655), and p. 963 (*Nun danket alle Gott*; which has recently been found in the 1647 edition of Crüger's *Praxis*, while the Peace of Westphalia was not signed till Oct. 24, 1648). A second class consists of those which are founded on fact, and are told in good faith; but, by lapse of time and repetition of the tale, the facts get mixed, incidents which relate to one hymn are transferred to another, fancy plays its part, and the final form of the story is quite legendary.

The legend of 'Nothing either great or small' belongs to this second class. But first of the author of the hymn.

James Proctor was born in November 1826 at Dalkeith, of parents belonging to the United Presbyterian Church. He attended one of the ordinary day schools at Dalkeith, and was then apprenticed to a tailor in Edinburgh. After three years his health began to fail: he returned home and was apprenticed to a carpenter. As he grew up he became interested in the Temperance movement, and in 1849 returned to Edinburgh, as an agent of the British League of Juvenile Abstainers. He connected himself with the congregation of James Robertson, and began to give addresses at Home Mission meetings. In 1851 he

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became Home Missionary to the congregation of William Reid of Edinburgh, and did good work there for five years, meantime attending classes at the University of Edinburgh. Finding the course of training required for the ministry of the United Presbyterian Church rather lengthy, he obtained leave to attend the theological lectures of the Scottish Congregational Hall after it was transferred to Edinburgh in 1855; and in June 1857 became Congregational minister at Hawick. For nine months all went well; then came a somewhat severe illness. On returning to work he began a course of lectures on the Acts of the Apostles, and drew from it lessons which were not agreeable to some of his hearers. Soon after he received an invitation to become Congregational minister at Hamilton, and went there in February 1859. In less than three months his health again broke down, rest and change availed little, and an attempt to resume work only brought on his final illness. After much suffering he passed peacefully into rest on Jan. 12, 1860. The funeral sermon preached by William Reid was published in 1860 under the title of *Undying Friendship*; the biographical portion has furnished much of the information in this article. The preacher probably overrated the abilities of his friend, but he spoke of what he knew from close intercourse; and at any rate one gets the impression of a man sincere, earnest, fearless, and devoted to his work as a servant of Jesus Christ.

He is known by a hymn which at one time enjoyed an extraordinary popularity, and which has called down upon itself the most trenchant criticisms. Let us take the criticisms first.

J. A. Froude contributed a paper on 'The Condition and Prospects of Protestantism' to *Fraser's Magazine* for January 1868 (reprinted in his *Short Studies*, ed. 1878, vol. ii p. 146). In this he relates that he had recently been present at an evening Evangelical Prayer meeting 'in one of our Western Counties', as one of an audience made up of all classes.

'When the first address was over, the congregation sung the following singular hymn, one of a collection of which, it appeared from the title-page, that many hundred thousand copies were in circulation :—

Nothing, either great or small

[Here follow the six verses in full.]

And this, we said to ourselves, is Protestantism. To do our duty has become a deadly thing. This is what, after three centuries, the creed of Knox and Luther, of Coligny and Gustavus Adolphus, has come to. The first Reformers were so anxious about what men did, if they could they would have laid the world under a discipline as severe as that of the Roman Censors. Their modern representatives are wiser than their fathers, and know better what their Maker requires of them. To the question "What shall I do to inherit eternal life?" the answer of old was not, "Do nothing," but "Keep the Commandments". It

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was said by the apostle from whose passionate metaphors Protestant theology is chiefly constructed, that "the Gentiles, who did by nature the things contained in the law" were on the road to the right place. But we have changed all that. We are left face to face with a creed which tells us that God has created us without the power to keep the Commandments—that He does not require us to keep them; yet at the same time that we are infinitely guilty in His eyes for not keeping them, and that we justly deserve to be tortured for ever and ever.'

This is strong enough. But Dr R. F. Horton in his *Teaching of Jesus* (1895, p. 85) is still more severe. He says:—

'Evangelical teaching has followed a course so eccentric that at last it makes the teaching of Jesus seem unorthodox. It has come to such a pass that the Law of the New Covenant has been nowhere so discredited as in the house of His friends. As against His express words, *every one that heareth these words of mine and doeth them*, a Christian lyric has been composed to the effect—

Doing is a deadly thing, doing ends in death.

If we come to ask what explanation they would give who have thus contrived to exactly reverse the word of their Lord, we get the answer, which has already been hinted at, that they are following the doctrine of St Paul.'

Does this criticism of the little hymn really hit the mark? Its style is bald to a degree. But it reveals its own purpose. Its very form suggests the after-meeting and enquirer's bench; it looks like a versification of words spoken by the writer at an after-meeting. Let us turn to the version given in the sermon, and to the foundation of the legend about it.

'It was while connected with this congregation [i.e. about 1850] that an incident occurred which shews the character of the man. Mr Robertson had preached two sermons from the words "My ways are not as your ways" [really Isaiah lv 8], in which he first shewed what were a sinner's ways of attempting to save himself, and then what was God's way. Two days after, he received a MS poem, entitled "The mistake and its rectification". In the first part of the poem the author describes the mistakes of sinners in seeking to make a way of salvation for themselves; and then, in the second part of it, he shews the error of such. As the second part consists of only a few stanzas, I may be excused for here giving it in full.

'Twas thus I plodded on,
And would have plodded still,
If I had not been shewn
The heights of Sinai's hill.

[Eleven stanzas follow.]

Mr Robertson, as you may suppose, was much struck with the composition. . . . He often read it to enquirers, and found that it met

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their case. Copies of it were asked by many; and in due time it found its way to the world in connexion with the Stirling tract circulation scheme. All this was unknown to its author. Some four or five years afterwards, Mr Proctor, on entering a book shop, observed it lying on the counter, and taking it up, thought he was familiar with the verses; and, what is singular, at this moment Mr Robertson entered the shop, and finding the tract in his hand, said "By the way, did I never give you a copy of this?" "No," was the reply; "but I gave you a copy." For the first time his minister knew who was its author; and on telling how it had been blessed to many souls, he replied that he "was glad to learn that he had not been altogether useless in the world". Mr Robertson, believing that his poetical talents might be turned to good service in the cause of Christ, requested of him farther contributions of a similar kind. In complying, he supplied a few pieces in which he gives expression to the subsequent experience of the believer. He says:—

"Since I discovered Jesus to be the end of the law for righteousness to every one who believeth, I have more than once met with a poor sinner seeking peace at the foot of Sinai, instead of the Cross, and coming as little speed as I did; and as I have heard him now and again in bitter disappointment and fear, groaning out 'What must I do?', I have said to him 'Do! do! what *can* you do? What do you *need* to do?—

Nothing either great or small, Nothing, sinner, no—
Jesus did it—did it all, Long, long ago.

When He from His lofty throne Stooped to *do* and *die*,
Everything was fully done—Hearken to His cry:

'It is finished!'—yes indeed—Finish'd every jot;
Sinner, this is *all* you need—Tell me, is it not?

Weary, working, plodding one, Why toiling so?
Cease your doing; all was done Long, long ago.

Till to Jesus' work you cling By a simple faith;
Doing is a *deadly* thing—Doing leads to death.

Cast your deadly doing down—Down at Jesus' feet;
Stand in Him, in Him alone, Gloriously complete."'

Practically the same account is given in the *Life of James Robertson of Newington* (1887, pp. 149, 150). There it is said that *The Mistake* was sent to Mr Robertson on the Monday, and was frequently used by him, but always in MS.

'It had, however, afterwards been printed, and widely circulated, as one of the series of "Stirling Tracts". The authorship of it was not known for about five years. In a bookseller's shop Mr Robertson met a friend, whom he noticed to be eagerly looking at this "Stirling Tract". Surprised to see it in print, he asked him: "It that new to you? Did I never give you a copy of it?" "It is new to me in *this* form," replied the other. "You never gave me a copy, but I sent you one." This friend—the Rev. James Proctor, who died soon after—was much touched

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on hearing how useful his lines had been to many; and agreed, at Mr Robertson's request, to write other verses, suitable for those asking what they "must do to be saved". They were published, along with the former, by "the Book Society", under the title, *Man's Way and God's Way*.'[1]

The vagueness of this account has led some of those who read it to believe that *The Mistake and its Rectification* was identical with the hymn *Nothing either great or small*. The last stage is reached in a letter (sent by a lady in Edinburgh, under date Dec. 7, 1910) in reply to enquiries:—

'I had often heard the tale of how the hymn "Nothing either great or small" was written by James Proctor. . . . He had been in distress of soul, but, on hearing Mr Robertson preach one Sabbath morning (I forget the text exactly) he, with great joy, entered into the light, and accepted the finished work of Christ. In the afternoon he wrote that hymn and sent it unsigned to Mr Robertson, who was delighted with it, and took it next day to Mr Stevenson the publisher on the Mound to have a number printed on a page slip. In a few days Mr Robertson called back at Mr Stevenson's for the hymn-sheets, and found this student in the shop. On getting the sheets Mr Robertson handed one to Mr Proctor. The latter, glancing at it, said he had seen that before, which surprised Mr Robertson, who said that he had got it in manuscript.'

Thus the incidents which really relate to *The Mistake* are transferred to the hymn, and furnished with a new setting, and the story passes into the region of legend. As a matter of fact *The Mistake and its Rectification* appeared in the end of 1853 at Stirling (advertised as ready

[1] The collection entitled *Man's Way and God's Way* is on sixteen tiny pages, printed for the Scriptural Knowledge Book and Tract Repository of St Heliers, Jersey; without date on title or at end of preface. The unsigned preface (apparently by Mr Robertson, evidently in 1860) states that the author, the Rev. James Proctor, had 'been recently taken away by death'; and gives an account of the origin of the hymns. It says that Mr Proctor 'consented to Mr Robertson's request to furnish a variety of other lines adapted to the circumstances of such as are "asking the way to Zion". Some of those little pieces are here appended.' Besides *The Mistake and its Rectification* and *Nothing either great or small* (with the prefatory note printed in the funeral sermon) there are only:—

1. Come, poor sinner, come away.
2. O yes, I'm sinful, that I know.
3. I've tried in vain a thousand ways.
4. 'Abide in Me,' or peace will leave thee.
5. Dark day when Eden's crown was lost.

Sincerity and spiritual-mindedness breathe through all; the poetical gift is not very evident.

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in the *British Messenger* for November 1853; the file copy kindly lent from Stirling is dated January 1854); the first part consisting of twenty-six verses, beginning

> With conscious guilt opprest,
> Of God and hell afraid—
> I smote upon my breast,
> Repented, wept and prayed,

and the second part in twelve verses, as printed in the funeral sermon. These thirty-eight verses have not one line in common with *Nothing either great or small.* That hymn was evidently written, at Mr Robertson's request, some five years after *The Mistake.* Mr Stevenson, in reply to enquiries, says that it was not printed by or for him, but was published by the Dublin Tract Repository; and a copy of the Dublin leaflet (undated, but about 1857) is now before me. It is headed *Deadly Doing*, with the subtitle 'What then must I DO to be saved?', and with the text in full of Gal. ii 16; Heb. ix 14; Col. ii 10. The variations from the 1860 version are

> Sinner, this is all *your* need.
> Weary, working, *burden'd* one,
> Why *toil you* so?
> Doing *ends in* death.

It was afterwards published as a leaflet in the Stirling series of Tracts, entitled *What must I do?*; but this was not till July 1865.

Let us turn then to the teaching of the hymn. It is clearly founded on the question of the Philippian Jailer, and on St Paul's answer, 'Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved'. The writer also had in his mind Col. ii 10, and probably Romans x 3–9. He was certainly thinking of our Lord's saying 'It is finished'. If he had any other sayings of our Lord in his mind they may have been 'Come unto Me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest', or 'Ye will not come unto Me that ye might have life', or 'This is the work of God, that ye believe on Him whom He hath sent'. The appeal of the hymn is this. 'You feel that you are a sinner in the sight of God. Do not try to work out a righteousness of your own, and refuse to accept the salvation offered you by Jesus Christ; for that is a deadly and dangerous course of action. Submit yourself to Jesus Christ, accept the salvation He offers you, and you will find in Him all you need.'

Whatever Froude may say, this is the teaching of Luther and of the Reformation generally (see Article XX of the Augsburg Confession and No. XIII of the Thirty-Nine Articles); and it was not unrepresented at

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the Council of Trent. The underlying idea of the hymn is that which we imply when we sing Toplady's nobler and more dignified words

Nothing in my hand I bring,
Simply to Thy Cross I cling.

And the writer was himself quite innocent of the intention to teach that conversion was the sum and end of the Christian life. He taught in season, it may be out of season, that true conversion must shew its fruits in a good life, and in the keeping of God's commandments. A passage in the funeral sermon plainly shews this:—

'On returning to Hawick in the summer of 1858, he commenced lecturing on the Book of Acts. It had been reported that a revival, previous to his settlement, had resulted in the conversion of wellnigh ninety souls. Of the fruits of this reported revival he had, however, seen little or nothing, so that, when in the course of his expository lectures on the Acts, he came to speak of those "who continued steadfast in the Apostles' doctrine", he adverted to the steadfastness of genuine converts; and referring to the reputed revival among themselves, asked the question, "If ten were cleansed, where are the nine?" From that day forward all peace was at an end.'

JAMES MEARNS.

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REVIEWS

THREE WORKS ON TEXTUAL CRITICISM.

ONCE more Dom de Bruyne, that *scriba eruditus* (the 'African' adjective is appropriate), has brought out to us something which may be described as *noua et uetera*. In 'Quelques documents nouveaux pour l'histoire du texte africain des Évangiles'[1] he has published a set of Summaries or Tables of Contents to the Four Gospels made not from the Vulgate or some late Old Latin text, but from the African Latin itself, from a text which is practically identical with St Cyprian's. The sources from which Dom de Bruyne has drawn this treasure are certain Vulgate MSS, the oldest of which (*Barberini* 637 and Munich 6212) are not older than the tenth century, but the internal evidence makes the 'African' origin of these Tables quite clear. For instance, they attest *lumen saeculi* in Joh. viii 12, where the European texts and the Vulgate have *lux mundi*; further, *expellere* and *excludere* are used for 'casting out' devils and *curare* for θεραπεύειν. The Tables for St Mark had already been published from another MS in the *Epilogus* to Wordsworth and White, but there they attracted no attention till Dom de Bruyne came and pointed out their importance—a curious parallel to the fate of the Marcionite *Argumenta*!

Three or four readings may be recorded here as samples of the value of these Tables:—

Luke lxii = ix 59–62: Ubi dixit, Sine mortui mortuos suos sepeliant; et alteri dixit, Nemo *retro attendens et superponens manum in aratro* aptus est regno Dei.

Mark xli = ix 28, 29: Ubi discipulis in domo interrogantibus respondit non posse genus illud daemonis *excludi* nisi in *orationibus et ieiuniis*.

Mark vii = i 35–39: Ubi . . . respondit, Eamus ad proxima castella et ciuitates praedicare, in hoc enim *exii*.

(Here all the Latins, including *e*, have *ad hoc enim ueni*. The Tables give therefore Latin attestation to εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ἐξῆλθον.)

Matthew lxvi = xxi 15, 16: Ubi indignati sunt *sacerdotes* et scribae quia pueri clamabant *Osanna domui Dauid*.

(Notice the 'African' *sacerdotes* instead of *principes sacerdotum*.

[1] Extract from the *Revue Bénédictine*, 1910.

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All extant authorities here have *filio Dauid*,[1] but Origen's MS had τῷ οἴκῳ Δ. either here or in *ver.* 9. As Dom de Bruyne well says (p. 27): 'Une question se pose: quelle valeur a cette variante pour la reconstitution du texte grec primitif? Sans entrer dans une discussion étrangère à cet article, je dirai seulement qu'elle a une plus grande probabilité intrinsèque, tandis que τῷ υἱῷ s'explique aisément comme une correction, et cela de deux manières: ou bien le recenseur a raisonné comme Origène et assimilé le v. 15 au v. 9, ou bien il a (fort justement d'ailleurs) interprété le texte et appliqué directement à Jésus une ovation qui selon la lettre s'adressait à la maison de David.')

I trust I have said enough to shew that Dom de Bruyne's *brochure* is indispensable to all future students of the Latin Versions.

Those who read Mr Hutton's little book called *An Atlas of Textual Criticism*[2] will find that I have had too much to do with certain parts of it to be a proper reviewer. What I desire to do here is to call attention to the remarkable Excursus on the Ferrar group (pp. 49–53), for which Mr Hutton is alone responsible. The Ferrar group consists of the Gospel MSS numbered 13 69 124 346 543 788 826 828 983 and von Soden's ε 1054. Most of them were written in Calabria, and they have been the subject of various studies by Dr Rendel Harris and others. Mr Hutton's conclusion, reached by tabulating the readings, however minute or insignificant, in certain classified groups of variations is that all that is really valuable in all these MSS is to be found either in 69 or 124. The others, according to Mr Hutton, are only useful when either 69 or 124 is not extant.

This is a startling result, and no doubt Dr Harris or Professor Lake will have something to say in reply. But after all the only way in which Mr Hutton's results can be definitely set aside is by pointing out readings where there is reason to believe that the archetype of the Ferrar group has been preserved by 13 346 &c., but neither by 69 nor 124. I must confess that such readings are very hard to find, and meanwhile Mr Hutton is entitled to remain in possession of the field. His investigations assume that the ancestors of this group of MSS were liable to be revised both in the direction of the Constantinopolitan text and also in that of ℵB (i.e. von Soden's *K* and *H*), while on the other hand the true original characteristics of the group are to be found in those readings which agree with neither of these, nor yet entirely with D. In any case Mr Hutton has done well to draw attention to 124. This interesting codex has been more often conformed to the late Constantinopolitan

[1] Or *fili Dauid*; see below.

[2] E. A. Hutton *Atlas of Textual Criticism*, University Press, Cambridge 1911.

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text than the rest of the Ferrar group, but not always in the same places as the others. Consequently it has preserved a good many very peculiar and rare readings (e.g. *ἐπικεφάλαιον* in Mk. xii 14), which can be nothing but survivals of the earliest form of this type of text.

It is difficult to know how one ought to review Mr Hoskier's study of the Golden Latin Gospels formerly known as the 'Hamilton Gospels' and now belonging to Mr J. Pierpont Morgan.[1] It is printed upon the most beautiful paper that I have ever seen, and it is adorned with four facsimiles, two of them in colours (gold letters upon different shades of purple) which are indeed a pleasure to look upon. Of Mr Hoskier's part it is not possible to speak so unreservedly. In the first place it is very hard reading. Mr Hoskier gives a collation of the MS (which he and the Abbot Gasquet are going to call P) with the Clementine text (pp. 79–344), and he prefixes to it both an Introduction and Preliminary Remarks. It is a pity that he did not confine his collation proper to the Clementine Vulgate, following the precedent which he himself adopted in his edition of 604 (= Greg. 700). It would then have been easier to see at a glance what the character of these Golden Gospels really is. 'Our MS has no very extraordinary text nor yet an ordinary one,' is Mr Hoskier's verdict (p. xxvi); by this he appears to mean very much what Samuel Berger meant when he said 'Le texte de notre manuscrit est une Vulgate mélangée d'un certain nombre de leçons étrangères, dont plusieurs sont rares ou paraissent uniques, soit par l'erreur du copiste, soit à cause de l'antiquité et du caractère original de notre texte' (Berger *Histoire de la Vulgate* p. 261).

Mr Hoskier ranges over all sorts of subjects, including remarks on a poem by Kipling,[2] and he sees Coptic influence where no one else does. He is very severe on his predecessors. 'Abbott probably misses many points of interest' (p. xlviii). 'Professor Wattenbach examined it to some extent; and so did the great authority, Berger, but their labours were not thorough, and they gave us no readings' (p. xi). This is hardly fair to Berger who gives a selection of 28 characteristic readings (*op. cit.* p. 261 notes 2 and 3)! But Mr Hoskier himself is not impeccable. 'We find *euuangelium* frequently in our MS and nowhere out of England,' says he on p. xiv; and again 'the conclusive double *uu* in *euuangelium*' (p. 7). But this *uu* is quite common. Among Vulgate MSS it occurs in the title to St Matthew in Codex Vallicellanus. Perhaps Mr Hoskier will claim everything connected with Alcuin as 'British'. Well then, we can go on to the eleventh-

[1] THE GOLDEN LATIN GOSPELS in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan, now edited for the first time . . . by H. C. Hoskier (New York, privately printed, MCMX).

[2] P. lv, on Matt. viii 29 (*perdere—torquere*): Mr Hoskier appears to think that devils *die* when they are 'cast out'.

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century MS of Clemens Romanus from near Namur, or to the sixth-century MS of Priscillian at Würzburg.[1]

Again, on pp. 9 and 178 codex O of the Vulgate is expressly cited by Mr Hoskier as reading *profugit ad eis* in Mk. xiv 52. This appears to be nothing more than a misreading of Wordsworth and White's note *ad loc.*, which begins with '52. ad O. eiecta Q;' &c., i.e. O begins the verse with *ad ille* instead of *at ille*![2] Even more culpable is Mr Hoskier's misreading of Dr Abbott on p. xlviii (repeated on p. lxxxix), in view of his strictures on that veteran scholar.[3] Mr Hoskier says:—

'Matt. xxi 15 — filio dauid P (*teste Abbott* — filii r_2).

This is an error on the part of both. Probably Abbott means that r_2 omits *filio dauid.*

[This is in line with Syriac ideas, although *syr.* does not omit here. See remarks elsewhere as to the Syriasms of r_2].

This is rather disappointing, convicting P and r_2 apparently of modern carelessness.'

I give Mr Hoskier's note in full to shew the style in which this magnificently got-up book is written.

Dr Abbott says in his well-known edition of *r*, p. 825:—

'15. [*vi*]*diens* . . . *princeps* . . . fecit: + *ihs* § . . . in templo: om . . . *filii.* §'

That is to say, in accordance with his usual notation, that among other things r_2 omits 'in templo', and that it reads *Osanna filii Dauid* in agreement with the Book of Kells. Turning to Wordsworth and White we find that both in Matt. xxi 15 and in *ver.* 9 the whole group of Irish MSS with ℜ* and Z* have *filii* or *fili*, following *a* and *e* which have *fili* where we should have expected *filio.* I suppose the word is meant for a vocative, but its origin is most probably to be found in De Bruyne's *Osanna domui Dauid*, mentioned in the earlier part of this article. In any case Dr Abbott is vindicated, and Mr Hoskier convicted of 'modern carelessness'.

It would be unjust to Mr Hoskier not to recognize the enthusiasm with which he has applied himself to this study, and he has certainly

[1] Mr Hoskier's views on Latin Palaeography may be seen from p. 16, where he says about Codd. Cavensis and Toletanus: 'A connection with English MSS (we say English, for even if CT were written in Spain they were apparently written under Saxon or Irish scribes or from British MSS) as regards form is seen at Mk. iv 4–8'—because C has *caecidit* for *cecidit* with Mr Morgan's MS! On p. xlvii we find 'Codex Bezae was therefore in Britain not long after it was written'!

[2] The Gothic *faura* which Mr Hoskier here quotes as if it supported *ad eis* does nothing of the sort. It is the same idiom as the German *fliehen vor*; see Joh. x 5.

[3] On p. xxxvi we learn that Mr Hoskier was informed by Mr De Burgh that Dr Abbott was in some cases at least more accurate than he had supposed. Perhaps some day he will learn the difference between a scholar and a dilettante.

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reopened the case for the English origin of Mr Morgan's Codex. Readings such as *discipulus ille* for *discipulus alius* in Joh. xviii 16 (= AΔSX^{c}Y *aur*) require a good deal of explaining away if a Continental scriptorium be postulated, and there are a good many other points of a similar nature. The purple skins may have been brought from abroad: the marked variation in their colour may indicate either inexperience in dyeing them, or that they were procured at different times and from different places.

F. C. BURKITT.

THE *PROTEVANGELIUM*.

Le Protévangile de Jacques et ses remaniements latins. Introduction, textes, traduction et commentaire par ÉMILE AMANN. (Letouzey et Ané, Paris, 1910.)

THIS is the first volume of a very welcome series, *Les Apocryphes du Nouveau Testament*, which is to appear under the direction of MM. J. Bousquet and É. Amann. It is to comprise the principal apocryphal Gospels, acts, and apocalypses, in about a dozen volumes. All who value the lucidity of French exposition will give it a most cordial reception.

The book now before us is not a final edition of the *Protevangelium*, but it is a thoroughly convenient and sensible one, and it gives a *conspectus* of the history of the book in East and West, which is deserving of the utmost praise.

The arrangement of the volume is as follows: analysis of the texts, survey of the doctrinal position and object of the authors; notice of the texts and versions, discussion of the unity and date of the book, review of its history in the Greek Church, in the Western Church, and since the Renaissance, bibliography. The above are the component parts of the introduction (pp. 1–176). Then follow the Greek text (that of Tischendorf, with selected variants[1]), the Latin text of Pseudo-Matthew down to the Flight into Egypt (chapters i–xvii 2), and the Pseudo-Hieronymian book *De Nativitate Mariae*. This last is preceded by a prologue (published from the Chartres MS 162 of the eleventh century) which was known to Vincent of Beauvais and James de Voragine.

[1] Including those of the Ethiopic version, a Latin translation of which was published by M. Chaine in the *Corpus scriptt. eccl. orient.* series I vol. vii.

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Each of the texts is accompanied by a French version and a commentary.

All this work appears to me to be done in an eminently practical and intelligent fashion. The author does not claim to give us a fresh text, nor to have solved all the problems connected with the *Protevangelium*. Indeed, for the constitution of a really critical text a great deal of research will be necessary. The Greek MSS—the oldest of which is a Bodleian fragment from Egypt of cent. v–vi—are very numerous and very incompletely known; the versions have not been exhaustively studied; and many important questions, especially those affecting the integrity of the book, must still be regarded as open. With regard to the last-named point, M. Amann accepts Berendts's conclusion that the story of the death of Zacharias (xxii–xxv) is an interpolation taken from a separate *Apocryphum Zachariae*, but rejects Harnack's view that chapters xviii–xxi is a similar interpolation taken from an *Apocryphum Iosephi* (the narrative, it will be remembered, is put into the mouth of Joseph), preferring the hypothesis that the author of the *Protevangelium* was himself combining two sources (p. 99). His verdict is that the book (without the episode of Zacharias) was the work of a Catholic, not a heretic, was probably known to Clement of Alexandria, and certainly to Origen, and took shape if not in 150, at latest about 180. He rejects the idea that it was used by Justin Martyr.

It is impossible to resist the impression that the narrative of Joseph in xviii 2 *sqq.*, is the work of a writer who differed *toto caelo* from the author of the story of Joachim and Anne. The scale of the narrative and the quality of the imagination displayed are of quite another kind. M. Amann is to my mind probably right in thinking that the combination of this story with that of Joachim and Anne is due to the author of the *Protevangelium*. The question of the general character of the *Apocryphum Iosephi* is an interesting one. Shall we ultimately find that the late Egyptian *History of Joseph the Carpenter* is based on this same book?

M. Amann is particularly to be congratulated on his chapters dealing with the history of his texts in the Eastern and Western world.[1] Few

[1] I may be allowed, perhaps, to draw attention to a possible early allusion to the *Protevangelium*, which I have not seen noticed elsewhere. It is in the Vercelli *Acts of Peter* xxiv (Lipsius, p. 72 ll. 4, 5). Among a number of prophecies of the Virgin-birth we have 'et iterum dicit *Peperit et non peperit.* et iterum : *non minimum prestare uobis agonem. Ecce in utero concipiet uirgo*', &c. Lipsius would transfer the words *non minimum . . . agonem* to the end of the chapter, and set them in a quite different connexion. But are they not very probably a rendering of the phrase in *Protev.* xx 1 οὐ γὰρ μικρὸς ἀγὼν περίκειται περὶ σοῦ? These words are addressed by the midwife to the Virgin. I admit that they do not make sense where they occur in the *Acts of Peter*: they may have been a marginal gloss referring the reader to the relevant passage in the *Protevangelium*.

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of us have the patience to study for ourselves the Greek *Encomia* on the Virgin, and we are grateful for a guide through such a desert of words. I miss in the sections dealing with the Latin Church any notice of the *Vita Rhythmica* of the Virgin and Christ, edited by A. Vögtlin in 1888 (*Bibl. d. litt. Vereins in Stuttgart* no. 180). The sources of this poem deserve to be investigated. It will be found that there is an intimate connexion between it and a series of anecdotes printed by Dr Oscar Schade from a Giessen MS (*Narrationes de Vita et Conversatione B.V.M.*, &c., Halle 1870). These anecdotes profess to be taken, in many instances, from Greek writers—Germanus, Theophilus, Epiphanius, Ignatius, &c.—and in their order they correspond exactly with the contents of the *Vita Rhythmica*; only there is nothing in them corresponding to the portion of the *Vita* which deals with the Ministry. The *Vita* names some of the same Greek writers as its authorities, and announces that the name of each author will be placed opposite to the matter drawn from him ('et in locis singulis ponendi sunt auctores'); but, in the MSS used by Vögtlin, this promise has not been fulfilled. The use of Greek authorities by mediaeval Western writers is always an interesting phenomenon, and, in the present instance, especially interesting, in view of our deep ignorance of the history of the Infancy legends in the West.

The commentary upon the texts strikes me as very good. It is largely devoted to bringing out the author's meaning. There is not a great deal of linguistic criticism in it; perhaps not quite enough; but it is of great service to the reader.

The series of *Apocryphes du Nouveau Testament* has thus begun extremely well. I look with great interest for the appearance of further volumes.

M. R. JAMES.

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JOHANNINE VOCABULARY AND GRAMMAR.

Johannine Vocabulary, A comparison of the words of the Fourth Gospel with those of the Three. By EDWIN A. ABBOTT. (Adam and Charles Black, London, 1905.)

Johannine Grammar. By EDWIN A. ABBOTT. (Adam and Charles Black, London, 1906.)

IT is fitting that these two volumes, which Dr Abbott describes as Parts V and VI of his great work on the Gospels called *Diatessarica*, should be reviewed together. They both are preliminaries to a commentary on the Fourth Gospel, and are intended to break the ground for its more complete exegesis. There are big books which may assuredly be described as big evils, but of these no scholar can speak except in terms of the deepest respect. They are simply crowded with erudition and acute observation, and a reviewer feels that his task is almost as hopeless, as if he were called on in a few pages to deal with the *Bibliotheca* of Photius or the Oxford Dictionary. Dr Abbott represents the best traditions of Cambridge scholarship. It is natural to compare him with Westcott, almost the only modern scholar whom he habitually mentions. From the scholarly standpoint there is little difference between them, and both have a very special sympathy with Johannine thought. To estimate their differences, which are many, would hardly come within the scope of this review. The one point, that is relevant, is that Dr Abbott takes little notice of other workers in the same field. His work is his own, and he 'ploughs a lonely furrow'. In many respects he is like the late Dr Henry, who devoted long years to the accumulation of material to illustrate his favourite author Virgil. At first sight *Aeneidea* is overwhelming in the same way as *Diatessarica*. But perhaps after all the German idea of an advancing army of scholars working more in concert, each pointing out the mistakes of the other and profiting by the criticism he gives and receives, is the more fruitful. Yet a country, that has produced such scholars as John Lightfoot, Bingham, Field, can only be equally grateful to its Henrys and Abbotts. If the modern writers cited by Dr Abbott are few, the ancients are hardly more numerous. He deals fairly often with Philo and Epictetus, and regularly quotes Origin, Chrysostom, and Nonnus, with here and there a not unsuccessful defence of Heracleon (cf. 1647). 'The Johannine language in general', he says, 'has been carefully classified with a view to the elucidation of particular passages; and the LXX, the Synoptists, the New Testament as a whole, Epictetus and the

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Papyri of 50–150 A.D. have been recognized as safer guides than writers of the third century and far safer than those of the fourth.' If he had fully carried out this programme, there would have been nothing to say by way of criticism. But the papyri are barely mentioned in the first volume, and in the second only the Berlin *Urkunden* and the publications of the Egypt Exploration Society are quoted. Everything seems to shew, that it was only in the last stages of this work that Dr Abbott's attention was called to the papyri. The second English edition of Blass's grammar did not come into his hands till the *Grammar* was in the press. But the first German edition was published in 1896. Deissmann's *Licht vom Osten* was not published till 1908, but his *Bible Studies* appeared in an English edition in 1901. Dr J. H. Moulton's *Prolegomena* did not come out soon enough to be utilized. It is altogether a misfortune, that so important a work as this cannot be regarded as complete, because it takes insufficient account of the newest material bearing on the language of the New Testament. It is safe to assume that Dr Abbott will in the near future be led to modify some of his conclusions. A few detailed instances may be given in illustration of this. The chapter on Johannine Synonyms, which covers fifty pages, will have to be reconsidered throughout. It may be, that many of its conclusions will be justified, but they will all require re-examination. Thus take ὁράω and βλέπω. Dr Abbott says βλέπω is 'I note', θεωρῶ 'I behold', ὁρῶ 'I see spiritually'. Thus ἑώρακα as used by Mary Magdalene 'implies probably more than mere material seeing, and perhaps not material seeing at all'; in which the last clause is very characteristic. In xx 29 'the Evangelist does not and could not write οἱ μὴ ἑωρακότες. In that spiritual sense, Jesus could not pronounce a blessing on "those who have not seen": for ὄρασις means "true vision"'. But surely ἰδόντες means here 'seen with their eyes', and ἑωρακότες would only be inappropriate because it would mean 'dwelt upon with a prolonged gaze'; so μὴ ἰδόντες is more appropriate 'never once saw and yet believed'. 'It would be interesting', says Dr Abbott, 'to ascertain the motives that led the writer to dispense with the present' of ὁράω. But ὁράω, as Dr Moulton points out, is durative in meaning, and cannot form an aorist. In all popular language and broadly speaking in the New Testament it is superseded, where vision pure and simple is described, by βλέπω. The votary, who expresses his gratitude to Asklepios for recovery of sight, uses ἀνέβλεψα: it would have been contrary to all usage of the time, if John ix 7 had been expressed καὶ ἦλθεν ὁρῶν. The common use of the present of ὁρᾶν is in the phrase ὅρα μή, and this is plentiful both in the New Testament and in the papyri. 'It is impossible to say confidently how the writer differentiates John i 18 (ἑώρακεν) from 1 John iv 12 (τεθέαται).' Is the

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answer not simply, that θεάομαι only imports the associations of θεατής, θέατρον, and that the intrinsic meaning is the same? When Dr Abbott proposes to emend the reading of the MSS in iv 45 and vi 2 to suit his view of θεωρεῖν and ὁρᾶν, cautious persons will feel some doubt as to his conclusions. Again he says that ὑπάγω means 'I go home' and πορεύομαι 'I go a journey'. It is very difficult to carry this out consistently; e.g. in John xv 16. But what does he mean by saying that ὑπάγω is colloquial but not in *Pap. Index* (2082[1])? Take the letter of the boy Serenus to his father (*Berl. Gr. Urk.* I. 38). He says 'Καθ' ἡμέραν ὑπάγω (not home but from home) to the woman Serapias, who sells beer, and she always puts me off to to-morrow'. Luke alters the ὑπάγω of Mark, because it is colloquial. Now any one will agree, that the Fourth Gospel is written with great care and that the evangelist may have intended to distinguish ὑπάγω and πορεύομαι, but he could not have expected his readers to understand a meaning quite different from that which the word would bear in ordinary conversation. Dr Abbott must have convinced the most careless of his readers, that the writer was capable of great subtlety and allusiveness, but still he presumably wished to be understood. After these two instances it is unnecessary to consider the distinctions suggested between ἀποστέλλω (general) and πέμπω (special) and other synonyms. It is only contended here, that they all must be submitted to the bar of popular usage, and rejected or accepted accordingly. I should wish not to be supposed to be arguing for the identity of meaning of these synonyms. The use of ἀγαπῶ and φιλῶ, excellently explained by Dr Abbott though not for the first time, shews the contrary. But after all the Fourth Gospel was written in the first instance for the benefit of the first and second centuries (not to be too precise), and it can hardly be, that some of its meaning was absolutely obscure till the twentieth. Other cases, in which it appears that Dr Abbott's views will have to be re-examined, are such usages as στῆναι εἰς, εἶναι εἰς (*esse . . . in* c. acc. is found in legal Latin and the MSS of Cicero), and certain supposed Hebraisms, such as ἐν instrumental, ἦν διδάσκων, &c. He does occasionally change his view, as the result of reading. Thus e. g. repeated ἐκεῖνος is 1920 a Hebraism, but 2729 a colloquialism: the latter is certainly right. The present writer can speak with impartiality here, as he has previously objected to the elimination of all Hebraisms from the New Testament, but we shall certainly find, that their number has been exaggerated.[1] Dr Abbott can hardly maintain his consistently 'telic' view of ἵνα in a future edition. To him there is always some suggestion of motive or

[1] It is possible that the singular χεῖρα in vii 30 may be Hebraistic. Compare the Benedictus (Luke i 71, 74) ἐκ χειρός, where the Prayer-book version has 'hands' as more natural to English idiom.

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effort in ἵνα, but in ἄξιος ἵνα, συνήθειά ἐστιν ἵνα, οὐ χρείαν εἶχεν ἵνα, it is very hard to accept 'a notion of some standard of excellence to be attained'. Doubtless we should all have preferred, if possible, to maintain the position of Westcott. The same must be said of prepositions. It is extremely ingenious to suggest in i 30 that ἀνήρ conveys the associations of νυμφίος and therefore ὑπέρ has its full meaning, but it is unconvincing. It is more certainly wrong to press the idea of exchange in ἀντί (i 16). Does not the quotation from Philo (i 253) support the idea of succession rather than substitution? On the other hand Dr Abbott is certainly right in his view of πρῶτός μου (2665) which is supported by an inscription and papyri. He apparently takes πλήρης (i 14) as agreeing with λόγος. In the 'notes on preceding paragraphs' he sometimes modifies his previously expressed view. Thus he abandons the translation of Thomas's words 'My Lord is also my God'. The contemporary description of Domitian as 'dominus et deus noster', as Deissmann points out, very strongly confirms the ordinary translation. With every desire to avoid any prejudice in favour of one opinion rather than another, I cannot be convinced, that in vi 19–21 ἤθελον λαβεῖν means 'would have liked to take him into the boat but did not', or that ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης means 'near the sea'. I agree with Westcott, who says, 'The words might mean (as xxi 1) "on the sea-shore", but the context and parallels determine the sense here'. Apparently (1909) the whole story is held to be a spiritual allegory, but if so, it should have been made less obviously literal. It is impossible to accept his view that Matt. v 14 is a mistake corrected by John viii 12. In some cases ambiguities are not positively cleared up. In xiv 1 Dr Abbott prefers the imperative; in v 38, against Origen and Chrysostom but with great plausibility, the indicative. Nothing could be better than the 'semi-interrogative' view (iv 48): 'it is exclamatory as regards the class but interrogative as regards the individual.' But it is less easy to suppose, that two meanings are combined in one word (i 5 κατέλαβεν *both* take captive *and* apprehend), one idea being predominant in the writer's mind (i 1 'devoted to' and 'in converse with', xiii 1 εἰς τέλος 'to the last' and 'to the uttermost'). Further if he means that the word προσφάγιον was selected, though it was derived προσ-φάγιον, because it suggested προ-σφάγιον, the suggestion is not perhaps to be rejected unhesitatingly, but seems a little fanciful. A few instances may be given of many most interesting suggestions as to the hidden meaning of the writer. The phrase xix 17 παρέλαβον οὖν τὸν Ἰησοῦν (οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς) ironically recalls i 11 οἱ ἴδιοι αὐτὸν οὐ παρέλαβον. There is a reminiscence of i 28 in x 40. The form ἐκάθισεν is used for a special purpose in xix 13. There is a special purpose in vii 35 Ἕλληνας xii 3 the repeated πόδας. Indeed the fullness of meaning conveyed by the writer is

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illustrated by Dr Abbott *passim*: it only needs to be added, that we cannot suppose he meant anywhere to hide it from his readers. A few instances of Dr Abbott's conclusive reasoning may be given. In i 9 φῶς agrees with ἐρχόμενον, iii 3 ἄνωθεν means from above, πάλιν after a verb of motion generally means 'back', προσκυνεῖν c. acc. denotes spiritual, c. dat. formal worship, John does not use the substantive μάρτυς, because it had already acquired a technical sense as in Rev. ii 13, ἡ γραφή may mean Scripture generally, he is illuminating on apposition, which defines or corrects, and on the varieties of the possessive pronoun, Origen's explanation of xix 30 is well defended; and if he has not exactly 'settled Hoti's business' he has done much to 'properly base Oun'. A good many emendations of the text are suggested here and there. Few are attractive but one certainly does remove a difficulty, in vii 52, where ⟨ὁ⟩ προφήτης deserves careful consideration. Accurate exegesis throws a flood of light on James i 25 in connexion with the meaning of παρακύπτω. One of the most interesting features of the work is the use of Epictetus, though § 1700 is wellnigh unintelligible. It would be interesting to see the parallels e.g. in the use of ἄλλος, μαρτυρία, ἕλκω, ἐλεύθερος, φίλος Θεοῦ, worked out in a separate treatise. But surely Dr Abbott cannot seriously suggest (1788 a) that 'John had Epictetus in view'. According to Schenkl Epictetus was born in 50 or 60 and died in 130 or 140 A.D. We are indebted for his writings to Arrian, who probably did not publish them before the age of the Antonines. Such a date for the Fourth Gospel as that of Keim cannot be maintained nowadays, and in no other way can the direct borrowing be maintained. On the other hand Dr Abbott is certainly right in postulating on the part of the evangelist an acquaintance with Philo and Alexandrian-Jewish thought. He has himself (1790 b) suggested an explanation of the parallelisms, viz. that Epictetus may have been to some extent 'indebted to Jewish thought or to Jewish expression (through Philo or other writers)'. How the symbolism of numbers, dear to Jewish thought and explained fully by Philo (e.g. ἅγιον πρᾶγμα δοκιμάζεται διὰ τριῶν μαρτύρων) throws light on the Gospel, Dr Abbott has clearly and conclusively shewn. In a work, where everything is interesting and so much is good, it is hard to select, but the final chapters of the *Grammar* on 'Arrangement and Variation', 'Repetition' and 'Connexion of Sentences' are the most original and valuable part of the whole. To quote would be to spoil. They are indispensable for any future worker on the Johannine writings.

Finally it is interesting to gather the 'obiter dicta' on the authorship of the Gospel. 'By "John" is meant, throughout the whole of this volume, the writer of the Fourth Gospel, of which the originator may have been (as the Gospel suggests) John the son of Zebedee, but of

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which the writer, the exact nature of the origination, and the exact extent to which the writer paraphrased, commented, and blended allegory with fact, are (in my opinion) at present unknown' (Preface). 'The Fourth Gospel was probably written by some one connected with the author of Revelation.' It is implied that the Gospel and First Epistle are from one hand. 'The reputed author or originator—the disciple whom Jesus loved—lived (so says tradition) to a great age.' 'Οἴδαμεν (xxi 24) is one word and represents the attestation of unnamed persons', 'the words following the attestation in the first person are an addition, supposed to come from the teaching of the aged Disciple, repeating, in effect, what he had said at the conclusion of the first edition of the Gospel'. This is a theory, which at least gets rid of that phantom John the Presbyter and meets all difficulties. How great must have been the Plato of the beloved disciple, Dr Abbott may fairly claim to have shewn. But is there really room for him? Dr Abbott is not quite sure himself, for he says (1891) 'the book seems to combine the occasional diffuseness of an old man with the general and pervasive subtlety of a master of words in the prime of intellect'. At any rate on this theory we can never say, what is due to author and what to originator, for the Gospel is a χιτὼν ἄραφος. That these volumes will go through another edition is to be hoped. Their author will probably never agree with Deissmann, that the Gospel is 'ganz volkstümlich': nor should we wish him to do so, if that implies the absence of literary art. But if it only means that it was throughout intelligible to the public to which it was addressed, it is not impossible that he may one day be led by his investigations further in that direction.

G. C. RICHARDS.

A NEW EDITION OF THE POEM OF ARATOR.

Aratore: contributo allo studio della Letteratura Latina nel Medio Evo, by GIUSEPPE LUDOVICO PERUGI. (Tipogr. Patriarc. già Cordella, Venice, 1908.)

ITALIAN scholars have always taken a commendable interest even in the lesser lights of their national literature, and it is therefore no surprise to receive from Italy a separate edition of the Italian Latin poet Arator, whose poem *De Actibus Apostolorum* has not been published by itself, or, so far as we know, in any form, for over half a century. The last edition, that of A. Hübner (Neisse, 1850), has

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no special merits, and the time had certainly come when a new edition might safely be issued. Signor Perugi in an interesting introduction of fifty-three pages treats in succession the life of the poet, the poem, the metre, and the circulation of the poem. Altogether he enumerates eighteen manuscripts, of which the oldest are Chartres No. 70 (saec. ix), Monte Cassino No. 146 (saec. x), and Orléans No. 295 (saec. x).[1] A list of printed editions is followed by a brief classification of the manuscripts. Perugi distinguishes two classes, one of which is characterized by omission of various lines contained in the other. The text is printed in large clear type with a brief critical apparatus: an index of select words and a table of contents conclude the volume.

The interest of the edition would have been increased if the manuscripts had been further classified, if the editor had added references to chapter and verse of the canonical *Acts* in the margin, and if he had indicated throughout the borrowings from earlier poets.[2] The editor's aim, however, has been merely to give us an improved text, not in any sense a final edition of the poet, and he has succeeded in his aim. In accuracy the printing falls short of our Northern standards. The critical apparatus contains too much merely orthographical material: on eliminating this we get the impression that the manuscript tradition is almost unanimous.

A. SOUTER.

BOOKS ON THE NEW TESTAMENT.

IN *The Son of Man: or Contributions to the Study of the Thoughts of Jesus*, by Dr Edwin A. Abbott (Cambridge University Press, 1910), we have a very thorough treatment of the various problems connected with the title 'The Son of Man'—as it occurs in the Old and in the New Testament. Dr Abbott begins by stating a working hypothesis, on the basis of which he examines with minute care all the passages bearing on the question.

His hypothesis may be stated briefly as follows. When our Lord uses this self-appellation, He is commonly supposed to be recalling to His hearers' minds the imagery of Daniel and of Enoch. The title is a recognized Messianic title, and our Lord in using it claims for Himself

[1] His list is not complete: a Cambridge MS has been omitted, and I believe there is also one at Reims.

[2] For example *sanguine fuso* (I 192) is a tag of Lucan (II 439, IV 278), *praepete cursu* (I 259) of Statius (*Theb.* vi 298).

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the title of Messiah. In our Lord's mouth, then, the 'Son of Man' means 'the Messianic figure that is made familiar to us by Daniel'. This position Dr Abbott vigorously attacks. He maintains that the passage in Daniel does not mention 'the Son of Man' at all, but only 'one like a Son of Man'—that is 'one like a human being'; and also that 'the Son of Man' is not used with a Messianic significance in either of the Talmuds or in any other early Jewish literature.

If the 'Son of Man' in the Gospels does not mean the Messiah, what does it mean? Dr Abbott believes that the expression 'Son of Man' is traceable not so much to the visions of Daniel as to the spirit of the Old Testament as a whole, in which 'Man' is regarded primarily as being supreme over the brute or beast creation, in his capacity of being able to *draw near to God*. The actual title 'Son of Man' is derived not so much from the one instance in Daniel as from the repeated appellations of Ezekiel under this description. And further, in Ezekiel the Targumist takes the Hebrew as 'Son of Adam' (i.e. the Patriarch), not as 'Son of Adam' (i.e. man). So we are led to the inference that Jesus called Himself in Aramaic *bar Adam*, meaning 'Adam's Son'. Mark accepted the rendering ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου—'*the* Son of *the* Man', and the other Christian writers were reluctant to change a thing so sacred as the self-appellation of the Christ. In Greek, shaped by Christian thought, this title might mean 'The Son of Mankind', that is, its representative and champion, and so would amount almost to the same as 'the (ideal) Son of Adam'. So an Eastern expression about Adam passed into a Western expression about man.

So Dr Abbott finds that Paul is but taking up and amplifying Christ's own teaching, in his treatment of the First and the Second Adam. Christ comes as the Second Adam to claim in the name of the Humanity that He sums up in Himself the birthright and heritage that Adam had for his own but lost by his transgression.

I have given a lengthy *résumé* of the working hypothesis of the book, because in this lies its great value. This hypothesis is maintained with extreme skill, and demonstrated by evidence from the Old Testament, the Triple Tradition (Mark, Matthew, Luke), the Double Tradition (Matthew and Luke), the Single Traditions of Matthew and Luke, and the Fourth Gospel. The investigation on these lines gives Dr Abbott scope for very valuable commentary on a large number of difficult passages in the Gospels, and it seems to me that time after time he sheds new light. Indeed, the book is rich in the fruits of research, especially as to the Hebrew originals of some of the most familiar phrases in our Gospels. Dr Abbott's work on such points is already widely known. I need only mention his treatment in this book in particular of 'The Son of Man's authority to forgive sins'—'The being

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delivered up'—'The Son of Man being glorified'—and of the Fourth Gospel in general. In his opinion, its author's purpose is to supply the deficiencies and omissions of the Synoptists, or, where they are in error, not categorically to correct them but to put side by side with their teaching what he considers the real underlying meaning of our Lord's words or acts. He represents the Spirit of Christ's doctrine; his object being to write an interpretation of the Word of Jesus, adding freely any traditional accounts that may illustrate any central thought. So the Fourth Gospel is really a 'Targum', and Dr Abbott begins his treatment of it by saying 'Here, and elsewhere, in discussing words in the Fourth Gospel, it is taken as probable that Jesus did not utter the precise words under discussion'. I cannot help thinking that, helpful as this view is, the assumptions on which it is based sometimes carry Dr Abbott too far: though on the whole I think he applies his canon with very fair moderation.

The book is one that will be of great value to serious students not only of the immediate problem that calls it forth, but of the New Testament in general.

PHILIP C. T. CRICK.

Two small books lately published call for short notice, but will receive warm welcome from many readers.

In *The Ascended Christ: a study in the earliest Christian teaching* (Macmillan & Co., 1910), Dr Swete gives us a worthy sequel to his book on *Appearances of our Lord after the Passion*. The Ascension 'opens before our faith the full glory of the life of Christ with God. With that life in heaven the life of the Church on earth is inseparably bound up'. So Dr Swete writes in his preface, and in a dozen chapters he sets before us, with attractive and skilful arrangement, the various aspects of the life and work of the Ascended Lord as depicted or implied in the pages of the New Testament, and shews the supreme importance of it for the work of the Church on earth. Lectures such as these, conveying as they do the deepest doctrinal teaching in the simplest terms, are of the highest possible value to candidates for Holy Orders at Cambridge, and no Christian can read them without gratitude to their author and a desire for more of the same kind of work from his pen. Incidentally there is much that is reassuring on some of the questions that are disturbing the minds of students of the New Testament to-day, and the whole book is marked by mellow wisdom and sympathetic insight.

Why does an English writer, in quoting passages from the Gospels in Greek or in English, use the abbreviations Mc., Lc., which are neither Greek nor English?

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The second volume, entitled *Studies in the Origins and Aims of the Four Gospels* (Macmillan & Co., 1910), contains eleven sermons preached last year in Worcester Cathedral by Dr J. M. Wilson, and will be specially welcomed by all who are anxious that ordinary congregations of Christian people should be kept in touch with the work of Christian scholars. These sermons must have taught Dr Wilson's hearers many of the most useful and enlightening results of modern methods of study of the Gospels, and stimulated some of them at least to undertake fresh study for themselves on profitable lines. Many of the chief characteristics of the several Gospels are finely expressed, and if Dr Wilson speaks at times as though humanitarianism were the essence of Christianity, he treats with equal enthusiasm of the spiritual experiences enshrined in the Fourth Gospel. It is to the spiritual interpretation of Christ's teaching and work expressed in the Fourth Gospel that he looks forward as 'the bond of peace' which will bind together the divided branches of the Church. When he speaks on themes like this, scholars and specialists will gladly sit at Dr Wilson's feet; they will scarcely wish to quarrel with him even when, in the course of his sermons, he uses 'must' sometimes when only 'may' is justified, appears to claim the *consensus* of scholars where no such *consensus* exists, and makes some statements as of fact which are but plausible hypotheses. Dr Wilson modestly disclaims any title to speak as a specialist in his subject, only professing to base his conclusions on the work of those who are scholars and specialists; and in the Preface to the printed sermons he says that he has spoken more positively and with fewer qualifications on some critical points than he would have done had he been writing a critical essay. I do not know whether these words of the Preface are intended as a challenge or as an apology. I would only venture, somewhat reluctantly, to say that, while they are perhaps sufficient to safeguard any one who simply reads the book, those who heard the sermons had no such safeguard, and it is not clear to me that the high and useful purpose which Dr Wilson had in view was really served by his speaking *more positively* on critical points of this kind in the pulpit than he would speak in an essay.

J. F. BETHUNE-BAKER.

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RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, April 1911 (Vol. lxxii, No. 143: Spottiswoode & Co.). The government of England—J. VAUGHAN Some prison literature—W. C. BISHOP The Mozarabic Breviary—The Mond collection—A. E. BURN Cardinal Pole—The revolt of the Curés, 1789—Community life in the Church of England—H. C. BEECHING The story of the English Bible—Short Notices.

The Hibbert Journal, April 1911 (Vol. ix, No. 3: Williams & Norgate). L. TOLSTOY Philosophy and religion—M. M. PATTISON MUIR Can theology become scientific?—P. GARDNER The sub-conscious and the super-conscious—G. A. JOHNSTON ROSS The Cross: the report of a misgiving—L. R. FARNELL The moral service of the intellect—W. B. SMITH Judas Iscariot—J. W. JENKINSON Vitalism—C. T. OVENDEN Water-finding and faith-healing—N. S. TALBOT A study of the resurrection—W. F. COBB The problem of the Church of England—P. OYLER Essentials of education—E. W. LEWIS Beyond mortality—E. M. ROWELL Personality—Discussions—Reviews—Recent books and articles.

The Expositor, April 1911 (Eighth Series, No. 4: Hodder & Stoughton). G. B. GRAY The Virgin Birth in relation to the interpretation of Isaiah vii 14—E. KÖNIG A modern expert's judgment on the Old Testament historical writings—B. W. BACON Songs of the Lord's Beloved—A. SOUTER Did St Paul speak Latin?—A. E. GARVIE Did Paul borrow his Gospel?—W. M. RAMSAY Historical commentary on the Epistles to Timothy—H. T. F. DUCKWORTH Notes on Dr Lepsius' interpretation of the symbolic language of the Apocalypse—J. H. MOULTON and G. MILLIGAN Lexical notes from the papyri.

May 1911 (Eighth Series, No. 5). J. T. MARSHALL The Odes and Philo—G. MARGOLIOUTH Christ and Eschatology—E. F. MORISON The enthusiasm of the Gospel according to St Matthew—N. H. MARSHALL Other-worldliness and apocalypticism—H. R. MACKINTOSH History and the Gospel—W. W. HOLDSWORTH The Markan narrative in the Synoptic Gospels—W. M. RAMSAY Dr Johannes Lepsius on the symbolic language of the Revelation—J. H. MOULTON and G. MILLIGAN Lexical notes from the papyri.

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June 1911 (Eighth Series, No. 6). W. M. RAMSAY Dr Moffatt on the literature of the New Testament—B. D. EERDMANS The Day of Atonement—H. and W. M. RAMSAY Dr Johannes Lepsius on the symbolic language of the Revelation—J. T. MARSHALL The Odes and Philo—A. E. GARVIE Did Paul commend his Gospel?—J. STALKER Studies in conversion: 4 John Bunyan—J. H. MOULTON and G. MILLIGAN Lexical notes from the papyri.

(2) AMERICAN.

The American Journal of Theology, April 1911 (Vol. xv, No. 2: Chicago University Press). F. C. BURKITT The historical character of the Gospel of Mark—C. A. BECKWITH The influence of psychology upon theology—S. J. CASE Is Jesus a historical character? evidence for an affirmative opinion—J. E. RUSSELL The crisis in doctrinal Christianity—E. MONTET Thoughts on the idea of a First Cause—G. D. WALCOTT The logical aspect of religious unity—Critical Notes—Recent theological literature.

The Princeton Theological Review, April 1911 (Vol. ix, No. 2: Princeton University Press). W. S. P. BRYAN The Church, her colleges and the Carnegie foundation—B. B. WARFIELD On the Biblical notion of 'renewal'—C. R. MOREY The origin of the fish-symbol—W. P. ARMSTRONG Jalabert's 'Epigraphie' and Gallio—Reviews of recent literature.

(3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

Revue Bénédictine, April 1911 (Vol. xxviii, No. 2: Abbaye de Maredsous). D. DE BRUYNE La finale marcionite de la lettre aux romains retrouvée—A. WILMART Les versions latines des sentences d'Évagre pour les vierges—G. MORIN Étude d'ensemble sur Arnobe le Jeune—U. BERLIÈRE Lettres inédites des Bénédictins de St-Maur—G. MORIN Un nouveau feuillet de l'*Itala* de Freising (MS *r* des épîtres paulines)—A. WILMART La lettre lviii de Saint Cyprien parmi les lectures non-bibliques du lectionnaire de Luxeuil—Comptes rendus—Notes bibliographiques—Bulletin d'histoire bénédictine.

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Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums (Harnack-Heft), May 1911 (Vol. xii, Nos. 2, 3: Giessen, A. Töpelmann). O. HOLTZMANN Die täglichen Gebetsstunden im

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Judentum und Christentum—S. A. FRIES Die Oden Salomos: montanistische Lieder aus dem 2 Jahrhundert—A. LOISY La mention du temple dans les Odes de Salomon—F. C. CONYBEARE The Old Georgian Version of Acts—H. WINDISCH Die Dauer der öffentlichen Wirksamkeit Jesu nach den vier Evangelisten—B. W. BACON Date and habitat of the Elders of Papias—H. v. SODEN μυστήριον und *sacramentum* in den ersten zwei Jahrh. der Kirche—F. C. BURKITT Life, ζωή, Hayyīm—C. H. TURNER Two Notes on the *Philocalia*—F. SPITTA Die Petrusapokalypse und der zweite Petrusbrief—E. PREUSCHEN Eine altkirchliche antimarcionitische Schrift unter dem Namen Ephräms—F. KATTENBUSCH Das Messiastum Jesu—Miszellen.

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